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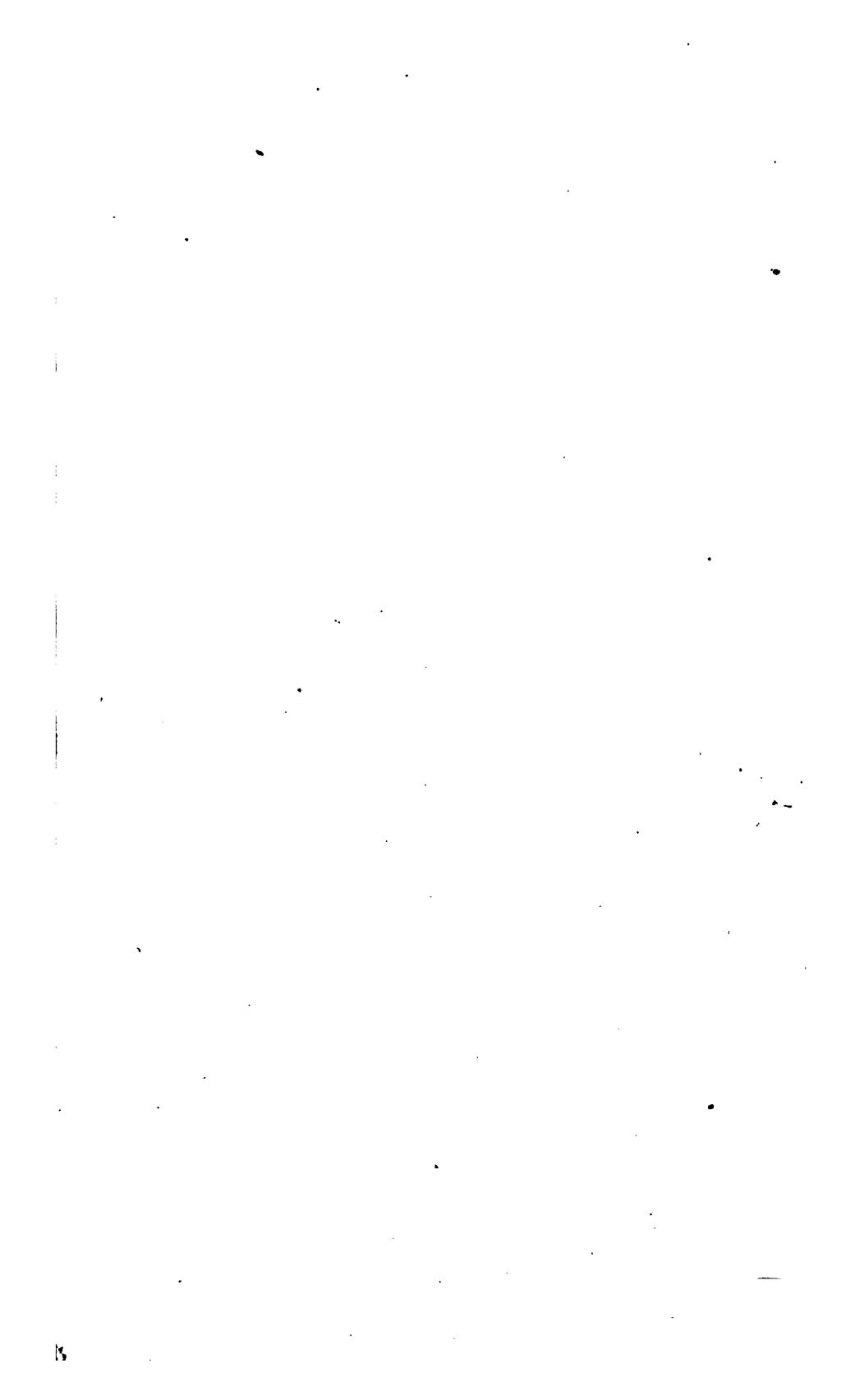
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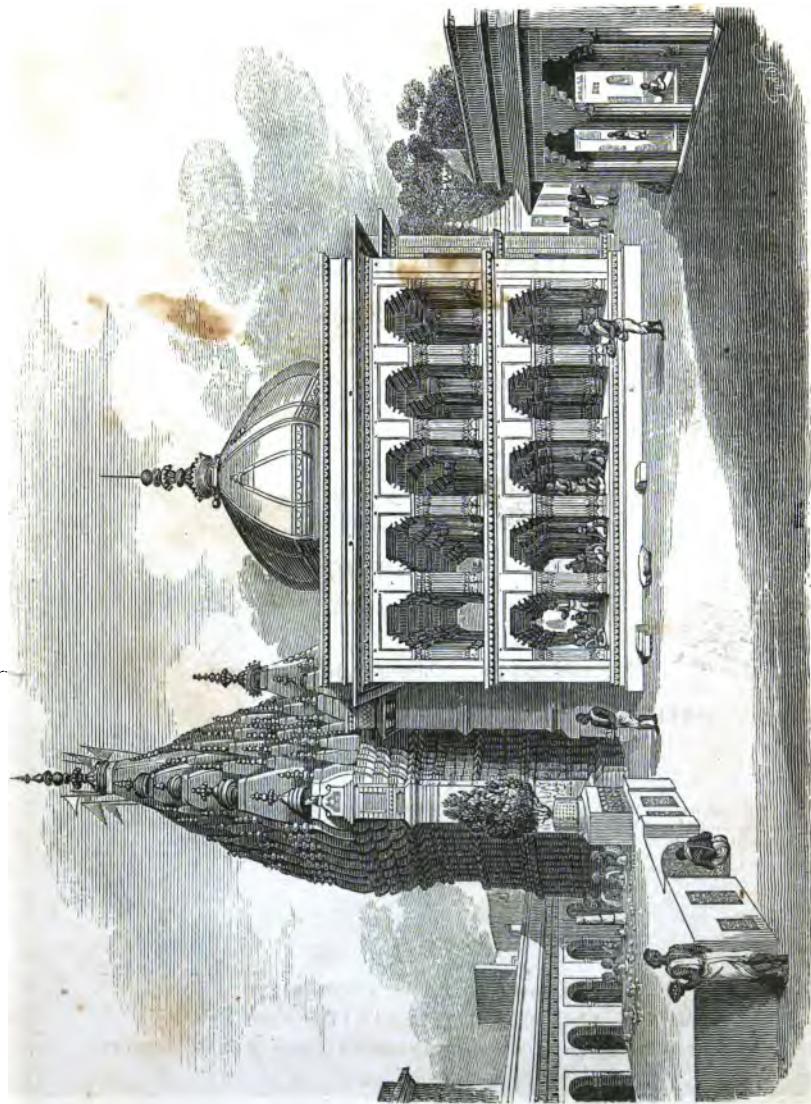








TEMPLE OF GYA.



INDIA'S CRIES

TO

BRITISH HUMANITY,

RELATIVE TO

INFANTICIDE, BRITISH CONNECTION WITH IDOLATRY,
GHAUT MURDERS, SUTTEE, SLAVERY, AND
COLONIZATION IN INDIA;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

HUMANE HINTS

FOR THE

MELIORATION OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY

IN

BRITISH INDIA.

BY JAMES PEGGS,

LATE MISSIONARY AT CUTTACK, ORISSA.

Third Edition, revised and enlarged
WITH A BOOK ON COLONIZATION IN INDIA.

"It was painful to me to think, how few relics, if the English were now expelled from India, would be left, of their religion, their power, or their civil and military magnificence. Still little, very little, is done, in comparison with all which is to do."—*Heber.*

LONDON:

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1832.



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P R E F A C E

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE Author, during his residence in India, having witnessed the horrid rite of burning a widow with the body of her deceased husband,—the miseries of pilgrimage to the great Temple of Juggernaut in Orissa (the celebrity of which is increased by British regulation and support),—the exposure of the sick and the dead ~~on the banks~~ of the Ganges,—and other cruelties of Hindoism, has, since his return to his native country, in 1826, laboured to diffuse information respecting these things, and to urge the propriety and facility of their suppression. In prosecution of this object, he has published two editions of a pamphlet entitled, "*The Suttees' Cry to Britain*;"* two editions of "*Pilgrim Tax in India*;" an edition of "*Ghaut Murders in India*;" and a small edition of "*Infanticide in India*."—The principal part of these pamphlets have been put in circulation, through the liberal exertions of numerous friends, a considerable number have been circulated gratuitously in this country, and also in the different Presidencies of India, among the various Functionaries of Government. To shew the propriety of these exertions, and to encourage similar and extended efforts, the Author (though with much hesitation) is induced to refer, to an extract of a letter from the private Secretary of the Governor General of India, Lord W. Bentinck, in Dec. 1828, acknowledging the receipt of the Suttee and Pilgrim Tax Pamphlets, which had been forwarded to his Lordship.—"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to the Governor General, dated the 7th of April last. His Lordship desires me, at the same time, to present his best thanks for the copies of your Pamphlets which accompanied it; and to assure you, that the one on the Suttee question relates to a subject which has engaged his particular attention." In perfect accordance with these sentiments is the following notice, which, says a correspondent in India, in March, 1829, appears daily in the papers:—"The Governor General invites

* The Coventry Society for the abolition of Human Sacrifices in India, has published an abridgement of this pamphlet, entitled, "*A Voice from India*."

the communication of all suggestions tending to promote any branch of national industry; to improve the commercial intercourse by land or water; to amend the defects in the existing establishments; to encourage the diffusion of education and useful knowledge; and to advance the general prosperity and happiness of the British empire in India." Surely a brighter day has dawned on the East.

To this edition is added—'The present state of Infanticide and Slavery in British India.' Upon these subjects but little correct information appears to be possessed. A very general impression prevails that Infanticide is abolished; and a late celebrated writer on India has stated—"No slavery legally exists in the British territories at this moment," with what surprise will the reader hear, that there are two volumes of Parliamentary Papers on Infanticide, and that a voluminous collection of Papers, of nearly 1,000 folio pages, on Slavery in India, were "ordered to be printed by the Hon. House of Commons, Mar. 12, 1828."—From these valuable documents full and accurate information may be procured.

For the Parliamentary Papers on the Burning of Hindoo Widows, Infanticide, the Temple of Juggernaut, and Slavery in India, the Author is under the highest obligation to T. F. Buxton, Esq., M. P., and to W. Smith, Esq., M. P. If this volume contain information of a nature calculated to promote the welfare of British India, it is chiefly to be attributed to the important materials supplied by these valuable Papers. The Author's labour, in a considerable part of the work, has been little more than selection and arrangement; and, without such important materials, he should never have presumed to publish upon the different topics discussed in these pages. The necessity of circulating information respecting the state of India, for the purpose of promoting the abolition of the cruelties of heathenism, appears evident. "Shall superstition be suffered to issue her decrees, from year to year, and from age to age, against the lives of poor defenceless and disconsolate widows [and, it may be added, of female infants, pilgrims, and the sick exposed by the Ganges],—hundreds of whom are annually sacrificed to its relentless cruelty, and yet no voice be lifted up on their behalf? Then where are human sympathies? and what are nature's claims? But no:—humanity can refrain no longer. A cry has at length been raised for the daughters of sorrow on the plains of India. It has reached the British Isle, and reverberated from her shores: it has sounded in the ears of her Legislature:—it is heard in the midst of our city:—it is a loud and bitter cry!"

It is hoped that this revised, uniform, and enlarged edition, of the various piercing plaints of India to British humanity, will be encouraged by a humane and liberal public. The infatuated Suttee,—the murdered female Infant,—the perishing Pilgrim (allured to the shrines of Idolatry, rendered more celebrated by British connection and support),—the sick exposed by the Ganges,—and the degraded Slave, present their cry to Britain; and shall not that cry be heard and reiterated, from “Dan to Beersheba,” till the Senate and the Throne hear, and feel, and redress their wrongs?—“The continued sanction of these enormities is *one of those national delinquencies, which press like an incubus, with intolerable weight, on the prosperity and stability of our country; while it opposes an almost insurmountable barrier to the free progress of the Gospel.*” (Mis. Reg. Aug. 1829.) The proceeds of the editions of those parts of the volume which have been published in Pamphlets, have been devoted to gratuitous circulation and missionary exertions in India. The profits of this edition are to be devoted to liquidate the debt, on the Sabbath-school Rooms belonging to the Author’s friends in Coventry. It is a source of the highest gratification to him, still to labour for the welfare of the millions of India; and the promotion of this great object, in connection with those of a local nature in Britain, is peculiarly grateful to the writer’s feelings. With great diffidence, and humble dependance on Divine Providence, this work is sent forth into the world. May “the Father of the fatherless, and the Judge of the widow,” even “God in his holy habitation,” incline those who hold in their hands the destinies of India, to regard “*India’s Cries to British Humanity;*” and thus bring upon themselves “the blessing of them that were ready to perish, and cause the widow’s heart to sing for joy.”

Coventry,
Feb. 15, 1830.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T TO THE THIRD EDITION.

As the present period is eventful for India, and many beneficial changes are anticipated in its administration, the Author trusts that the re-publication of this volume may direct attention to the evils of which it treats. He has been encouraged to undertake this edition, by the public spirit of some Gentlemen in the Staffordshire Potteries; one engaging to procure him forty subscribers; a second subscribing for twenty copies; a third for fifty, and a fourth for one hundred and fifty. To this edition a book is added on Colonization in India, a subject of great interest, viewed in connection with the civilization and evangelization of British India. Every part of the work has been carefully revised, and additional information given, particularly on the subject of British connection with Hindoo Idolatry; the successful measures pursued for the suppression of the Suttee, and its probable prevalence at the present period; and the nature and extent of Slavery in the East. The profits of this edition, as of the former, are devoted to a benevolent object in this city. The Hindoos say, "It is the duty of a king, to pursue every object till it be accomplished." The recent abolition of the Suttee should encourage the friends of India, not to relax their efforts till every inhuman custom is "buried 'midst the wreck of things that were;" and as a modern writer observes,—"In effecting these desirable movements, dare much;—dare whatever your own good sense suggests,—whatever the common sense of mankind will approve. Doubt not of success;—success is fond of a confident suitor. In their admiration of your promptitude and boldness, men will forget to murmur, or, at least, fear to oppose you."

*Coventry,
Gosford Terrace,
Dec. 10, 1832.*

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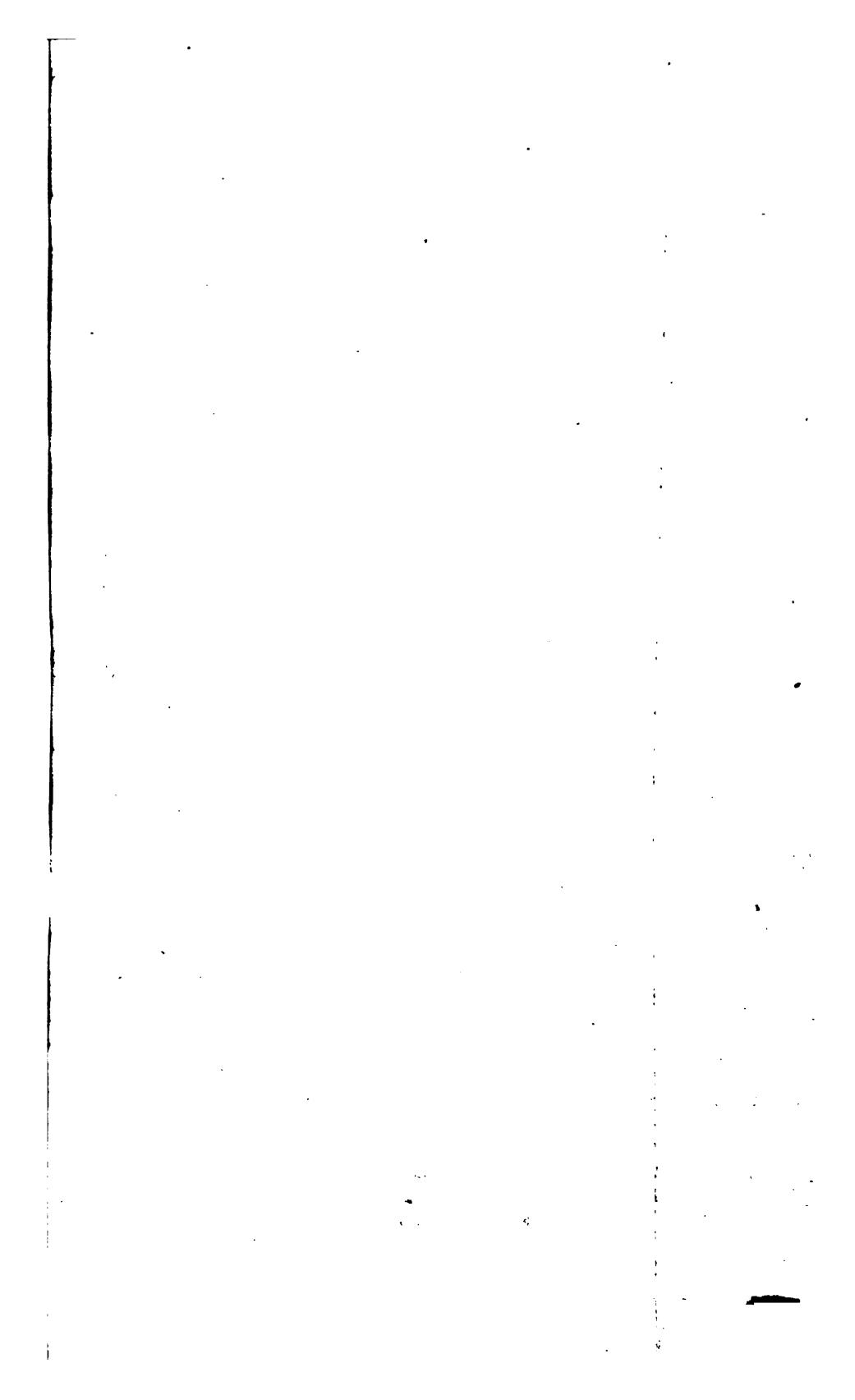
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DESTRUCTION AND PRESERVATION OF INFANTS IN INDIA.

BOOK I.

INFANTICIDE.

CHAP. I.

Introductory remarks—sketch of the early and extensive prevalence of Infanticide and Human Sacrifices in various countries.

THE abolition of Infanticide in British India has been the subject of history, and the triumph of the philanthropist. “*Moor’s Hindoo Infanticide*” was published in 1811; and in 1815 appeared “*Cormack’s Account of the Abolition of Female Infanticide in Guzerat, with Considerations on the question of promoting the Gospel in India.*” Through the circulation of these publications—the well-known suppression of the destruction of children at Saugur Island, by the Marquis Wellesley in 1802—and, the little that is known in Britain respecting the Peninsula of Guzerat, a very general impression prevails that Infanticide is abolished in India. It is a painful, but necessary task to remove this impression—to show that the evil still exists to a considerable extent, and to rouse the friends of humanity and religion to prosecute the abolition of this and every sanguinary custom in British India.* The Parliamentary Papers on Hindoo Infanticide, of June 1824, and July 1828, fully substantiate the fact, that, notwithstanding the philanthropic and successful efforts of Colonel Walker and Governor Duncan to abolish this unnatural custom, it has revived; and that the most decisive measures are requisite to

* “As late as 1818, it was calculated that there were not less than 1,000 infants destroyed; and in a population of 12,000 males, there were not more than *thirty females* alive! The barbarous custom, it is to be feared, continues in full force, as was evident from a census of the Jahrejah villages, which we saw in 1826; though some think it is on the decrease.”—Elwood’s Overland Journey to India. *Asi. Jour.* Nov. 1830.

effect its entire abolition. When shall every cruel custom, now prevalent in Hindostan, be abolished, and thus the progress of Christianity in that country facilitated? Let the sentiments of the eloquent Burke be known and considered:—"The blood of man should never be shed but to redeem the blood of man. It is well shed for our family, for our friends, for our God, for our kind. The rest is vanity—the rest is crime."

The prevalence of human sacrifices, and the continuance of female Infanticide, in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, and in the British Dominions, is a fact deeply interesting to every philanthropic mind. The learned Jacob Bryant has given a comprehensive view of the nature and extent of these sacrifices in different ages and countries. "One would think it scarcely possible," says he, "that so unnatural a custom as that of human sacrifices could have existed in the world; but it is certain that it not only existed, but almost universally prevailed. The Egyptians of old brought no victims to their temples, nor shed any blood at their altars. But human victims, and the blood of men, must here be excepted, which, at one period they offered to their gods. The Cretans had the same custom, and adhered to it a much longer time. The nations of Arabia did the same. The people of Duma, in particular, sacrificed every year a child, and buried it beneath an altar, which they made use of instead of an idol; for they did not admit of images. The Persians buried people alive. Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, entombed twelve persons alive, for the good of her soul. It would be endless to enumerate every city, or province, where these practices obtained. The Cyprians, the Rhodians, the Phœnicians, those of Chios, Lesbos, Tenedos, all had human sacrifices. The natives of the Tauric Chersonesus offered to Diana every stranger whom chance threw upon their coasts. Hence arose that expostulation in Euripides, upon the inconsistency of the proceeding, wherein much good reasoning is implied. Iphigenia wonders, as the goddess delighted in the blood of men, that every villain and murderer should be privileged to escape; nay, be driven from the threshold of the temple; whereas, if an honest man chanced to stray thither, he was seized and put to death. The Pelasgi, in a time of scarcity, vowed that they would give, *the tenth of all that should be born to them for a sacrifice*, in order to procure plenty! Aristomenes, the Messenian, slew *three hundred* noble Lacedemonians, among whom was Theopompus, the king of Sparta, at the altar of Jupiter, at Ithome; without doubt the Lacedemonians did not fail to

make ample returns, for they were a severe and revengeful people, and offered the like victims to Mars. Their festival of the Deamastigosis is well known, when the Spartan boys were whipped, in the sight of their parents, with such severity before the altar of Diana Orthia that they often expired under the torture. Phylarchus affirms, as he is quoted by Porphyry, that of old, every Grecian state made it a rule, before they marched towards an enemy, to solicit a blessing on their undertakings by the sacrifice of human victims.

"The Romans were accustomed to the like sacrifices. They devoted themselves to the infernal gods, and constrained others to submit to the same horrid doom. Hence we read in Titus Livius, that in the consulate of Omilius Paulus and Terentius Varro, two Gauls, a man and woman, and two in like manner of Greece, were *buried alive at Rome*, in the ox-market; where was a place under ground walled round to receive them, which had before been made use of for such cruel purposes. He says it was a sacrifice, not properly Roman, that is, not originally of Roman institution; yet it was frequently practised, and that by public authority! Plutarch makes mention of a like instance, a few years before, in the consulship of Flaminus and Furius. There is reason to think, that all the principal captives who graced the triumphs of the Romans were, at the close of that cruel pageantry, put to death at the altar of Jupiter Capitonus! Caius Marius offered up his *own daughter*, for a victim to the *Dii Aver-sunce*, to procure success in a battle against the Cimbri, as we are informed by Dorotheus, quoted by Clemens; it is likewise attested by Plutarch, who says her name was Calpurnia. Cicero, making mention of this custom being common in Gaul, adds, that it prevailed among that people even at the time he was speaking; whence we may be led to infer that it was then discontinued among the Romans; and we are told by Pliny that it had then, and not very long, been discouraged. There was a law enacted, when Lentulus and Crassus were consuls, so late as the 657th year of Rome, that there should be no more human sacrifices. But, however discontinued they may have been for a time, they were again renewed; for, not very long after this, it is reported of Augustus Cæsar, (when Persia surrendered in the time of the second triumvirate,) that besides multitudes executed in a military manner, he offered, upon the Ides of March, *three hundred chosen persons*, of the equestrian and senatorian order, at an altar dedicated to the manes of his uncle Julius. Even at Rome itself, this custom was revived; and Porphyry assures us that, in his

time, a man was *every year* sacrificed at the shrine of Jupiter Latiaris. Heliogabalus offered the like victims to the Syrian deity, which he introduced among the Romans. The same is said of Aurelian.*

"The Gauls and the Germans were so devoted to this shocking custom, that no business of any moment was transacted among them, without being prefaced by the blood of men. They were offered to various gods, but particularly to Hesus, Taranis, and Shautates. These deities are mentioned by Lucan, where he enumerates the various nations that followed the fortunes of Cæsar. The altars of these gods were far removed from the common resort of men, being generally situated in the depth of woods, that the gloom might add to the horror of the operation, and give a reverence to the proceeding. The persons devoted were led thither by the Druids, who presided at the solemnity, and performed the cruel offices of the sacrifice. Tacitus takes notice of the cruelty of the Hermunduri in a war with the Catti, wherein they had greatly the advantage; at the close of which they made one general sacrifice of all that were taken in battle. The poor remains of the legions under Varrus suffered, in some degree, the same fate. There were many places destined for this purpose all over Gaul and Germany, but especially in the mighty woods of Arduenna, and the greater Hercinian forest, a wild that extended above thirty days' journey in length. The places set apart for the solemnity were held in the utmost reverence, and only approached at particular seasons. Lucan mentions a grove of this sort near Masselea, which even the Roman soldiers were afraid to violate, though commanded by Cæsar. Claudian compliments Stillico that, among other advantages accruing to the Roman armies through his conduct, they could now venture into the awful forest of Hercinia, and follow the chase in those so much dreaded woods, and otherwise make use of them.

"These practices prevailed among all the people of the North. The Massageta, the Scythians, the Getes, the Sarmatians, all the various nations upon the Baltic, particularly the Suevi and Scandinavians, held it as a fixed principle,

* "In Homer and Virgil, we have accounts of human sacrifices, communicated in such a way as indicates no abhorrence in the poet, and was meant to inspire none on the part of the reader. Cæsar informs us that it was a prevalent maxim among the Gauls, that the deity could not be appeased unless the life of one man, which had been forfeited by guilt, were atoned by the life of another who was innocent."—De Bel. Gal. L. vi. c. 15. (Cormack's Inf. p. 56.) AUTH.

Odin

that their happiness and security could not be obtained but at the expense of the lives of others. Their chief gods were Thor and Woden, whom they thought they could never sufficiently glut with blood. They had many celebrated places of worship, especially in the island of Rugen, near the mouth of the Oder, and in Zealand. But the most reverenced and frequented was at Upsal, where there was every year a grand celebrity, which continued for *nine days*. During this term they sacrificed animals of all sorts, but *the most acceptable victims, and the most numerous, were men!*

“Of these sacrifices none were esteemed so auspicious and salutary, as a sacrifice of the prince of the country. When the lot fell for the king to die, it was received with universal acclamations; this once happened in the time of a famine, when they cast lots, and it fell to the king Domalder to be the people’s victim, and he was accordingly put to death. Olaus Triliger, another prince, was burnt alive to Woden! *They did not spare their own children!* Harold, the son of Gunild, the first of that name, slew two of his children to obtain a storm of wind. Saxo Grammaticus mentions a like fact; he calls the king Haquin, and speaks of the persons put to death as two hopeful young princes. Another king slew *nine sons in order to prolong his own life!* Such instances did not often occur; but the common victims were very numerous.

“*The manner in which the victims were slaughtered was diverse in different places.* Some of the Gaulish nations chined them with the stroke of an axe. The Celts placed the man who was to be offered for a sacrifice upon a block, or an altar, with his breast upward, and with a sword struck him forcibly across the sternum; then, tumbling him to the ground, from his agonies and convulsions, as well as from the effusion of blood, they formed a judgment of future events. The Cimbri ripped open the bowels, and from them they pretended to divine. In Norway they beat men’s brains out with an ox-yoke. The same operation was performed in Iceland, by dashing them against an altar of stone. In many places they transfixed them with arrows. After they were dead they suspended them upon the trees, and left them to putrefy. One of the writers above quoted mentions, that, in his time, *seventy carcases* of this sort were found in the wood of the Suevi. Dithmar, of Mursburgh, an author of nearly the same age, speaks of a place called Sedu, in Zealand, where there were, *every year, ninety and nine persons sacrificed to the god Swantowite.* During these bloody festivals a general joy prevailed, and banquets were most royally served. They fed,

and gave a loose to indulgence, which, at other times, was not permitted ! They imagined that there was something mysterious in the number nine, for which reason these feasts were, in some places, celebrated every ninth year, in others every ninth month, and continued for nine days ; when all was ended they washed the image of the deity in a pool, and then dismissed the assembly. Their servants were numerous, who attended during the term of their feasting, and partook of the banquet. At the close of all, *they were smothered in the same pool, or otherwise made away with !*

“ The like custom prevailed in a great degree in Mexico, and even under the mild government of the Peruvians, and in most parts of America. In Africa it is still kept up, where, in the inland parts, they sacrifice some of the captives taken in war to their *fetiches*, in order to secure their favour. Snelgrave was in the king of Dahoomi’s camp, after his inroad into the countries of Adra and Whidaw, and was a witness to the cruelty of this prince, whom he saw sacrifice multitudes to the deity of his nation. The sacrifices, if we except some few instances, consisted of persons doomed by war, or assigned by lot to be offered. But, among the nations of Canaan, the victims were peculiarly chosen. Their own children, and whatever was nearest and dearest to them, were deemed the most worthy offering to their god.

“ The Carthaginians, a colony from Tyre, carried with them the religion of their mother country, and instituted the same worship in the parts where they settled. It consisted in the adoration of several deities, but particularly of Kronus ; to whom they offered human sacrifices, and especially the blood of children ! If the parents were not at hand to make an immediate offer, the magistrates did not fail to make choice of what was most promising, that the god might not be defrauded of his dues ! Upon a check being received in Sicily, and some other alarming circumstances happening, Hamilcar, without any hesitation, laid hold of a boy, and offered him on the spot to Kronus ; and, at the same time, drowned a number of priests to appease the deity of the sea. The Carthaginians, upon a great defeat of their army by Agathocles, imputed the miscarriage to the anger of this god, whose services had been neglected ; and, seeing the enemy at their gates, they seized *two hundred children of the chief nobility, and offered them in public for a sacrifice. Three hundred persons, who were somehow obnoxious, offered themselves voluntarily, and were put to death with the others !* The neglect of which they accused themselves, consisted in sacrificing

children purchased of parents among the poorer sort, who reared them for that purpose ! and not selecting the most promising, and the most honourable, as had been the custom of old. *There were particular children brought up for the altar, as sheep are fattened for the shambles*: and they were brought and butchered in the same manner ; but this indiscriminate way of proceeding was thought to have given offence. It is remarkable that the Egyptians looked for the most handsome person to be sacrificed. The Albanians pitched upon the best man of the community, and made him pay for the wickedness of the rest. The Carthaginians chose what they thought the most excellent, and at the same time most dear to them, which made the lot fall heavy upon their children. This is taken notice of by Silius Italius in his fourth book. Kronus, to whom those sacrifices were exhibited, was an oriental deity, the god of light and fire ; and therefore always worshipped with some reference to that element. The Carthaginians introduced him into Africa ; he was the same as the Orus of the Egyptians, and the Alorus of the eastern nations. He was universally adored in Cyprus, but particularly in this part, which Porphyry supposes to have been Salamis. This deity was the Moloch of the Tyrians and Canaanites, and the Melech of the east ; that is, the great and principal god, the god of light, of whom fire was esteemed a symbol ; and at whose shrine, instead of viler victims, they offered the blood of men.

“ Such was the Kronus of the Greeks, and the Moloch of the Phoenicians ; and nothing can appear more shocking than the sacrifices of the Tyrians and the Carthaginians which they performed to the idol. In all emergencies of state, and times of general calamity, they devoted that which was most necessary and valuable to them for an offering to the gods, particularly to Moloch. Besides these undetermined times of bloodshed, they had particular and prescribed seasons every year, when *children were chosen out of the most noble and reputable families*. If a person had an *only child*, it was the more liable to be put to death, as being esteemed more acceptable to the deity, and more efficacious of the general good. Those who were sacrificed to Kronus, were thrown into the arms of a molten idol, which stood in the midst of a large fire, and was red with heat. The arms of it were stretched out, with the hands turned upwards, as it were to receive them, yet sloping downwards so that they dropt into a glowing furnace below. To other gods they were otherwise slaughtered, and, as it is implied, by the very hands of their

parents. Justin describes this unnatural custom very pathetically. Such was their blind zeal, that this was continually practised; and so much natural affection was still left unextinguished, as to render the scene ten times more shocking from the tenderness which they seemed to express. They embraced their children with great fondness, and encouraged them in the gentlest terms, that they might not be appalled, begging them to submit with cheerfulness. If there was any appearance of a tear rising, or a cry escaping, the mother smothered it with her kisses, that there might not be any show of constraint, but that the whole might be a free-will offering! These cruel endearments over, they stabbed them to the heart, or otherwise opened the sluices of life, and with the blood, warm as it ran, besmeared the altar and the grim visage of the idol. These were the customs which the Israelites learned of the people of Canaan, and for which they are upbraided by the Psalmist: 'They did not destroy the nations concerning whom the Lord commanded them, but were mingled among the heathen, and learned their works; yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils, and shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan, and the land was polluted with blood: thus were they defiled with their own works, and went a whoring with their own inventions.'

"These cruel rites, practised in so many nations, made Plutarch debate with himself, 'Whether it would not have been better for the Galato, or for the Scythians, to have had no tradition or conception of any superior beings, than to have formed to themselves notions of gods who delighted in the blood of men;—of gods who esteemed human victims the most acceptable and perfect sacrifice? Would it not,' says he, 'have been more eligible for the Carthaginians to have had the atheist Critias, or Diagoras, their lawgiver, at the commencement of their polity, and to have been taught that there was neither god nor demon, than to have sacrificed in the manner they were wont to the god which they adored? Wherein they acted not as the person did whom Empedocles describes in some poetry, where he exposes this unnatural custom. The father, with many idle vows, offers up unwillingly his son for a sacrifice, but the youth was so changed in feature and figure that his father did not know him. These people used wilfully to go through this bloody work, and slaughter their own offspring. Even they who were childless would not be exempted from this tribute, but purchased chil-

dren of the poorer sort, and put them to death. The mother who sacrificed her child stood by, without any seeming sense of what she was losing, and without uttering a groan. If a sigh by chance escaped, she lost all the honour which she proposed to herself in the offering, and the child was notwithstanding slain. All the time of this celebrity, while the children were murdering, there was a noise of clarions and tambors sounding before the idol, that the cries and shrieks of the victims might not be heard.' 'Tell me,' said Plutarch, 'if the monsters of old, the Typhons and the Giants, were to expel the gods, and to rule the world in their stead, could they require a service more horrid than these infernal rites and sacrifices?'"*

"Mr. Bryant," says Colonel Walker, "does not appear to be aware of the existence of human sacrifices among the Hindoos; and it is melancholy to add to the list of human infirmity, by citing the translation of the Rudheradhyaya from the Calican Puran, by Mr. Blaquiere, as an evidence of this barbarous rite being sanctioned by the Hindoo Legislature. It was not only enjoined, but in the ancient rites of the Hindoos was frequently practised, under the denomination of *Mer Med*, or *Wud*, the sacrifice of a man. There is, at this day, a numerous class of Brahmuns who are accused of this practice. They are called Kurrada, and are inhabitants of the Concan. The object of their worship is Maha Lukshmee, to whom human sacrifices are acceptable; and the more so if the victim is a Brahmun, learned in the shastras. The public performance of this sacrifice has long since fallen into disuse; but a sect of the Kurrada Brahmuns are accused of effecting, by the secret operations of poison, that object which they dare not avow. I know several Kurrada Brahmuns, in respectable public situations, intelligent, charitable, and humane, who would abhor the commission of this detestable crime, and who, though they admit the former existence, most strongly deny its present practice; but the power of prejudice is sometimes stronger than the most complete evidence of moral conduct; and many people, under the influence of this passion, would decline to eat food prepared by a Brahmun of this tribe, of which he himself should not at the same time partake."†

* Annual Register, vol. x. 1767. Par. Papers on Hindoo Infanticide, June 1824, pp. 53—58.

† Par. Papers on Hindoo Infanticide, 1824, p. 52. On this subject see an article in the Asiatic Journal, May 1823, p. 680.

The Preliminary Discourse of Sale's Koran (p. 174) affords information of the existence of Infanticide in Arabia. "The law of Mahomed put a stop to the inhuman custom, which had been long practised by Pagan Arabs, of *burying their daughters alive*, lest they should be reduced to poverty by providing for them, or to avoid the disgrace which would follow, if they should be made captives, or become scandalous by their behaviour. The manner of doing this is differently related;—some say that, when an Arab had a daughter born, if he intended to bring her up, he sent her, clothed in a garment of wool or hair, to keep camels or sheep in the desert; but, if he designed to put her to death, he let her live till she became *six years old*, and then said to her mother, '*Perfume and adorn her, that I may carry her to her mothers!*' This being done, the father led her to a well, or a pit dug for the purpose, and, having bid her look down into it, pushed her in headlong, and then filled up the pit. This custom, though not observed by the Arabs in general, was very common among several of their tribes; and particularly those of Koreith and Kendeh; the former being accustomed to bury their daughters alive in Mount Abu Dalama, near Mecca. In the time of ignorance, while they used this method to get rid of their daughters, Sasaa, grandfather to the celebrated poet Al Farazdak, frequently redeemed female children from death, giving for every one two she-camels big with young, and a he-camel; Al Farazdak alluded to this when, vaunting himself before one of the Califs of the family of Meya, he said, '*I am the son of the giver of life to the dead!*' For which expression, being censured, he excused himself by alleging the words of the Koran, '*He, who saved a soul alive, shall be as if he had saved the lives of all mankind.*'*"

"The Missionaries in New Zealand had repeatedly heard that female Infanticide was practised among its inhabitants; and, in 1824, the fact was confirmed by a chief, who a short time previously had saved his own child from this fate, out of the hands of its inhuman mother! She had twice attempted to put it to death soon after it was born. The brethren entered into a free conversation with the natives on the subject, and they spoke of it with pleasure rather than otherwise; and referred them to several of the most respectable females, with whom they were acquainted, who had thus destroyed their children. The manner of putting them to death is, by what they call *ro-mea*, or squeezing the nose, as soon as they are

* Par. Papers as above, pp. 58, 59.

born ; then the hypocritical mother cuts herself with shells, and makes a great outcry about her dead child. The reasons which they assigned for this practice were two :—the first, and perhaps the principal one, was that they were no good to them in war ; for they would only shout and make a noise, but not fight. The other was, that where the offspring is numerous, they make the mother too much work, &c., therefore she kills the girls, but saves the boys ! We endeavoured to show them the impolicy and wickedness of such proceedings, telling them that it was murder, in the sight of God ; but they said it was not, it was only *ro-meā*, or squeezing the nose. Oh when will the bright rays of the Gospel chase away their gloom, and deliver them from their wickedness !”*

“ However extraordinary,” says the philanthropic Colonel Walker, “ the practice of female Infanticide, among the Jahreja Rajpoots (in India) may appear, it is not confined to them. The practice prevails with the Rajkoomars and other tribes in Bengal. The custom of putting their infant daughters to death has also been discovered to exist with the Rhatore Rajpoots of Jeypore and Joudpore ; but this fact, when reported in Europe, was doubted and denied to be possible. It is confirmed, however, by every intelligent native of that country ; nor does there appear any ground for questioning its existence. The custom is traced to other tribes of Hindostan, and in particular to the Jants and Mewats, which latter are a sect of Mussulmans. It would be interesting to develope the laws and customs of the most distinguished people of antiquity which sanctioned Infanticide. If we except the fabulous history of the Amazons, I am not aware that we have any account of a positive law or custom for the regular and invariable destruction of children of either sex. Romulus is said to have laid the citizens under an obligation to educate all their male children, and *the eldest of their daughters* ! The requiring this obligation from the citizens must have been suggested, by the *necessity for restraining the practice of Infanticide* ; and Romulus probably trusted in procuring wives for his males from the other tribes in his neighbourhood, with as little difficulty as the Jahrejas do at present.

“ Montesquieu proves that the same motives prevailed with the Roman fathers for exposing their children as with the nations of India, who commit Infanticide. ‘ We find not any Roman law that permitted the exposing of children. This was, without doubt, an abuse introduced towards the decline

* Smith’s History of Missions, vol. ii. p. 748.

of the Republic, when luxury robbed them of their freedom ; when wealth divided was called poverty ; when the father believed all was lost which he gave to his family, and when the family was distinct from his property.' It appears that infants, newly born, were placed on the ground : those who were agreeable to the father he took up, or educated ; those who were displeasing to him he neglected and exposed. In Greece, Infanticide, or the exposure of children, appears to have formed a part of the policy of those states. *Solon gave permission, by law, to parents to kill their children !* Aristotle appears an advocate for the exposing of children ; and conceives, where this is not the case, that the number of those brought forth ought to be limited. He proposes expedients for this purpose, more barbarous than any usage of the Jahrejas. The Greeks appear to have been led to expose their offspring from the sterility of their territory, and the apprehension of want, excited by a redundant population. The same motive, arising from a fear of famine, has induced the government of China, if not to permit, at least to tolerate, parents to sell and expose their children.

" In Robertson's history of America we are informed that the difficulty of training up an infant to maturity, amidst the hardships of savage life, often stifles the voice of nature among the Americans, and suppresses the strong emotions of parental tenderness. Some of these women are stated, in particular, to destroy their female children in their infancy. At Otaheite, and other islands of the Pacific, a peculiar society exists who destroy their children ;* and other nations, in a rude state, have been found, who do not suffer those to live, who are born with any natural defect. However disgusting it may be to human nature, we find that many nations have tolerated or permitted parents to destroy their own offspring ; but *the custom of exclusively murdering females*, (although the regulations of Romulus evidently point to their destruction, in preference to that of the males), *and a systematic Infanticide, seem to be confined to the Rajpoots of India.*"†

" *We may assume it is an unquestionable fact, that the existence of female Infanticide prevails to a greater extent in India than has yet come under the observation of the British*

* This has been happily abolished : see Ellis's Tour in Hawaii, pp. 303—305. The Rev. Mr. Knott, a Missionary in the South Sea Islands, stated that a female presented to him a child, and said that it was indebted to him for its life : she had had five children and murdered them all !

† Par. Papers, vol. i. pp. 44, 45.

Government. The knowledge of this fact would, until lately have been productive of little more than gratifying a melancholy and speculative curiosity. The case is now very much altered; and the inquiry at this moment might be attended, not merely with the discovery of the fact, but enable us, *by the means we possess at present, to suppress this revolting crime within the region of Hindostan.* Many of the Districts, in which the practice is supposed to prevail, have either fallen under the influence or the actual Government of Great Britain. Many of those people are become our subjects, and *we are bound in duty, as well as honour, to reclaim them from the reproach of killing their own children!* I am certain that the Company's Government requires no other excitement nor encouragement for undertaking this humane work, than that which would result from the probability of their success.”*

Who does not blush for the degradation and depravity of human nature? In Christian countries these well authenticated statements appear almost beyond credibility: but the ancient prevalence of human sacrifices may dispose the reader to receive, with painful credence, the affecting accounts of the present state of Infanticide in British India.

CHAP. II.

Infanticide in India. Origin—nature—crime—extent—present state—demoralizing influence.

Infanticide appears principally to exist, at the present period, in India and China. Of its prevalence in China a Missionary writes:—“A man came to me for medicine, with whom I conversed privately. I asked him how long he had left China, and whether he ever thought upon his family there? He said he frequently thought on them, and intended next year to visit them, for he had three sons, and one daughter who was married. ‘I had another daughter,’ he added, ‘but I did not bring her up.’ ‘Not bring her up!’ said I, ‘what then did

* Par. Papers, 1824, pp. 127, 128. For further information upon this subject, see *Grotius de Satisfactione Christi*, c. x. Dr. J. Owen, *de Nat. Veræ Theol.* c. viii. pp. 33—41. Magee's *Work on Atonement and Sacrifice*, Dis. v. *Arrowsmith's Medico-legal Essay on Infanticide*, 1828.

you do with her?' 'I smothered her,' said he. 'This year, also, I heard by letter, that another daughter was born: I sent word to have that smothered also, but the mother has preserved her.' I was shocked at this speech; and still more at the indifference with which he uttered it. 'What!' said I, 'murder your own children! Do you not shudder at such an act?' 'Oh no,' said he, 'it is a very common thing in China; we put the female children out of the way to save the trouble of bringing them up: some people have smothered five or six daughters!' My horror was increased by his continued indifference, and the thought that such crimes are perpetrated in China with impunity. What an awful view does this present of the 'Celestial Empire,' loaded with crime, deluged with blood, and ripe for destruction!"

Of the internal state of China, little is known in Europe, but the paramount influence of Great Britain in Hindostan, renders the subject of Hindoo Infanticide peculiarly interesting in this country.

"The people in some parts of India," says the late Rev. W. Ward, "particularly the inhabitants of Orissa, and of the eastern parts of Bengal, frequently offer their children to the goddess Gunga. The following reason is assigned for this practice:—When a woman has been long married, and has no children, it is common for the man, or his wife, or both of them, to make a vow to the goddess Gunga, that, if she will bestow the blessing of children upon them, they will devote the first-born to her. If, after this vow, they have children, the eldest is nourished till a proper age, which may be three, four, or more years, according to circumstances; and, on a particular day appointed for bathing, in any holy part of the river, they take the child with them, and offer it to this goddess; the child is encouraged to go into the water, till it is carried away by the stream, or is pushed off by its inhuman parents. Sometimes a stranger seizes the child, and brings it up; but it is abandoned by its parents, from the moment it floats in the water, and, if no one be found more humane than they, it infallibly perishes! The principal places in Bengal where this species of murder is practised are, Gunga Saugur, where the river Hooghly disembogues itself into the sea; Vidyuvatee, a town about fourteen miles to the north of Calcutta; Trivinee, Nudeeya, Chakduh, and Prayag, or Allahabad.*

* See the proceedings of the British Government with regard to Infanticide at these places, in the latter part of this book.

"The following custom appears to prevail, principally in the northern Districts of Bengal. If an infant refuse the mother's breast, and decline in health, it is said to be under the influence of some malignant spirit. Such a child is sometimes put into a basket, and hung up in a tree where the evil spirit is supposed to reside. It is generally destroyed by ants, or birds of prey; but sometimes perishes by neglect, though fed and clothed daily. If it should not be dead at the expiration of three days, the mother receives and nurses it again; but this seldom happens. The late Mr. Thomas, a Missionary, once saved and restored to its mother an infant which had fallen out of a basket at Bholahat, near Malda, at the moment a jackal was running away with it. As this gentleman and Mr. Carey were afterwards passing under the same tree, they found a basket hanging in the branches, containing the skeleton of another infant, which had been devoured by ants.

"A friend at Ludiana, in a letter written in 1812, says, 'The custom of murdering female infants is very common among the Rajpoots. One of these fellows had been induced, by the tears of his wife, to spare the life of a daughter born to him. The girl grew up, and had arrived at the age of thirteen; but, unfortunately for her, had not been demanded in marriage by any one. The Rajpoot began to apprehend the danger of her bringing a disgrace upon the family, and resolved to prevent it by putting the girl to death. Shortly after forming this design, he overheard, or pretended to have overheard, some of his neighbours speak of his daughter in a way that tended to increase his fears, when he rushed upon the poor girl and cut off her head! The native magistrate confined him for a year, and seized all his property. But this was because the girl was marriageable; infants are murdered with impunity.'

"The Jatus, a people who abound in these parts," says a friend, in a letter from Agra, in 1812, "destroy their female children as soon as born; but, being now afraid of the English, they remove their pregnant women before the time of delivery into the district of the Rajah of Burtpore, that they may commit these horrid murders with impunity. The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty!"*

The origin of Infanticide appears very obscure. The following extracts from the Par. Papers on the subject, printed June 1824, cast considerable light upon the subject. J. Duncan, Esq., Resident at Benares, first directed the attention of

* Ward's View of the Hindoos, vol. ii. pp. 122—125.

the Bengal Government to the existence of Infanticide among their subjects, in Oct. 1789. "It is no unfrequent practice," says this gentleman, "among the Rajkoomars to put their daughters to death. This horrid custom is said to exist also among other tribes, more especially in the Vizier's dominions. *It is thought to be founded in the Rajkoomar tribe, on the inherent extravagant desire of independence entertained by this race of men, joined, perhaps, to the necessity of procuring a suitable settlement in marriage for these devoted females were they allowed to grow up; and the disgrace which would ensue from any omission in that respect.*"*

"In the north-western parts of Hindostan," says the late Rev. W. Ward, "the horrid practice of sacrificing female children, as soon as born, has been known from time immemorial. The Hindoos ascribe this custom to a prophecy, delivered by a Brahmun, to Dweep-sing, a Rajpoot king, *that his race would lose the sovereignty through one of his female posterity.* Another opinion is, that this practice has arisen out of the law of marriage, which obliges the bride's father to pay almost divine honours to the bridegroom: † hence persons of high cast, unwilling thus to humble themselves for the sake of a daughter, destroy the infant. In the Punjab, and neighbouring Districts, to a great extent, a cast of Seiks, and the Rajpoots, as well as many of the Brahmuns and other casts, murder their female children as soon as born. A gentleman, whose information on Indian customs is very correct, states that this practice was, if it is not at present, universal among all the Rajpoots." †

A native of Mandavee, in the country of Cutch, thus describes the origin of the practice:—"It is notoriously known to be the established practice among those of the Jahreja tribe in the country of Cutch, and the adjoining district of Cattywar (in the peninsula of Guzerat), not to bring up their daughters, but to put them to death at their birth. The legend that I have heard, accounting for this strange practice, is as follows:—In former times one of the head men of those Jahrejas had several female children; and as, among the Hindoos, it is incumbent to provide husbands for their daughters whilst they are in their nonage, the Jahreja chieftain applied to his family Brahmun, to pursue the necessary measures for getting the

* Par. Papers, 1824, p. 6.

† At the time of marriage the girl's father, taking hold of the knee of the boy, worships him, by presenting offerings of rice, flowers, paint, &c., and promises to give him his daughter. Vol. ii. pp. 122—125.

† Ward's View, vol. ii. p. 124.

children contracted in marriage with the sons of his equals in the tribe, and of like valour and power. The Brahmun, after making every inquiry, returned without effecting his object; reporting that, although he had exerted all his endeavours to find proper alliances for his female children, he had not traced any one who was of competent qualifications to be his son-in-law: wherefore (said the Brahmun), since to retain these, your female offspring, in the family house, after their arriving at the age of womanhood, is contrary to the rules of religion, I will take them with me, and will burn them in the fire, on condition that it be stipulated on your part, to destroy, at their birth, all issue of the same sex that shall be born in your family. I now lay my solemn malediction on you and yours, if you fail to perform the same; in such manner, that, if you shall preserve any of your future daughters, they shall pass their lives in want; nor shall good attend the father or mother of such children. It is further reported that the Brahmun took away those innocent girls, and consumed them in the flames; and that, in conformity to the stipulation and denunciation aforesaid, the people of the Jahreja tribes, dwelling in the country of Cutch, and in the Pergunnahs of Hallar, and other places within the Peninsula of Guzerat, have, to the present day, continued to adhere to the practice in question."

"Being interrogated respecting Adeeba, the daughter of Ralakjee, former Rajah of Cutch, who was married to one of the Guicowar Rajahs, he replied,—'It is true Adeeba is still surviving at Booj, the capital of Cutch, yet there are but few exceptions to the general rule, because, from the effect of the malediction pronounced, no good ensues from their preservation; insomuch that if any daughters of this tribe are married into other houses, the grain in such houses becomes less plentiful; nor do such women produce sons, but are the occasion of feuds arising in the families into which they were thus transplanted! Throughout the country of Cutch there may be six or eight houses wherein the Jahreja masters of families bring up their daughters; otherwise, the practice is general; and, besides what happens within the limits of that country, the Jahreja chieftains of Moorvee, Goondul, and Jamnagur, in the Peninsula of Guzerat, also kill their female infants. Those who occasionally preserve their daughters, are induced by the consideration of acquiring the merit of having sons born to them. As when a man has a succession of female children in his family, he will, at the suggestion of any one, be induced to believe that, by bringing them up,

sons will also be born to him ; whence chiefly Jahreja daughters are sometimes met with, of whom there is, within my recollection, another instance, in the case of the Roe chieftain of Cutch, by name Vijrajee, who has married a daughter of his to the son of Attabye, the Rajah of Bhownaguth ; that lady may now be about twenty or twenty-two years of age, but I have not heard that she has had any male issue, but that, on the contrary, her husband and she do not agree."*

Colonel Walker endeavours to account for the rise of this singular practice as follows :—"The Jahrejas relate that a powerful Rajah of their cast, who had a daughter of singular beauty and accomplishments, desired his rajgor, or family Brahmun, to affiance her to a prince of desert and rank equal to her own. The rajgor travelled over many countries without discovering a chief who possessed the requisite qualities ; for, where wealth and power were combined, personal accomplishments and virtue were defective ; in like manner, where the advantages of the mind and the body were united, those of fortune and rank were wanting. The rajgor returned and reported to the prince that his mission had not proved successful. This intelligence gave the Rajah much concern ; he, however, strongly reprobated every match for his daughter which he conceived inferior to her high rank and perfection. In this dilemma the Rajah consulted his rajgor, and he advised him, to avoid the disgrace which would attend the princess's remaining unmarried, by having recourse to the desperate expedient of putting his daughter to death. The Rajah was long averse to this expedient, and remonstrated against the murder of a woman, which, enormous as it is represented in the shastras, would be aggravated when committed on his own offspring. The rajgor at length removed the Rajah's scruples, by consenting to load himself with the guilt, and to become, in his own person, responsible for all the consequences of the sin ! Accordingly the princess was put to death, and female Infanticide was, from that time, practised by the Jahrejas."†

"I have met with an account of Infanticide," the Colonel further observes, "which ascribes its origin to a circumstance more probable, than the disappointment felt by the Rajah at not finding a suitable match for his daughter. It is said that one of the early Mussulman invaders of the Jahrejas' country, who experienced the determination with which they defended their liberties, united policy to arms, and sought to consolidate their interests in the country, by demanding the daughters of

* Par. Papers, 1824, p. 23.

† pp. 31, 32.

the Rajahs in marriage. The high-spirited Jahrejas would not brook the disgrace, and pretended they did not preserve their daughters; but, fearful of the consequences, and that force would be resorted to in order to obtain what was refused to entreaty, they listened to the advice of their rajgors in this extremity, and, deluded by the fictitious responsibility which they accepted, the practice of Infanticide originated, and has since been confirmed. In consistency with this relation is an account which I have heard of one of the Rajahs of Noanuggur, whose daughter was demanded in marriage by the Emperor of Delhi, and which also throws some light upon the doubtful point, whether a grown-up daughter is ever put to death. It appears, that although much discredit would attach to a Jahreja who killed his daughter, after having preserved her for any time, yet that such occurrences, however unfrequent, are not without precedent. In some period of the history of the Jahrejas, it is said that one of the Jams was despoiled of his country by the king of Delhi, who promised to restore it, provided Jam gave him a daughter, whom he had preserved, in marriage. This must have been a legitimate daughter, as Jam disdainfully rejected the alliance. After some time was given to reflection, Jam was counselled by his friends apparently to comply, and to depart for Delhi, accompanied by his daughter; when he might evade the disgrace, save his honour, and recover his country, by putting his daughter to death, and give out that she died of sickness or fatigue during the journey. The plan was put into execution, and this conduct does not appear to have received the disapprobation of the cast; probably it was applauded."*

The nature of Infanticide, or the manner in which the practice is perpetrated, is involved in considerable obscurity. J. Duncan, Esq., Resident at Benares, in 1789, in his inquiries upon the subject, was informed that the Rajkoomars "killed their infant daughters, or allowed them to die, by denying them all sustenance from their birth."† The same gentleman, when Governor of Bombay, in a conversation with Gajra Bye, daughter of one of the Guicowar Princes, of Guzerat, in 1804, incidentally ascertained the existence of Infanticide in Cutch. On inquiry from Captain Seton, stationed at Mandavee, it was stated,—"The custom mentioned in Gajra Bye's relation is in force to this day. Every female infant born in the Rajah's family, if of a Ranne or lawful wife, is immediately

* Par. Papers, 1824, pp. 52, 53. On the Origin of Infanticide see an extract from Col. Tod, Asi. Jour., Oct. 1830, p. 166. † p. 7.

dropped into a hole dug in the earth and filled with milk, where it is drowned."*

"Curiosity," says Colonel Walker, "will naturally be excited to learn the methods observed in committing these Infanticides; and whether they are attended by any compunction and ceremony. The common expressions for Infanticide are 'Deekree Marne ne Chal,' or 'the custom of killing daughters,' and 'Naree Deekree Marne ne Chal,' or 'the custom of killing young daughters.' In conversation, and in discussing the subject with the Jahrejas, the term used was 'Deekree Babut,' or 'the article of girls.' Although the Jahrejas spoke freely of the custom of putting their daughters to death, without delicacy, and without pain, they were more reserved on the mode of its execution, and appeared at first unwilling to be questioned on the subject. They usually replied, *that it was an affair of the women; it belonged to the nursery, and made no part of the business of the men.* They at last threw off this reserve.

"The following is the translation of a memorandum from Wassonjee Eswarjee, a Nagur Brahmun, who attended the camp, in the quality of Vakeel, from the Gondul Chief. 'When the wives of the Jahreja Rajpoots are delivered of daughters, the women, who may be with the mother, repair to the oldest man in the house; this person desires them to go to him who is the father of the infant, and do as he directs. On this the women go to the father, who desires them *to do as is customary*, and so to inform the mother. The women then repair to the mother, and tell her to act in conformity to their usages. The mother next puts opium on the nipple of her breast, which the child inhaling with its milk, dies! The above is one custom, and the following is another; when the child is born, they place the navel-string on its mouth, and it expires. If a father wishes to preserve a daughter, he previously apprizes his wife and family, and his commands are obeyed. If a mother entertains a wish of preserving a daughter, and her husband is averse to it, the infant must be put to death! There are, however, instances where the influence of the mother has succeeded in saving the infant, by obtaining the revocation of the decree for its destruction; but these instances of maternal solicitude are either unfrequent or but seldom successful. The father sometimes expressly orders the infant to be put to death, probably when he suspects some intention of the mother to preserve it; but, in

* Par. Papers, p. 20.

general, this sanguinary intimation is unnecessary; *a total silence on the part of the husband, is considered to imply his unalterable resolution, that the child, if a female, should perish!*

“To render this deed, if possible, more horrible, *the mother is commonly the executioner of her own offspring!* Women of rank may have their slaves and attendants, who perform this office; but the far greater number execute it with their own hands. This compliance of the women must appear the more extraordinary, as they belong to casts who rear their females, and are brought up in families, where their own existence is evidence against the unnatural practice: but as they are betrothed at an early age, they imbibe the superstitions of their husbands, and some of them appear even as advocates for this custom. They appear to have several methods for destroying the infant, but two are prevalent. *Immediately after the birth of a female, they put into its mouth some opium, or draw the umbilical cord over its face, which prevents respiration.** But the destruction of so young and tender a subject is not difficult, and it is probably effected without a struggle. The natural weakness of the infant, when neglected and left uncleansed some time, causes its death, without the necessity of actual violence; and sometimes it is laid on the ground, or on a plank, and left to expire! The infant, after it is destroyed, is placed in a small basket, entirely naked, and in this state carried out and interred. In Cattywar, any of the female attendants of the family perform this office; but in Cutch it is done by the domestic rajgor. The rajgors, who bury the infants that perish, receive a fee of one koree, which is a coin equivalent in value to one-third of a rupee (about ten-pence sterling), and a meal. In Cutch the female rajgors are the executioners of the infant instead of the mother, and this seems to approach nearer to the origin of the custom.

“The birth of a daughter is considered by the Hindoos, of every description, as an inferior event, and they rarely make it a subject of congratulation. Should any inquisitive person ask a Jahreja the result of the pregnancy of his wife, if it were a female, he would answer ‘*nothing*;’ and this expression, in

* Sir John Malcolm says, that “Suntook Ram, minister of Amjerah, told him he was sitting with Puddim Singh, the present Thakore, when he heard the birth of a female infant whispered in his ear, and saw him preparing *the fatal pill of opium* (the usual signal); he implored that the child might live; his request was granted; and this little girl, added Suntook Ram, is always called my daughter.”—Rep. of Cent. India, Asi. Jour., Jan. 1823.

the idiom of the country, is sufficiently significant. *The infant is invariably put to death immediately on its birth, and it would be considered a barbarous action, to deprive it of life after it had been allowed to live a day or two!* Although instances of this deliberate murder may be very rare, yet, from the examination of a Jahreja, who was reported to me as having been guilty of this deed, I have reason to believe they sometimes occur. The death of a daughter is generally viewed by a Jahreja, as an infallible consequence after its birth ; and it is considered to be an event of such insignificance, that he is seldom apprized of it ! It is attended by no ceremony, and publicity is avoided. Jussajee, of Jallia, has had *three daughters* ; they were all put to death at the time of their birth. Jussajee attended the camp ; he is a man of intelligence, and served the detachment as a guide. His character and disposition, for humanity and propriety, are favourable ; but he has not the least compunction for the murder of these children, and considers the deed to be, in every respect, justifiable.*

The following is the statement of Jahreja Dadajee, chief of Rajcote :—“ Many of the Jahrejas of Cutch preserve their daughters, and, previously to the birth of a child, the father, if he wishes to preserve the child, signifies such a wish, and his will is invariably obeyed ; if the mother wishes, and the father is averse to preserve his daughter, it is killed ! Exceptions to this take place now and then, when the mother has great influence over the father. When the daughters are killed, they are almost invariably put to death, immediately after their birth. On the birth of a daughter, the mother very seldom apprizes the father, but puts it to death at once. Daughters, when put to death, are always buried in the state in which they were born, without any purification, or being wrapped in any clothes. Dadajee has a daughter alive. He states that he expressed a wish to preserve it previously to its birth. Some Jahrejas preserve their daughters that may be born within the space of six months after the death of a chief : though this is little observed, it is still reckoned proper ; but he says that avarice, or other passions of the parent, make them disregard this practice. He says there is no uniform mode of killing infants. Sometimes they terminate their life by opium, sometimes by placing the navel-string on their mouth and suffocating them. Dadajee, on being interrogated as to any other mode, said, ‘ *What difficulty is there in*

* Par. Papers, 1824, pp. 35—37.

blasting a flower? Sometimes the mothers, if there are no female attendants, kill their infants themselves ; but, in general, women of station never perform this unnatural office. In allusion to this subject, as descriptive of the motives for Infanticide, he states, that in Cattywar and Hallaur the rubbaries, or goatherds, allow their male kids to die when there are many of them brought forth ; and the charons follow the same practice with their male buffaloes, both being reckoned unproductive, in a country where little flesh is consumed, and the only profit which arises from the animals is their milk !*

In Zillah Furruckabad, Bareilly Division, in Sep. 1806, a man was tried for the murder of his child. The atrocious act is thus described by the murderer :—“ About twenty days ago a daughter was born in my house, a little before sun-set. On the same evening, I, the deponent, on account of the ancient customs of my tribe, of not contracting our daughters in marriage with any one, as well as from ignorance of the regulations of justice, and the contents of the proclamation made with respect to refraining from murdering daughters, and likewise from my dwelling in the jageer, depending upon the Nawab of Khurudnaund Khan ; on this account I took out of my house some of the juice of the Ag tree, (a deadly poison,) and caused my new-born child to drink it. About ten o’clock at night my daughter expired. I was not acquainted with the Company’s regulations, if I had, I should never have committed this crime : now, that I am acquainted with them, I will never again commit the same crime.” He was ultimately pardoned on the ground of his ignorance.†

The crime of female murder is very great, according to the Hindoo shastras.—“ The doctrines of the Hindoo religion have been singularly careful to protect the female sex and infants from violence ; and it is unlawful to put a woman to death for any offence whatever. In support of this opinion they quote the following sloke or verse :—

Shut gao wudhe vepra
 Shut vepra wudhe istreea
 Shut istreea wudhe bala
 Shut bala wudhe muresha.

- ‘ To kill one brahmun is equal to one hundred cows :
- ‘ To kill one woman is equal to one hundred Brahmuns :
- ‘ To kill one child is equal to one hundred women :
- ‘ To kill one hundred children is an offence too heinous for comparison.’

* Par. Papers, 1824, p. 68. † Par. Papers on Infan. 1828, pp. 33, 34.

The crime therefore of killing a woman is considered as great a sin as killing a hundred Brahmuns ; and the sin of killing a young child, of either sex, is equal to killing a hundred women.”*

J. Duncan, Esq., while Resident at Benares, procured a translation of an extract from a Hindoo shastra, in which the same sentiments are expressed.—“Let all the four casts of Brahmun, Khetry, Bys, and Soodra, know that *killing a woman is the greatest of crimes*. The person guilty of such an act, having gone into the nerk or hill, called Kal Sooter, shall remain there without nourishment, and be gnawed by worms, for as many years as there are hairs on the woman’s body, and shall remain there always in pain and misery ; and afterwards, being born again in the lesser casts, shall become a leper for the same number of years ; and thereafter, becoming of the cast of Soodra, shall be afflicted with the zukhma, or vomiting of blood. Being again born of that cast, he becomes the servant or valet of a Brahmun, by which he is exonerated. In the same Pooran it is written, that causing abortion is equal to killing a Brahma. It is distinguished by the name of *broon hettea*.†

The extent and present state of this cruel custom appear by the following extracts from the Par. Papers on Infanticide, of 1824 and 1828. The Papers of 1828 contain the most recent account of the state of Infanticide in Cutch and Cattywar, in Benares, and other parts of the Bengal Presidency, and also of the Presidency of Fort St. George. The Papers of 1824, which contain the most information, are divided into four parts.

Part the first contains “*Papers relating to Infanticide, practised by the Rajkoomars, Rajevanses, &c., in Benares and other parts of the territories under the Bengal Presidency, and in the state of Oude : 1789 to 1820.*” pp. 5—16.

|| Sir John Shore (now Lord Teignmouth), in a Paper on the Customs and Practices of the Hindoos, has the following observations on the subject of Infanticide :—“That this practice should ever be so general as to become a custom, with any sect or race of people, requires the most unexceptionable evidence to gain belief ; and I am sorry to say, that the general practice, as far as regards female infants, is fully substantiated with respect to a particular tribe on the frontiers of Juanpore, a district of the province of Benares, adjoining to the country of Oude. A race of Hindoos, called Rajkoo-

* Par. Papers, 1824, p. 42.

† pp. 7, 8.

mars, reside here ; and it was discovered, in 1789 only, that the custom of putting to death the female offspring, by causing the mothers to starve them, had long subsisted, and did actually, very generally, prevail among them. The Resident at Benares, in a circuit which he made through the country where the Rajkoomars dwell, had an opportunity of authenticating the existence of the custom from their own confessions. He conversed with several ; all unequivocally admitted it, but all did not fully acknowledge its atrocity ; and the only reason assigned for the inhuman practice was, the great expense of procuring suitable matches for their daughters, if they allowed them to grow up ! It is some satisfaction to add, that the custom, though general, was not universal, as natural affection, or some other motive, had induced the fathers of some Rajkoomar families to bring up one or more of their female issue ; but the instances, *where more than one daughter had been spared were very rare !* One village only furnished a complete exception to the general custom ; and the Rajkoomar informant, who noticed it, supposed that the inhabitants had sworn, or solemnly pledged themselves to each other, to bring up their females ; in proof of his assertion, in favour of the village in question, he added, that several old maids of the Rajkoomar tribe then actually existed there, and that their celibacy proceeded from the difficulty of procuring husbands for them, in consequence of the great expenses attending the marriages of this class of people."*

J. Shakespeare, Esq., Acting Superintendent of Police in the Western Provinces, thus speaks of the state of Infanticide in 1816 : "Section XI. Regulation III., 1804, contains provisions for the prevention and punishment of the inhuman practice prevalent among the tribe of Rajkoomars, of causing their female infants to be strangled to death. There is reason to believe, that *this practice still obtains among the Rajkoomars, to nearly the same extent as formerly* ; though a great degree of caution is observed to prevent detection. In the records of this office, I find a few reports from Darogahs, in former years, of the murder of female children, by mixing their food with the milky juice of the plant *aselepias gigantica*, known in Bengal by the name of *akond*, and by that of *ack* in Hindostan. This mode of destroying their offspring, is said to be *still commonly practised*. Some few instances have been reported, during the last year, of persons destroying

* Asi. Res. vol. iv., p. 5. Par. Papers, p. 5.

their children with the intention of revenging themselves for actual or supposed injuries, under the impression that the sin of murder would be visited on the persons by whom they were aggrieved."*

The Magistrate of Juanpore, W. Cracroft, Esq., in 1819, shows the existence of the practice at that period:—"Eight Rajkoomars, married men, whom I called before me, had, among them, *seventeen sons and only ONE daughter!* Another mentioned that he had a wife whom her father had reared, but that her dowry had ruined the family. Surubdo-ween Singh, who is a Rajkoomar, of the Nawab's country, has a sister twelve years old, whose wedding has been settled in Bauswarrah; he has also a daughter three months old, whom he has promised to rear. Talem Singh, his grandfather, also brought up a daughter, who is a widow, and lives in Busera. Soogreem Singh, his son, has also reared a daughter, who is eight years old, but her marriage has not been determined. There are some families among them who would willingly rear their daughters, but those are very few; and, if by any misfortune their circumstances should become reduced, they would not hesitate to have recourse to the practice of the cast."†

The Par. Papers respecting the Burning of Hindoo Widows (vol. i. 1821.) contain the following confirmation of this lamentable state of society. The Magistrate of Agra, in the Suttee Report of 1816, remarks,—"The practice of burning women on the funeral piles of their husbands does not exist in this district, in the same degree as in others; the reason of this may be ascribed, *to the prevalence of female child murder.* It is well known that no Rajpoot allows a daughter to live: their wives are of other casts, and consequently not obliged to sacrifice themselves."‡ "The practice of the Rajkoomars (says W. Ewer, Esq., Act. Sup. of Police, Lower Provinces) is, I have reason to think, *but little checked by the enactment.*"§ Nov. 1818.||

* Par. Papers, pp. 13, 14.

† Par. Papers, p. 16.

‡ The Court of Nizamut Adawlut declare child murder to be contrary to the existing law of 1804, and wish to know how this can have been evaded.

§ Par. Papers relative to Suttees, vol. i. p. 104.

|| "The Rajkoomar," says Col. Tod, "is one of the Chocan *sachae*, chief of the Aguiculas, and, in proportion to its high and well-deserved pretensions on the score of honour, it has more Infanticide than any other of the 'thirty-six royal races.' Amongst those of this race, out of the pale of feudalism, and subjected to powers not Rajpoot, *the practice is four-fold greater*, from the increasing pressure of the cause which gave it birth, and the difficulty of establishing their daughters in wedlock." Asi. Jour. Oct. 1830, p. 167.

Part the second of the Par. Papers of 1824, relates to "*Infanticide practised by the Rajpoots in the District of Cutch and Cattywar, a District of Guzerat, within the Dominions of the Guicowar: 1800 to 1808.*" pp. 17—70.

The subject is first noticed in a report from Kerpa Rama, minister of the Nawaub of Surat, received by J. Duncan, Esq., Governor of Bombay in 1800:—"I have heard people say," said the Minister, "that among the tribe of Rajpoots, and especially among the Rajahs of that class, the birth of a daughter in their houses was considered as disgraceful; on which account their women refuse to let their newly-born daughters have access to their milk, and put them in any way to death; but this practice is not general through all the subdivisions of their tribe, though, in several places, they do thus stony-heartedly kill them."* The same gentleman received from Gajra Bye, a daughter of a Guicowar prince of Guzerat, the following intelligence, in Feb. 1804:—"Damaji Guicowar carried his arms as far as to Cutch, with the Rajah of which a reconciliation took place, on condition that one of the princesses, his daughters, being given in marriage to Damaji; which lady, named Dankur Bye, lived among the Guicowars till after Damaji's death; when, at her own request, the Rajah Fatteh Sing permitted her to return to her own family in Cutch."† "This incidental narrative," says the Minute to Government, "from Gajra Bye, leading to the question, Whether Dankur Bye had, of this marriage, any children? it was answered negatively; and Gajra Bye immediately followed up his answer by explaining, that *among that lady's cast in Cutch, the daughters are not brought up, but drowned immediately at their birth in a vessel of milk.*"‡

The Honourable the Governor of Bombay delivered the following memorandum on this subject, Dec. 1806:—"A person desired to speak to me, saying he was come from the country of Cutch Boojh, and had something of a secret nature to impart from Roy Dhun, the Rajah of that territory. On this person being admitted, he said his name was Sheojee Goorjee, that he is the confidential servant of Roy Dhun, the Rajah of Cutch, that he is sent by him to solicit our aid for his release from the restraint under which that chieftain labours, by being placed in a state of confinement by Futtah Mahomed, whom he states to have subjected the whole country to his will, not, however, from the dread of his power and influence. He admits that his master has no sons; but

* Par. Papers on Infan. p. 19. † p. 19. ‡ p. 19. See pp. 20, 21.

there is a male child of Prethy Rowjee, his late brother, seven years old, who is called Luckput. *He confesses they never rear daughters in his master's family; and, being asked the reason; he answers, 'Where have they an equal to whom to be bestowed in marriage?'"**

Colonel Walker in his interesting document on the subject, dated Baroda, March 1808, gives a full account of the extent of this custom among the Jahrejas.—“The practice of Infanticide appears to have been discontinued by the descendants of the Jahrejas who inhabit Scind, and who have become converts to the Mahomedan religion. I was told, however, of an exception, and that one of these converted tribes, or families, still follows the custom of their ancestors. A few of the Jahreja tribes of Cutch have also discontinued Infanticide, or practice it but occasionally. The following Jahreja families in that country were mentioned as systematically refraining from Infanticide, and their names deserve to be recorded. The families of Bulach, Bottan, Sar Cubber, Kotee, Ubra, Jarria, Guffun, Murasee, Mokarra, Kuya, Retreea, Mor, Row, Jessa, Dessa, Danrar, Detteea, Joreea, Adreea, Verac, Kunorde, and Veeur, are enumerated as rearing their daughters. Some of these families are of respectability in Cutch; but *the far greater part of the inhabitants follow the practice without the least remorse. The origin of Infanticide among the Jahrejas is not supposed to be more remote than 500 years.* As no disgrace or stigma is attached to the omission of this act, we might expect that natural affection would prevail over a barbarous custom; but this is overpowered by the influence of habits and prejudices, strengthened by little selfish views of economy and of domestic ease. I endeavoured to ascertain the motives of the Jahrejas who preserved their daughters; and, by their own confession, *this act of humanity did not proceed from parental feelings.* It appeared to be inspired, not by motives of affection for the object, so much as by personal considerations, arising from the ideas of Metempsychosis, which are so universally and rigidly observed by the Shawuch Banians, the followers of Jena. These people consider it a sin to deprive any creature, however mean or noxious, of life; and their doctrines are said to have an impression on a few of the Jahrejas.

“It would be an interesting inquiry, to ascertain *the number of females who perish annually from the practice of Infanticide.* This could only be effected by a careful research

* Par. Papers, p. 27.

among the Jahreja families, which might determine their number, and obtain a tolerably correct estimate of the casualties. The result of my information was too vague to afford any data of an accurate calculation; but it may be useful to state this information, as, although defective, it may convey some determinate notion of the extent of this offence against the first laws of human nature. I shall begin by stating an account which has the appearance of exaggeration. According to a loose computation, the number of Jahreja families inhabiting Cutch and Cattywar is estimated at 125,000, and the number of female infants yearly destroyed to amount to 20,000. Being desirous of reducing this inquiry to a state of greater certainty, I endeavoured to procure a particular list of the Jahrejas inhabiting these countries. I found it impracticable to obtain this information respecting Cutch; but the following is an account of the Jahreja families inhabiting Hallaur and Muchoo Khaunta, furnished by an intelligent native, well acquainted with this extraordinary race.

A list of the families of the different tribes of Jahrejas in Hallaur and Muchoo Khaunta.

Jam Zadeh, the descendants of the Jams	-	-	-	40	Bharanee	-	-	-	-	100
Hurdols	-	-	-	500	Bhananee	-	-	-	-	50
Doonguranee	-	-	-	500	Amrun	-	-	-	-	500
See Sungeea	-	-	-	100	Dil	-	-	-	-	600
Kubbur	-	-	-	100	Halla	-	-	-	-	100
Rewanee	-	-	-	100	Hapa	-	-	-	-	100
Weebanee	-	-	-	500	Khumanee	-	-	-	-	100
Lakanee	-	-	-	100	Kana	-	-	-	-	200
Moranee	-	-	-	500	Rao	-	-	-	-	400
Kunkerya	-	-	-	100	Batach	-	-	-	-	100
Ummur	-	-	-	100	And other casts	-	-	-	-	500
										5,390

“It is supposed that the annual number of Infanticides in the Peninsula of Guzerat amounts to 5000. The number of Jahrejas in Cutch, on the authority of the natives, is ten times as many as Hallaur and Muchoo Khaunta, and this would give us a population of 150,000 men; for all these calculations are exclusive of women and children, who must, from the nature of the case, either be wives or boys. As a number of Jahrejas in that country have disused Infanticide, without any formal renunciation of the practice, the number of deaths may be estimated at 30,000. I shall, lastly, state the lowest estimate that I received of these murders; and,

although its moderation may appear in favour of its truth, I am disposed to think this account, *as short of the number destroyed, as the preceding is probably an exaggeration.* These accounts, it is to be observed, do not pretend to rest on calculation, but convey the opinions of persons well-informed respecting the state of the country. According to this authority, *the number of Infanticides annually in Hallaur and Muchoo Khaunta, are between 1000 and 1,100; and in Cutch about 2000!*

“Whenever a Jahreja saves his daughter, he invariably exerts every means, sometimes to the impoverishment of his family, to obtain a respectable settlement for her in life. It is, perhaps, this strong desire that prevents the lower orders saving their daughters.

“Even the poorest Jahreja feels the utmost solicitude not to taint his blood by an improper alliance. It does not appear that the number of their wives is limited by any rule. The practice of concubinage is common among the Jahrejas, and in forming these connexions they are under little or no restraint with respect to cast. It will be observed that the settlement of their daughters born of rackeles, or mistresses, is attended with little expense or publicity; and the motives, which lead the Jahrejas to destroy their legitimate daughters, do not in the former case exist with equal force.

“The influence of example and communication is capable of procuring converts to the most flagitious courses. The Jaitwa Rajpoots, who rule over the division of Burrudda, have been accused of adopting the barbarous practice of the Jahrejas in destroying their daughters. The Jaitwas may have thought it no disgrace to follow a custom cherished by their conquerors; and, having lost a greater part of their possessions, they may have been desirous, like the Jahrejas, of relieving themselves from the burden of portioning their daughters. They observe a silence on the subject, and the deed is performed in secrecy; but the singular fact, that the Ranas of Poorbunder have had *no grown-up daughters for more than a hundred years*, would be sufficient evidence against them.”*

The third part of the Par. Papers relates to “*Infanticide practised by the Rajpoots in the Districts of Cutch and Cattywar, within the Dominions of the Guicowar; 1808 to 1820.*” pp. 71—128.

Colonel Walker, referring to the success of his endeavours to abolish Infanticide among the Jahrejas in Cattywar in

* Par. Papers, 1824, pp. 37—42.

1808, remarks:—"I was willing to think that the example might produce a favourable effect on the Jahrejas of Cutch, and in this expectation I addressed myself again to Futteh Mahomed. The Jemadar's answer contained a second defence of Infanticide, but in more moderate terms. It appears that the Jahreja Byaud of Cutch could easily overturn the usurped authority of Futteh Mahomed; and that they only sanction or submit to it, because they have thereby acquired an extension of their own authority, and many illegal possessions. Under these circumstances we cannot probably indulge any strong hope that the suppression of Infanticide will soon be attained in Cutch; and, in the actual state of affairs in that country, they may, perhaps, afford some apology for Futteh Mahomed's appearing as a constrained advocate for the unnatural crime of Infanticide."*

J. R. Carnack, Esq., Resident at Baroda, thus addressed the Chief Secretary of the Bombay Government, in 1816:—"I have the honour to report, in pursuance of the orders of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, that the abolition of this inhuman practice in Cutch has not been accomplished. The urgent representations to that Government during the life of Futteh Mahomed, and our subsequent intercourse with his Highness Raidhum and his ministers, were attended with no effect; in the first case, from a declaration, that an interference with the religious prejudices of the country was incompatible with the situation of Futteh Mahomed; and latterly the impaired power of the Rao, and the internal revolutions of Cutch, have been made a pretext for paying no attention to the execution of our wishes. Circumstances have not enabled us therefore to carry our views, for the abolition of female Infanticide in Cutch, beyond the measure of representation; and, considering that the prejudice which tolerates this atrocious practice is interwoven with the conceived notions of honour of families of Jahreja origin, it could not be expected, until our influence was established, that female Infanticide could be suppressed. It may require also considerable exertions and discretion, now that we have obtained a political establishment in Cutch, before any progress is made in the success of our object. I should have been happy to announce that female Infanticide was entirely eradicated from the Peninsula of Cattywar. Although there has lately been no evidence afforded to me, either by my assistant, or the Guicowar local authority, of any Jahreja

* Par. Papers, p. 50.

having destroyed his offspring since the accession to the engagements by means of Colonel Walker; I have been disappointed in the result of the statement of those children who have been reported as preserved. The letter from Captain Ballantine seems to vouch *for only fifteen*, the disparity of which number is very great according to the ordinary progress of population.”*

The Governor in Council writes to the following effect to the Court of Directors, in 1817:—“To the last Report from the Assistant to the Resident at Baroda, on this subject, we particularly wish to draw your attention; as submitting a register of the Talookas in Cattywar, where the Jahrejas reside, and showing how many female children have been saved since the introduction of Colonel Walker’s arrangements, accompanied by his observations on the register, and in regard to the adoption of measures which might be calculated to root out the evil. The report of Captain Ballantine, while it affords satisfactory proof that *SIXTY-THREE female children had been preserved by our interposition, exhibits a melancholy picture of the almost universal continuance of the horrid practice, and that to an extent beyond what we had anticipated.* It is observable that the preservation of no more than the above small number of children can be established throughout the Talookas specified by Captain Ballantine, where it is concluded the number of Jahrejas must be very considerable; since Draffa alone contains 400 families; nor can it escape your attention that the Jahrejas, enumerated as having preserved their female children, have saved *only ONE of the number, that must have been born according to the ordinary course of nature.*”†

Colonel Walker having returned from India, but still deeply interested in his philanthropic design of abolishing Infanticide, addressed the following letter to the Secretary of the Court of Directors, in 1819:—

“In acknowledging your letter, and the documents to which it gave cover, I beg to enclose, for the Honourable the Court of Directors, a memorandum on the subject of female Infanticide. I have found it impossible, at present, to give that important subject all the consideration which is due to it, and I shall probably avail myself of a future opportunity of transmitting, for the notice of the Honourable Court, some additional reflections which may occur to me.

“Although there can be no difference of opinion regarding the enormity of the crime of Infanticide, yet it is not to be considered as peculiar to the natives of India. In other parts of the earth the same practice has prevailed.

* Par. Papers, p. 97. See p. 106.

† pp. 106, 107.

In China it is not uncommon at this day; where it is permitted by the legislature, and reckoned no disgrace to the individual. Every humane person, however, must agree that such a practice should be stopped by all the means which a wise Government can command; that we have the means in our power there cannot be a doubt; and I must beg leave to say that my own success is a proof of this. The means are, persuasion and reason. If these be wisely applied, by the agents of Government, they will be found quite sufficient without any inquisitorial institution; without any odious system of espionage, which no remote advantage can make necessary. The foundation of reform was laid. It was proved to the natives that this practice was against their sacred institutions, and it was revolting to the best feelings of the human heart. They agreed to it, and probably did sincerely mean to do so. *The Government, however, and the local authorities, became remiss, and the people returned, by degrees, to habits too long established.* I am convinced that it is necessary, by undeviating attention to the subject, to satisfy them that *we are really sincere in our wish to abolish the crime.* All depends on attention to the subject for a sufficient length of time, till the influence of custom is forgotten, and the natural affections have sprung up again in the hearts of parents. They are not wholly lost, although some unhappy circumstances have been able to cover them for the present. In attaining this object there cannot be a doubt of our success, for nature is working in our favour. All that is required is attention to the subject, and that for a sufficient length of time. *Natiram repellas furca, tamen usque recurret.**

Part the fourth, of the Par. Papers of 1824, contains “*Papers relative to Infanticide, by drowning, practised by the Hindoos at Saugur and other places: 1794 to 1820.*” pp. 129—244.

A case of Infanticide, and the punishment adjudged is descriptive of the moral state of the Hindoos.†—“Mussumaut Jarlee, and Cumlee, are charged with murder, but under such circumstances as urge humanity to soften the rigour of the law. Jarlee’s daughter was labouring under a loathsome disease, incurable in its nature, and which, by prejudices it were vain to oppose (but by erecting *native hospitals* for the reception of such objects), exposed the unhappy mother to the desertion and contempt of kindred and friends; who artfully exhorted her to shorten a life which this growing malady was slowly extinguishing, and thus relieve a suffering child, whose desperate situation admitted no remedy, and secure to herself, oppressed by poverty, and shunned as one visited by divine vengeance, an exemption from misery. Mercy pleads in behalf of a crime committed under the prevalence of long-established prejudices, and by one, too, hopeless and deserted; and whom, if it be difficult, perhaps exceptionable, to defend, it is impossible not to commiserate. Little can be weighed in excuse for Cumlee’s conduct in accompanying the unfortunate

* Par. Papers, pp. 118, 119.

† pp. 131—133.

mother: such a deed of horror seems unnatural; and yet to dissuade her from the commitment of it was more than could be expected from ignorance and superstition.* Jarlee was confined for one year and then dismissed!

The Bombay Judicial Consultation, Jan. 1824, speak of the trial of Bheeme Mussalin by the magistrate of Poona, for the wilful murder of her female child, for which she was to be "imprisoned for, and during the term of, her natural life." The Monthly Return of Criminal Cases, decided by the Judge, north of the Mahee, Nov. 1826, speaks of a woman, "after having given birth to a child, exposing it on a dunghill, where it was destroyed by hogs. Sentence, *six months imprisonment, with such labour as befits her sex!*" "If this heinous offence (says Mr. Goodwin) be not provided for by our code, I deem it a fit subject for legislation. In Bengal, such atrocities are, I fancy, punished capitally. The Honourable Governor of Bombay adds, the new regulation seems to provide for this offence."†

The first account of Infanticide at Saugur is introduced by a letter of the Calcutta magistrates to the Honourable G. H. Barlow, Vice-President of Council, Feb. 1802.‡

The nature of these barbarities appears from the deposition of Charles Starling, a mate in the Pilot service, taken upon oath, before Charles Martyn, Esq., one of His Majesty's Justices of the peace for the town of Calcutta, in Dec. 1801. He stated,—

"That on the day of the full moon, in November last, the deponent, and Edmund Bartlett, branch pilot, went from the Philip Dundas schooner on shore to the Pagoda Creek on Saugur Island, where the people go annually to worship; that, after the deponent and the said Edmund Bartlett got on shore, they walked up to the huts of the natives, and being on shore for an hour they saw the entrails, as they supposed, of a human body floating on the water. At the same time they also saw about three thousand natives on the beach. The deponent further saith, that a fakir was standing close to him and the said Edmund Bartlett; the deponent asked him the reason why a number of the natives were ordered to be put into the water; he answered that the head fakir had ordered them to go to the water to be devoured by the sharks, for the prosperity of their respective families. The fakir also informed the deponent, that if a woman had *four children*, she ought to put one of them into the water to be devoured by the sharks, with the hope that the other three children should live. The deponent further saith, that while he was on the beach, and during the time he was in the boat going to the shore, he saw altogether *eleven men, women, and lads, destroyed by the sharks!* The deponent further saith, that, while they were in the boat, they heard that a boy was to be put into the water to be destroyed

* Par. Papers, p. 131. † Par. Papers on Infan., 1828, pp. 31, 32.

‡ See Par. Papers, pp. 134, 135.

by the sharks; they waited there with an intention to save the boy; but he was not put into the water while the boat was there. And the deponent is informed, and believes, that as soon as they returned to the schooner the boy was put into the water, and was devoured by the sharks.”*

“ The crime of destroying illegitimate children in the womb is prevalent to a shocking degree in Bengal. In the family of a single Koleen Brahmun, whose daughters never live with their husbands, it is common for each daughter to destroy a child in the womb annually; this crime is very prevalent among widows, so numerous in this country. The pundit who gave this information supposes 10,000 children are thus murdered in the Province of Bengal every month!! (qu. every year?) Expressing my doubts of this extraordinary and shocking circumstance, he appealed to the fact of many females being tried for these offences in the courts of justice in every Zillah in Bengal. He said that the fact was so notorious that every child in the country knew of it; it had acquired an appropriate name, *petu phela*; and *petu phelane* is a term of abuse which one woman often gives to another. Many women die after taking the drug intended to kill the unborn child.”†

The following extract of a letter, on the neglect of female children in India, from the Rev. A. Sutton of Balasore in Orissa, in Aug. 1828, shows that modern heathens, like those of old, are “without natural affection.”

“ The rains have commenced, and many deaths have occurred in consequence; several have died on and close to our premises. One case of peculiar distress came before me yesterday, which it may be interesting to record. As I was going in the evening to a neighbouring village to preach, I saw a Hindostane woman with a child at the foot of a tree; on coming up to her I found her much exhausted with the cholera, and nearly insensible. I of course gave her medicines, and begged, long in vain, of the hard-hearted villagers for a little milk to give the child. To-day I visited her twice, and she seems somewhat better, but there is little probability of her recovery; for, though she has money, yet no one will supply her with necessaries, and she cannot help herself; perhaps indeed the circumstances of her having a little money will induce them to behave worse to her. I got a little milk to-day and fed the poor child, but it is painful work; any heart but that of a Hindoo must have been moved to witness the eagerness with which the half-famished infant devoured it; and, when she had drank it, the imploring look of the little creature made me think of Moses and Pharaoh’s daughter. I tried every argument I could command to induce the villagers to take care of the child, and promised to pay any expense; but no, *it was a female child and nobody cared for it!* I tried what I could do with a fat wealthy Brahmun, and observed that the woman would die, and then what would become of the child? but his gentle reply was, ‘Sahe murrebo aou kee?—*It must die, what else?*’—The poor woman and several

* Par. Papers, p. 136. † Ward’s View, vol. iii. p. 292. See also Asi. Jour. Feb. 1827, p. 269. Eccl. Rev. 1828.

others have been carried off during the day: we have taken the half-famished child under our protection. It is rather a pretty little girl, about ten months old: the poor little thing seems determined to live; for she readily eats and drinks any thing we give her. Our present views are, if she should live for two or three years, to place her in an Asylum for orphan children of native converts. It is more than probable, that *many children are left as this little girl was, and of course perish in the most miserable manner imaginable.*"

Colonel Walker, in his letter to the Secretary of the Court of Directors, in 1819, expresses his deep regret, relative to the present state of Infanticide.

"It would be a very painful task for me to enter into a minute and critical examination of those proceedings which have been held respecting Infanticide since I left India; some remarks are unavoidably necessary on a subject which cannot be viewed without emotion, and which, to a considerable degree, must involve the character of our country. *The policy and humanity of our Government are irrecoverably blended with the success of the measures for abolishing this revolting crime.* After a careful perusal of the documents with which I have been favoured, I have found it impossible to suppress the conclusion, that the subject has either been *forgotten for years together, or that some uncontrollable circumstances had rendered our interference utterly impracticable.* From whatever cause this has arisen, it is deeply to be lamented, and the consequences are far more formidable than even the immediate effects. The immediate effects are *the loss of so many thousand lives;* but the consequences are still more serious, as the enforcement of the engagement must now be infinitely more difficult by the long neglect and disuse of its provisions.

"At the time I left India the subject was familiar to the Jahrejas; there was an impression of interest upon their minds; a return had appeared of parental affection, and, above all, there was the necessity of obeying a legal enactment possessing their own solemn sanction, and for the enforcement of which the British and Guicowar Governments were pledged. Instead of this picture, the Jahrejas have now found that the engagement, which was at first so reluctantly yielded, and strenuously urged, means *almost nothing.* If they had imagined that there would be so little danger in its violation as they evidently, at present, believe to be the case, I should have found much less difficulty in obtaining their consent to discontinue the custom of destroying their daughters. The consequence at this moment operating in Catty-war is the impression of weakness and vacillancy on the part of the British Government, or that they are incapable of giving effect to their own measures. I am aware that the truth cannot be stated in all its broadness and honesty to the Company's Government in India, as it might irritate instead of conciliate; yet it should be stated, though with as much delicacy as the nature of such truth will admit."*

The demoralizing influence of this inhuman custom is self-evident. J. Duncan, Esq., in his communication to Government, Oct. 1789, speaking of the Rajkoomars and other disorderly tribes on the Juapore frontiers, says, "Zalim Sing and Goordut, two of the principal of them, have lately levied their forces with a design to fight each other on our borders. I have been obliged to warn the commanding

* Par. Papers, pp. 121, 122.

officer at Jaunpore to be on his guard against their possible inroads ; and, although the appearance of peace between these men has since increased, yet we must not relax in our caution what may happen, for I cannot rely on their moderation ; and what can be expected of men inured as they are by birth and education to the most atrocious deeds ?" * To the same effect is the following extract from the Judge of the Benares Court of Circuit to the Magistrate of the Zillah of Juanpore, Feb., 1816.—"The extreme prevalence of affrays, so much beyond the other Zillahs that I have passed through, seems to have existed for a long time ; and although the aggregate annual number may be at present somewhat diminished, yet neither the propensities of the people, nor the facilities of prevention, seem to be essentially meliorated. The savage and quarrelsome spirit of the people in the Pergunnah of Ungleee appears to originate a large and constant proportion of your business, as well as that of this Court. The jealous and hasty pride, which induces them to become the murderers of their own female offspring, has probably a considerable effect in blunting their feelings against a sympathetic sense of the pains they inflict upon one another on the smallest pretence of right or offence, and to render the dread of public justice of light or no collective influence." †

A more recent communication from W. Cracroft, Esq., Magistrate of Juanpore, May, 1819, expresses the same sentiments, equally applicable to every tribe or cast that practises Infanticide or any other sanguinary custom :—" It may perhaps not be advancing too much to say, that, *the practice of Infanticide is indirectly a very considerable cause of the insubordinate character and violent disposition of the Rajkoomars.* It teaches them early to steel their hearts against the natural affections, and renders them familiar with inhumanity ; the mere want of female companions and playmates, during the earlier part of adolescence, must have a material effect in preventing their manners and sentiments from being softened or civilized. Female Infanticide must also be a great check to population in a country which is far from having arrived at its greatest extent of cultivation. Indeed, a considerable number (I imagine as many as one-third) of the Rajkoomars are never married. *Considering the question either in a moral, political, or religious point of view, it demands the most serious attention of Government.*" ‡

* Par. Papers, 1824, p. 6.

† p. 13.

‡ p. 15.

CHAP. III.

Success of efforts, ancient and modern, for the suppression of Human Sacrifices and Infanticide—Difficulties of the entire abolition of Infanticide in India.

THE practice of human sacrifices, though so prevalent in different countries and distant ages, is opposed to the dictates of nature; and hence its partial abolition, by civilized states, long before the Christian era. Probably the earliest account of Infanticide is the destruction of the children of the Israelites in the Nile, by Pharaoh, king of Egypt. The first efforts to abolish it upon record, originated in the divine command given by Moses to the Israelites, concerning the abominations of the Canaanites (B.C. 1490 years).—"Thou shalt say to the children of Israel, Whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to death; the people of the land shall stone him with stones. And I will set my face against that man, and will cut him off from among his people; because he hath given of his seed unto Molech, to defile my sanctuary, and to profane my holy name. And if the people of the land do any ways hide their eyes from the man, when he giveth of his seed unto Molech, and kill him not; then will I set my face against that man, and against his family, and will cut him off, and all that go a whoring after him, to commit whoredom with Molech, from among their people." Lev. xx. 2—5.

"The Carthaginians (says Rollin) retained the barbarous custom of offering human sacrifices to their gods, till the ruin of their city. An action which ought to be called, *sacrilegium verius quam sacrum*. It was suspended for some years, from the fear of drawing upon themselves the indignation and arms of Darius I., king of Persia, *who forbade them offering human sacrifices, and eating the flesh of dogs*. But this horrid practice was soon resumed; since, in the reign of Xerxes, successor of Darius (B.C. 484 years), Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, having gained a considerable victory over the Carthaginians in Sicily, made the following conditions, among other articles of peace granted them, *that no more human sacrifices should be offered to Saturn*. During the engagement, which lasted from morning till night, Hamilcar, their general, was perpetually offering to the gods sacrifices of living

men, who were thrown on a flaming pile; but, seeing his troops routed, he himself rushed into the pile, that he might not survive his disgrace; and, says Ambrose, to extinguish, with his own blood, this sacrilegious fire, when he found it had not proved of service to him.”*

The Romans exerted themselves with success in this work of justice and mercy. “It is a very remarkable fact, that the Romans (though heathens themselves) abolished human sacrifices in this country, at least *a century and a half before the introduction of Christianity among us*. The Romans conceived such an aversion to the Druids, the high-priests of these abominations, whose inhumanities are minutely described by *Diodorus Siculus*, (Lib. 5.) that, contrary to the ordinary policy of that people, in their conquests, of invariably tolerating the religion of the country, they resolved upon an utter extirpation of these priests and their cruelties. It appears from *Pliny* (L. 30, c. 1.) that human sacrifices were first forbidden at Rome, by a decree of the Senate, A. U. C. 657, but that, some persons still continuing them privately, the Emperor *Augustus* renewed the prohibition with effect. The Emperor *Tiberius* then suppressed them in Gaul, and *Claduus*, as appears from *Suetonius*, (In *Claud.* c. 25.) extirpated the Druids, as well as their sanguinary worship in that country. These sacrifices existed in our own country, (as appears from *Pomponius Mela de situ orbis* L. 3, c. 2.) until about the sixtieth year of the Christian era, when the Roman general *Paulinus Suetonius*, having reduced the Island of Anglesea, overthrew the Druids and their inhuman rites so completely, that they never afterwards revived; but all this was considerably anterior to the introduction of Christianity itself. And will it be endured that even our own heathen conquerors shall have actually done more for us, than we are willing to do for our Indian subjects? Shall the mere natural principle, “*Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*,” have exercised an influence on idolatrous and pagan Rome? And shall Britain, acting under far higher sanctions, and obliged by a more powerful responsibility, refuse to acknowledge the force of the same argument?”†

Christianity, as a system of Religion, and by the principles it has infused into the government of every people, among whom it has been established, has accomplished the annihi-

* *Ancient History*, Vol. i. p. 109.—Vol. iv. p. 75.

† *Poynder's Speech on Human Sacrifices in India* (Hatchard). p. 220.

lation of every species of human sacrifice.* Read the article of the learned Bryant, like the roll of the prophet, “written within and without with mourning, and lamentation, and woe,” and, taking the circuit of the western world, ask, Where are these horrid rites? They are all, with almost every relic of the idolatry connected with them,—

—“Bury’d ‘midst the wreck of things that were.”

In various parts of India, by the progress of Christianity, and the domination of the Mahomedans, the practice of human sacrifices has become almost extinct. “Like the other temples in the Deccan (says Dr. Buchanan), the revenues of the temple of Ramiseram are wasting away. I saw no human bone in the island. Christianity, in its worst shape, has civilized the Deccan.†

“The law of Mahomed put a stop to the inhuman custom which had long been practised by Pagan Arabs, of burying their daughters alive. This wicked practice is condemned by the Koran in several passages, one of which, as some commentators judge, may also condemn another custom of the Arabians, altogether as wicked, and as common among other nations of old, viz., the sacrificing of their children to their idols; as was frequently done, in particular, in satisfaction of a vow they used to make, that, if they had a certain number of sons born, they would offer one of them in sacrifice.”†

Colonel Walker adverts to the efforts of the Mahomedans for the suppression of Infanticide in India, and shows the facility with which the British power may prevent this unnatural custom. “The subject was not overlooked by the former Government of India, to which the Company may now be considered as having succeeded. The author of the Acball Nameh relates that, in the route of the royal army from Cashmere to Lahore, they came to a village, the inhabitants of which had formerly been Hindoo, ‘where numbers of the poor people upon having daughters born to them, that instant secretly put an end to their existence.’ This fact coming to the knowledge of the Emperor Jehanguire, he ordered, ‘that this barbarous practice should be discontinued; and enacted

* “Bernal Diaz, one of the companions of Hernan Cortez in his conquest of Mexico, says, that even before they could consider themselves masters of the country, *they opposed themselves to the sanguinary abominations of their religion, and speedily overthrew them.*” Ori. Quar. Rev., Jan. 1830.

† Life of Buchanan, Vol. ii. p. 49.

‡ Par. Papers, pp. 58, 59. Sales Koran, Prelim. Dis.

that whoever should commit it in future, should be put to the torture ! From this it would appear that Infanticide engaged the attention of the Mogul Government, and that it made an attempt to suppress the practice. It would be curious, as well as useful, to ascertain what has been the fate of the measures which were adopted for this purpose two hundred years ago. Have they been successful, or have they failed? The moral negligence which succeeded the decline of the Mogul Empire, and the impracticability, in the disordered state of the country, of enforcing a severe law, would be sufficient to discourage our expectations that the termination has been prosperous. Still it would be desirable to know the actual result, to discover the extent of the impression, and whether the attempt was only the effect of the feeling at the moment, or pursued as a system. *The extensive power and dominion which we now possess in India, may be made subservient to this inquiry, and be directed to ascertain how far the practice of Infanticide prevails, in any of the countries under the influence or control of the British Government.**

Modern efforts for the abolition of this inhuman custom have been various, and attended with some degree of success. J. Duncan, Esq., in a letter to the Governor General in Council, in 1789, states, "I have been lately through that part of the country where the Rajkoomar tribe reside. I have conversed with several of them, and have found, from their own confessions, that the custom of female child-murder has long been and still continues very prevalent among them. I have prevailed on those situated within our frontier to agree to renounce in future this horrid practice, to which effect they have entered into the engagement which will be found in the accompanying extract of my proceedings ; and, as there remain a few names to be yet affixed to this covenant, it is still circulating among the parties, and I shall hereafter mention the number of the names of the subscribers ; to increase which, and further to promote the salutary object in view, I have written concerning it to Lucknow. As this baneful habit is not confined to the Rajkoomars alone, but extends to the tribe called Raghevansa, who reside in our Pergunnah of Mongra, and Talooka of Chandwack, and in other parts, I have taken measures for their signing a separate similar engagement, from which I have very sanguine hopes that this system of Infanticide will be put a stop to, or at least greatly lessened.

*Par. Papers, 1824, p. 128.

"The Rajkoomar renunciation of letting their daughters perish has been received, and is subscribed by all those of that tribe in this part of the country, including Zalem Sing, and Goordut Sing, the latter of whom, is the *only one of the subscribers who disallows, by the words of his signature, of having been guilty of this crime.* I have sent a copy of the original engagement to the Amil of Juanpore, with directions to him to see it enforced, and to apprehend, and send into Benares, to take his trial, any Rajkoomar who shall be guilty thereof hereafter; of all which I have apprized that body of men. I have circulated a similar subscription in this Pergunnah of Gurwarrah, on finding that its inhabitants, who are all Doorgavansas, or descendants of one common ancestor, called Doorg, are addicted more or less to the same practice of destroying their female infants."* The following is

The form of agreement entered into by the Rajkoomars:—

"Whereas it hath become known to the Government of the Honourable English East India Company, that we of the tribe of the Rajkoomars do not suffer our female children to live: and whereas this is a great crime, as mentioned in the Bretim Bywunt Pooran, where it is said, that killing even a *fœtus* is as criminal as killing a Brahmun; and that for killing a female or woman, the punishment is to suffer in the *nerk*, or *hill*, called *Kal Sooter*, for as many years as there are hairs on that female's body; and that, afterwards, that person shall be born again, and successively become a leper, and be afflicted with the *zukhma*: and whereas the British Government in India, whose subjects we are, have an utter detestation of such murderous practices, and we do ourselves acknowledge that, although customary among us, it is highly sinful, we do therefore hereby agree not to commit any longer such detestable acts; and any among us, who (which God forbid) shall be hereafter guilty thereof, or shall not bring up and get our daughters married, to the best of our abilities, among those of our caste, shall be expelled from our tribe, and we shall neither eat nor keep society with such person or persons, besides suffering hereafter the punishments denounced in the above pooran and shaster. We have therefore entered into this agreement; dated 17th of December, 1789."[†]

Colonel Walker, in communication to the Governor of Bombay, in Dec. 1809, specifies the Jahrejas of Cattywar who had preserved their female children to the amount of *thirty-two*, and suggested a distribution of 14,000 rupees in presents, which was adopted. He observes, "During the recent exhibition in Cattywar, I was not unmindful of inquiring into the success of the humane arrangements intro-

* Par. Papers, 1824, pp. 6, 7.

† Par. Papers, 1824, p. 8. For the prevalence of just sentiments in the British Courts of Justice, see the Regulat. of 1795 and 1799. Par. Papers, 1824, pp. 9—11.

duced under the influence of the Hon. Company's Government, for the abolition of female Infanticide among the Jahreja Rajpoots ; and I am happy to report that this reform has completely taken root. I have the honour to enclose a list of those Jahrejas who have preserved their female children, which fell under my own direct observance. On my halt at Dherole, I had all those in the immediate neighbourhood, who were capable of attending, brought to my tent, and many were too young to be brought from any distance. *It was extremely gratifying on this occasion to observe the triumph of nature, and parental affection, over prejudice and a horrid superstition ; and that those who, but a short period before, would, as many of them had done, have doomed their infants to destruction without compunction, should now glory in their preservation, and doat on them with fondness !***

From the Register of the Jahrejas in Cattywar, June 1817, it appears that the degree of success attending the efforts to abolish Infanticide has been much less than might have been anticipated. Captain Ballantine, in his laudable efforts to abolish this inhuman custom, proposed some very effectual plans, and presented to the Government a list of the families of the Jahrejas with the number of infants saved from 1807 to 1817. He observes, " In conformity with the commands of the Honourable Court, and those of the Governments in India, communicated in your several despatches, my attention has since been directed to attain the best possible data to be procured on the humane and interesting subject of the Infanticide engagements contracted with the Jahrejas of the Peninsula, by Colonel Walker, in his first circuit in Cattywar. In presenting the accompanying *complete Register of all the Jahrejas known in Cattywar*, I have the satisfaction to think it will be acceptable, as I believe it is the first paper of the kind that has yet been obtained ; and the more especially as it will form the best data on which to watch, with better effect, the progress of an Institution which appears to have excited uncommon interest wherever its extraordinary history has reached. It must be received as an indubitable testimony that *sixty-three female offsprings saved*, bear no proportion to the probable population of the Jahrejas in the Peninsula, during the long period of *ten years*. I much fear the object of our interference for the suppression of this singular custom has too generally failed, to select any individual party for the just vengeance of Government and offended nature."†

* Par. Papers, pp. 78, 79.

† Par. Papers, 1824, p. 108.

A Register of the Talookas, &c., of all the *Jahrejas* at the present day in *Cattywar*; together with the Age and Number of their female Offspring saved, or now living, since the introduction of the Infanticide arrangement by Colonel Walker in 1807 and 1808.

TALOOKAS.	No.	AGE.	TALOOKAS.	No.	AGE.
In Moorbee . . .	1	7 years.	Kheyuryoo . . .	1	3 months.
Ditto . . .	1	4 do.	Kureedee.		
Villages belonging to the Moorbee.			Kheesurroo.		
Madepoor of do.			Gundol . . .	1	5 years.
Surned of do.			Bhyaud . . .	1	15 do.
Lujee.			Loonewow . . .	1	2 do.
Beeralloo.			Ditto . . .	1	6 do.
Motana.			Looneywow . . .	1	2½ do.
Bhella Mota.			Hunmunteyalloo .	1	5 do.
Vowdey.			Ribra.		
Dyesuroo.			Dhorajee . . .	1	5 do.
Rajcote . . .	1	4 do.	Ditto . . .	1	1 yr&6 mo.
Villages belonging to the Rajcote. . .	1	3 do.	Ditto . . .	1	1 do—6do.
Rajcote of do. . .	1	1 do.	Draffa.*		
Kotarie belonging to the Rajcote . . .	1	1 do.	Noanuggur.		
Gurridur, of do. . .	1	4 months.	Surodhur, of do . .	1	2 years.
Ladhekoo, of Rajcote			Bhungle, of do . .	1	5 do.
Wourej.			Momanoo, of do . .	1	5 do.
Veerrva.			Guvana, of do.		
Paal.			Khurba, of do . .	1	6 do.
Ghutgoo.			Mokhanoo, of do .	1	11 do.
Shapoora.			Paynehrura.		
Purgunnah Mingvey.			Khurida a . . .	1	6 do.
Thora belonging to do.			Ditto . . .	1	7 do.
Endoo do.			Khumbooroo . . .	1	5 do.
Ambano do.			Ditto . . .	1	4 do.
Purgunnah of Rajpoor	1	4 months.	Matta Moda . . .	1	6 do.
Hunmuntijanoo, of do.	1	2 do.	Matta Moda . . .	1	2 do.
Bhadwa, of do.			Bebide . . .	1	3 do.
Kotedoo, of do.			Hunmunjoo.		
Veerwal, of do.			Vunthulley . . .	1	5 do.
Punch Tullow, of do.			Khelsoo . . .	1	7 do.
Purgunnah Veerpoo.	1	2 do.	Choor . . .	1	3 do.
			Megpoort . . .	1	20 do.
			Chomdralloo . . .	1	7 do.

* "The Talook of *Draffa*, where, out of a reputed number of 400 families, there is not a single female child. This Talook, as if visited by the just vengeance of Heaven, is at the last stage of poverty and distress."

Par. Papers, p. 108.

† In the Bhull Pergunnah, and her husband is unable to feed her, therefore she returned to her father's house. Such a case of poverty is truly affecting, and will no doubt claim public attention. There are other instances where the parties in distress appealed for support, and said they would *lay their daughters at the Sirkar's door for the purpose!*!"

TALOOKAS.	No.	AGE.	TALOOKAS.	No.	AGE.
Anundpoor.			Vaurey	1	6 years.
Vessamnoo . . .	1	4 years.	Chandley.		
Salpeperyoo.			Kurle Dhrole . . .	1	2 do.
Munueet	1	2 do.	Vunpurey	1	2 ys. 6mo.
Maroodo.			Ditto	1	3 years.
Jonu	1	11 do.	Sunuseera	1	10 do.
Ditto	1	8 do.	Leyalloa	1	14 do.
Ditto	1	6 months.	Rejeya	1	9 do.
Joona	1	2 years.	Kheejeryoo	1	3 do.
Satoodur	1	1 do.	Megpoor	1	3 do.
Ditto	1	1 y. 6 mo.	Sooltanpoor	1	2 ys. 6mo.
Rajpoora	1	1 year.	Bhakherdo.		
Vaurey	1	6 do.	Bofueko.		
Ditto	1	1 do.	Gutko.		
Ditto	1	10 do.			
Ditto	1	4 months.	Total . . .	63	Females* saved.
Ditto	1	2 years.			
Soosang	1	1 do.	N. B. This list is inclusive of all the		
Ditto	1	6 do.	Jhamfa cast in the Peninsula.		
Ditto	1	2 do.	Bullumba, June 20, 1817.		

The Par. Papers on Infanticide, July, 1828, contain tables of infants preserved and stated to be alive belonging to the tribe of Jahrejas, in Cutch and Wagur in 1828, to the number of *ninety-one*. In 1824 was presented to Government, "A Statement showing the number of Jahreja females born and preserved in the Western Peninsula of Guzerat. The total number shown consists of 266 *females*: sixty-three appear to have been in existence June 1817; the remaining 203 have been born and preserved since; forty-seven of the whole number have died since their birth, twenty-five are married, and 194 are unmarried." H. Pottinger, Esq., Resident in Cutch, forwarded to Government a list of the female Jahrejas living in Cutch, Jan. 1, 1826, amounting to 143.† These important data, while they show the measure of success attending the efforts to abolish Infanticide, demonstrate the continuance of the practice, and the necessity of more efficient means for its entire abolition.

The following extract of a treaty of alliance between the Hon. East India Company and his Highness Maha Raja Mirza Rao Shri Desserjee, Chief of Cutch, dated Oct. 1819, is very interesting;—"The Hon. Company engages to exercise no authority over the domestic concerns of the Rao, or of those of any of the Jahreja chieftains of the country. That the Rao, his heirs and successors, shall be absolute masters of their

* Par. Papers, p. 110, 111.

† Par. Papers, 1828, pp. 7, 8, 11—14, 23—25.

territory, and that the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the British Government shall not be introduced therein.

“His Highness the Rao, his heirs and successors, at the particular instance of the Honourable Company, *engage to abolish in their own family the practice of Infanticide*; they also engage to join heartily with the Honourable Company, *in abolishing the custom generally throughout the Bhyaud of Cutch.*”

“Previously to the execution of the deed of guarantee in favour of the Jahreja Bhyaud, according to the tenour of the sixteenth article, a written engagement shall be entered into by them to abstain from the practice of Infanticide; and specifying that, in case any of them do practise it, the guilty person shall submit to a punishment of any kind that may be determined by the Honourable Company’s Government and the Cutch Durbar.”*

In the abolition of Infanticide at Gunga Saugur humanity and religion have obtained a noble triumph. The deposition, p. 34, shows the nature and extent of the evil; after due investigation of the subject, a proclamation was issued by the British Government, A. D. 1802, abolishing the practice.† In Dec. 1821, the Secretary to the Committee of Management of the Saugur Island Society reported to the Government, that “*the practice of immolating children had entirely ceased.*” The following account of a visit to this place by a friend of the author’s confirms the statement:—

“In the beginning of January, 1825, Mr. Williamson, with three of the natives, Gorachund, Rotun, and Tanin, went to Gunga Saugur to be present at the great annual assembly. It is well known that the character of this assembly is greatly changed since the merciful and Christian measures of the Marquis of Wellesley have been in force. But still it presents a scene of the grossest superstition, and affords a favourable opportunity to missionaries of sending far and wide the news of salvation. While walking along the beach, they met a man with two little boys, and asked what he meant to do with them at Saugur, whether he intended giving them to Gunga? He replied, *No, no, but he had made a vow before they were born, that if Gunga would give him children, he would give their juta, (that is, their matted hair,) to her as soon as they were able to accompany him!* When it was told him that all this was useless, he said it was agreeable to the shastras and the advice he had received from the Brahmuns.”

The following account of the abolition of Infanticide in the north of India, is highly interesting. It is contained in an

* Par. Papers, p. 115. For an agreement to abolish Infanticide entered into by the Jahrejas of Santulpore, in March, 1827, and by the Jahrejas of Charcut, June, 1827, see Par. Papers, 1828, pp. 29, 30.

† See this interesting document Par. Papers, 1824, p. 137, 138. “Infanticide in India,” by the Author, p. 64.

extract of a letter from Capt. H. Hall, Superintendent of Mhairwarra, to Sir C. Metcalfe, Baronet, Resident at Delhi, in 1827 :—

“ It is most satisfactory to be able to report the complete and voluntary abolition of the two revolting customs, female Infanticide and the sale of the women. Both crimes were closely connected, having had their origin in the heavy expense attending marriage contracts. The sums were payable by the male side, ever unalterable, equal to the rich and the poor. What first established the payment is unknown, but it was so sacred, inviolable, and even a partial deviation so disgraceful, that the most necessitous of the tribe would not incur the imputation. Hence arose as decided a right over the persons of women, as over cattle or other property. They were inherited and disposed of accordingly, to the extent of even sons selling their own mothers! Hence also arose Infanticide. The sums payable were beyond the means of so many, that daughters necessarily remained on hand after maturity, entailed disgrace, and thus imposed a necessity on all female progeny of becoming victims to their family honour.

“ On the establishment of British rule, both evils gradually diminished! Females were not allowed to be transferred, except for conjugal purposes; their consent was to be obtained, and their choice consulted; humane treatment was enforced, and the whole system of considering them as mere cattle was discouraged. *Female Infanticide was at once prohibited.* Though many, no doubt, still fell secret sacrifices from the great facility of undetected destruction, yet the danger, aided by improved feeling, increased the survivors so considerably as to force upon the Mhairs a due sense of the root of the evil, and a general wish for its removal, by a reduction of the regulated sum of contract; but they were averse, indeed declared their inability to alter their long-established custom themselves, and earnestly entreated *it might be effected by an order of authority, binding all to obedience by heavy penalties.* After the lapse of a few months, allowed for consideration, the whole was settled in public *punchyte*, and its resolutions were confirmed without the slightest alteration, so that the proceeding originated with, and has been carried through by, the inhabitants themselves; nor has there been a single petition against it. They have lowered the sum payable on marriage contracts, abolished all right of subsequent sale, and fixed a year's imprisonment, or 200 rupees' fine, with exclusion from cast, as the punishment for deviation. The arrangement is calculated to give entire satisfaction, leaving nothing to be wished; and a more happy proof of general improvement could scarcely be adduced, embracing, as it does, in its very extensive bearings, the suppression of so much crime, immorality, and misery.”*

The late Bishop Heber, speaking of the Ramayuna festival at Allahabad, mentions the following important fact :—“ There was a hideous and accursed practice in ‘ the good old times’ before the British police was established, at least if all which the Mussulmans and English say is to be believed, which shows the Hindoo superstition in all its horrors. The poor children, who represented Ram, his brother, and Seeta, who had been feasted, honoured, and made to contribute to the popular amusement, were, it is said, *always poisoned in the*

* Par. Papers, 1828, p. 37, 38.

sweetmeats given them the last day of the show, that it might be said their spirits were absorbed into the deities whom they had represented ! Nothing of the sort can now be done. The children, instead of being bought for the purpose, from a distance, by the priests, are the children of neighbours, whose prior and subsequent history is known ; and Ram and Seeta now grow old like other boys and girls.”*

In Ceylon, Infanticide has been abolished by the following Proclamation of the British Government :—“In the name of his Majesty George the Fourth, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, We, the Honourable Major-General Sir Edward Barnes, Knight, Commander of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-chief in and over the British settlements and territories in the Island of Ceylon, with the dependencies thereof, do hereby proclaim, in order that no one may pretend ignorance of the law—That any person, whether being the parent or any other, who shall kill any child of whatever age, within the Kandyan Provinces, shall and will be equally punished with death as for the murder of a grown-up person ; and no plea will be admitted in any extenuation of any barbarous usage or custom of this description having prevailed, the same being wholly contrary to the ancient laws of the kingdom of Kandy. Given at Columbo, in the said Island of Ceylon, the twenty-fifth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one.”†

In the Island of Owhyhee, or Hawaii, the recent triumph of Christianity in the abolition of Infanticide and other in-human customs presents a subject of the most grateful nature for the contemplation of the friends of humanity and religion.‡

The difficulties attending the entire abolition of Infanticide in India are considerable. We have seen the efforts of the Persians and Syracusans to destroy this cruel custom among the Carthaginians, yet Rollin observes—“It appears from Tertullian’s Apology that this barbarous custom prevailed in Africa, long after the ruin of Carthage. ‘Infantes penes Africam Saturno immolabantur palam usque ad proconsulatum Tiberii, qui eosdem sacerdotes in eisdem arboribus templi sui obumbraticibus scelerum votivis crucibus exposuit, teste militia patriæ nostræ, quæ id ipsum munus illi proconsuli functa est,’

* Journal, vol. i. p. 338.

† Asiatic Journ. Sep. 1822.

‡ Ellis’s Tour through Hawaii, pp. 297—305. See also his Polynesian Researches.

—children were publicly sacrificed to Saturn, down to the proconsulship of Tiberius, who *hanged the sacrificing priests themselves on the trees which shaded their temples*, as on so many crosses raised to expiate their crimes, of which the militia of our country are witnesses, who were the actors of this execution at the command of the Proconsul.”*

The propensity of the Israelites to adopt the sanguinary customs of the original inhabitants of Canaan is frequently noticed in the sacred Scriptures. “Enflaming yourselves with idols under every green tree; slaying the children in the valleys under the clifts of the rocks.” Isa. lvii. 5.—In thy skirts is found the blood of the poor innocents; I have not found it by secret search, but upon all these.” Jer. ii. 34.—“They have forsaken me and have estranged this place, and have burned incense in it unto other gods, whom neither they nor their fathers have known, nor the kings of Judah, and have filled this place with the blood of innocents; they have built also the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal, which I commanded not, nor spake, neither came it into my mind.” Jer. xix. 4, 5. So also the prophet Ezekiel: “Thou hast taken thy sons and thy daughters whom thou hast borne unto me, and these hast thou sacrificed unto them to be devoured. Is this of thy whoredoms a small matter, that thou hast slain my children, and delivered them to cause them to pass through the fire for them?” Ezek. xvi. 20, 21. This custom was found among the people who were transplanted to the cities of Samaria by the king of Assyria, and they continued the practice though in a strange land:—“Every nation made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made, every nation in their cities wherein they dwelt. And the men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, and the Avites made Nibbaz and Tartak, and the Sepharvites burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech the gods of Sepharvaim.” 2 Kings xvii. 29—31.

The Par. Papers on Infanticide show that considerable difficulties have been experienced in prosecuting the attempts for the abolition of this custom in Hindostan; and it is proper that these difficulties should be known, to chasten our sanguine expectation of success, and to arm to fortitude and perseverance. Lord Teignmouth, in a paper on the Customs and Practices of the Hindoos, justly observes:—

* Tertul. Apol. c. 9, Rollin's Anc. Hist. b. i. p. 109.

“A prohibition, enforced by the denunciation of the severest temporal penalties, would have little efficacy in abolishing a custom which existed in opposition to the feelings of humanity and natural affection; and *the sanction of that religion which the Rajkoomars professed was appealed to in aid of the ordinances of civil authority.* Upon this principle, an engagement, binding themselves to desist in future from the barbarous practice of causing the death of their female children, was prepared, and circulated among the Rajkoomars for their signature. As it was also discovered that the same custom prevailed, though in a less degree, among a smaller tribe of people, also within the province of Benares, called Rajebunses, measures were adopted at the same time to make them sensible of its iniquity, and to procure from them a subscription similar to that exacted from the Rajkoomars.”*

“The practice,” says W. Cracroft, Esq., Magistrate of Juanpore, in 1819, “arises from the difficulty the Rajkoomars experience in procuring husbands for their daughters. The only tribes who will receive Rajkoomar females as wives are the Bisen, and Soreej Buns, of Goruckpore, and the Gurwars of Mirzapore, and the Boghel of Rewah; and these tribes, from an idea of their superiority, will not admit a Rajkoomar female, without receiving a very large dowry with her. They intermarry among each other, and feel no want of the Rajkoomar females to keep up their race. Until this obstacle can be removed, or some other means devised for providing husbands for the females of the Rajkoomar tribe, all efforts must, in my opinion, fail of checking the practice. No doubt can exist as to the propriety, indeed the necessity, of attempting to restrain it in some manner; but it appears doubtful whether severe punishment would have that effect. Hitherto no magistrate has ever apprehended or committed any individual on a charge of this kind; and I do not doubt that this has been avoided by design; for the instances are too frequent to admit the possibility of their evading proof, had a strict search been often made for that purpose.”†

“I entered on this undertaking,” says Colonel Walker, “with sanguine expectations of success, but which were *for a long time disappointed.* I must own that the natives had formed more just opinions on the subject, when they foretold the difficulties that would attend the attempt; which few of them thought could be overcome but by the Company making a

* Par. Papers, 1824, p. 9. Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 5.

† Par. Papers, pp. 15, 16.

conquest of the country. I conceived that reason and feeling would effect the relinquishment of a barbarous custom, unconnected with the principles of society ; and which all the passions of the human mind, and all the forms and maxims of religion, were combined to destroy. As it was evident also, that the most disinterested humanity had led the Hon. Company to interfere for the abolition of female Infanticide, I conceived that this reflection, and the respect due to their mediation, would have disposed the Jahrejas to comply with a request, which it was scarcely to be supposed could be at variance with their own sentiments. *But sentiments of nature and humanity have no influence with the Jahrejas* ; and I was soon, however reluctantly, obliged to relinquish the favourable expectations I had formed of success. The difficulties were many and formidable."*

The Governor of Bombay, in 1821, the Hon. M. Elphinstone, expresses himself in the language of despondency, and unbecoming the very high ground obtained by engagements and treaty with the abettors of this inhuman custom. "There is one point of great importance, in which we are *already entitled to exercise the right of general superintendence*. This is in checking the crime of female Infanticide, and in imposing the fines authorized by Colonel Walker's agreements on those who may be guilty of it. It is greatly to be regretted, that the difficulty of detection should secure the perpetrators of this crime so effectually from punishment, as to render *the article against it a dead letter*! There has been no instance of punishment for Infanticide since the agreements were concluded ; and this is so far from being owing to the diminution of the crime, that, from the best information Major Ballantine could obtain, it would appear, that *not more than 100 females born since the agreement are now in existence* ; and it is not easy to say, how many of these might have been spared, if the engagement had never been entered into. No effectual check can be imposed on this atrocious practice so long as it is so completely congenial to the general feeling of the people ; unless, by employing hired agents, as proposed by Major Ballantine, whose duty it should be to detect offenders of this description ; and such a measure would lead to so much intrusion into the most private and domestic proceedings of the superior casts (among whom alone Infanticide prevails), and would be open to so many abuses on the part of the informers, that I do not think the chance of success would

* Par. Papers, p. 46. See p. 97.

compensate for the disaffection which it would create. It may also be doubted, how far we have a right to interfere to such an extraordinary pitch with the private life of a people, with whose civil government and internal police we do not pretend to have any concern. We must therefore be content to follow the footsteps of our predecessors (without attempting to go beyond them) in their most meritorious endeavours to discountenance this enormity; and we may safely flatter ourselves, that, as the manners of the people become softened by a continuance of tranquillity and good order, they will gradually discontinue a practice, which is not more inconsistent with reason than repugnant to natural instinct."*

"The principal obstacles to be overcome," says the Political Agent in Cattywar, in July, 1824, "in rendering the engagements effectual, is the difficulty of detecting those concerned in the perpetration of the crime; so long as the feelings and interests of the people render them disinclined to afford aid in discovering it, few are prompted to make it known by a sense of humanity, or even of interest. Though all classes are ready to admit the barbarity of the practice, still they view it with so passive a spirit, that they feel indisposed to encounter the odium or animosity that the consequences of a disclosure might occasion. A constant intercourse with the Jahrejas, during my annual circuit, has given me opportunities of impressing upon their minds the interest taken by the British Government in the suppression of this unnatural practice, and the guilt attached to the commission of it by the dictates of their own religion. I received continued assurances that they will discountenance it; but, *from the disproportionate number of females still existing, it is evident that, although this horrible practice may be somewhat subdued, it is still far from being relinquished.*

"The minds and opinions of the tribe do not appear to have undergone that change on the subject that will alone overcome the existence of a custom so unnatural. The effects of the penalties enjoined by the engagements entered into by the Jahrejas would operate in deterring from the commission of the crime, *if the means of detection existed, or its discovery was not opposed by difficulties that defeat the utmost vigilance.* Proving it is almost impracticable, unless some part of the domestic establishment of a Jahreja betray him, a circumstance that can seldom be expected, as the domestic servants are generally the old adherents and dependants of his family."†

* Par. Papers, p. 116.

† Par. Papers, 1828, p. 10.

These various statements will prepare the reader to peruse with interest the concluding chapter of this book. The ancient Law of God to the sons of Noah was, "At the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man." If Infanticide be not punished in this manner, is it to be doubted whether or not, Britain should "make inquisition for blood?" How long is this feeble, temporizing system to continue? Are we 'entitled to exercise the right of general superintendence,' and shall we shrink from it, and thus be "partakers of other men's sins?" Let our motto be, 'Be just and fear not.'

CHAP. IV.

The necessity and propriety of adopting measures for the entire and immediate abolition of Infanticide—decisive steps requisite—objections answered—facilities enjoyed for its abolition—concluding remarks.

IT is grateful to the friends of humanity, and confers a lustre on the British character, that effectual steps have been taken to abolish some of the cruel customs of India. It is, however, to be regretted, that what has commenced so well, has not been carried forward, to the complete annihilation of every practice opposed to the natural dictates of humanity. "Usages," observes Lord Teignmouth, "originating in Hindoo superstition, and customs of immemorial prescription have been discountenanced by the British Administration in Bengal; while the laws of the Mahomedans, which derive their authority from the Koran, have been modified, or, in effect, altered, in various instances. The financial system, which prevailed in Bengal when the East India Company undertook the exercise of the Dewanny functions, was a system of undefined exactions and arbitrary oppression, supported by the most rigorous rules of practice; and the British are entitled to the merit of having annihilated it. The *corah* or whip, under the Mahomedan Government, was considered a necessary appendage in the country courts, where the collections were made; and the application of it was incessant and severe. A practice adopted on the authority of these ancient rules would be severely punished by the Administration, which has wisely and humanely abolished them. Thus the former

customs (particularly in the collection of the land revenue) have undergone a total alteration, to the great benefit of the community. Let it, however, be observed, that the Regulations, which, by deviating from ancient rules, have contributed so much to the happiness of the people, were in many instances, at the time of their establishment, considered as *hazardous innovations, repugnant to the feelings and prejudices of the natives of the highest class.*"*

Colonel Walker thus describes the steps so successfully taken by him, for the abolition of Infanticide in Cattywar, in 1808 :—

" I had been for several years in habits of friendly correspondence with Jehajee, the chief of Moorbee, and he had continually expressed a strong desire to cultivate the favour of the English Government. The artifices of this chief and his vakeel, who resided in camp, amused me for some time with promises which proved fallacious. I availed myself of the agency and influence of Soonderjee Sewjee, after his arrival in camp, but with no better success. At last Jehajee transmitted a paper, in which he offered to accede to my wishes by preserving his daughters, *provided I would reduce Mallia, and restore the village of Kuralla, of which he had been deprived by the Guicowar Government!* The possession of this paper I conceived of importance, as it discovered the *selfish and mercenary motives that attached the Jahrejas to Infanticide.* I preserved it as a testimony, which reflected on their pretences of the inviolability of the practice as a custom of the cast, and destroyed every argument which they had attempted to found on principle. When Jehajee perceived the disadvantage which attended the possession of this paper, he made several applications to induce me to restore it, with which I did not comply. It was also evident that it would be very difficult to awaken their natural feelings; and that, the same motives of interest would have more influence in inducing them to relinquish the practice, than any arguments derived from humanity, morality, or religion. It appeared likewise, from the communications of Jehajee and others, that the reproach of being the first to renounce an ancient practice operated as a considerable motive. The authority of this example could not be complete unless it were set by a chief of acknowledged rank and superiority.

" The Rao of Cutch seemed to possess these qualifications from his family, and extent of territory. I was induced, therefore, to select this chieftain; but addressed myself principally to Futtah Mahomed, whose authority is paramount in that country, and from whom, as a zealous Mahomedan, I was led to expect the exertion of his influence for suppressing a crime against nature and religion. The answer, however, of Futtah Mahomed destroyed every hope of success from that quarter. This Jemader, who rose from the humble station of a goatherd, and is extremely illiterate, had the sentiments of his letter probably dictated to him, and by the hand of his writer transmitted, in an inflated and ostentatious style, an elaborate defence of the practice of Infanticide, such as could be expected to proceed only from a bigoted Jahreja. In the meanwhile, every effort was continued to prevail on the Moorbee chief to abandon Infanticide, which the long de-

* Considerations on communicating to the Natives of India the blessings of Christianity. Hatchard, 1808, pp. 23—38.

tention of the detachment in the vicinity of that city afforded. *It was the daily subject of letters, messages, and conferences.*

"The humanity and tenderness congenial to the sex induced me to expect the assistance of the women of Jehajee's family. The preservation of their offspring appeared peculiarly their business. I conceived that my appeal to wives and mothers, and to women who came from tribes who rejected Infanticide, would be attended with every advantage. I was further led to entertain great hopes of this plan, on account of the high character of the mother of the chief of Moorbee for prudence, propriety of conduct, and a benevolent disposition. As this lady possessed considerable influence over her son, I expected that she would exert it in favour of a measure agreeable to her own feelings. The embarrassed state of Jehajee's affairs, and the countenance he stood in need of from me, for retrieving them, were circumstances which I conceived would occur to the discretion of his mother, and urge her to obtain from her son a concession which might give the family a claim to my support. My overtures to this lady, were, at first, received with the feelings natural to her sex; and she seemed disposed, with the rest of the women, who held several consultations together on the subject, to unite their influence for the abolition of Infanticide. But these ebullitions were of short duration; the Jahrejas were alarmed, and the women contended for the ancient privilege of the cast: they were led away from the path of nature by the influence of their husbands. The mother of the chief of Moorbee requested that she might be excused soliciting her son on this head, and referred me for further information to Jehajee.

"At this period my prospect of success was very obscure and distant. Although these efforts, however, had failed of their effect, they were useful, and paved the way for success, by turning the attention of the country to a subject which had never before appeared to engage notice. *By discussing the subject frequently in the public Cutcherry, and exposing the enormity of the practice, as contrary to the precepts of religion and the dictates of nature, every cast came to express an abhorrence of Infanticide, and the inveterate prejudices of the Jahrejas began to be shaken.*

"But, whatever influence these circumstances might produce, as Jehajee was the first chief whom I had addressed on the subject, it was of the utmost importance to make some impression on him. I bent every exertion, therefore, and tried various expedients, to reclaim this chief (who had already destroyed two of his daughters,) from the practice of Infanticide. At last I obtained from Jehajee a conditional writing to the following effect:— 'From motives of friendship, the Honourable Company have urged me to preserve my daughters: to this I consent, if the chief of Nowanugger and Gondul agree.' This was the first considerable step towards the attainment of this great object, and the writing appeared to reduce the question to a kind of point of honour, or respect for antiquity, in setting the example of sanctioning an innovation on a general habit. From the character and behaviour of Jam I could have no hopes that he would set this example; but, as the family of Dewajee of Gondul had already preserved several of their daughters, I was led to entertain the most favourable expectations from the general disposition of this chief, and his reputation for humanity. It may be proper to mention that Jehajee first proposed to insert the names of the Rao of Cutch, and Jam of Nowanugger in his writing; but I positively refused to take the paper unless it comprised Dewajee of Gondul. The compliance of Jehajee with this request, it may be but fair to consider as a favourable indication of his sentiments; and that he was secretly, though not extremely, inclined to agree to the abolishing of Infanticide. It may be presumed that he was acquainted with the disposition of Dewajee,

and of the general opinion that this chief, when pressed, would renounce the practice of killing his daughters. From Dessajee of Mallia, I obtained a similar writing to that received from the chief of Moorbee. I had conceived great expectations from Dessajee, who had preserved a daughter, and had by his vakeel afforded repeated assurance that he was ready to renounce Infanticide; but it is remarkable, that this chief used every evasion and delay to avoid executing a formal deed in renunciation of the practice.

"The narrative must now accompany the operations of the detachment which traversed the country of Jam, and arrived at Kundorera. I employed this time, as often as opportunity permitted, in favour of the design for abolishing Infanticide. Wassonjee Eswurjee, the vakeel of the Gondul chief, residing in camp, was easily prevailed on to unite his influence with mine, in order to prevail on his master to enter into a formal obligation for abolishing Infanticide. During these events he had occasion to proceed to Gondul on some revenue affairs, and before his departure he privately gave me such assurance as I conceived might be confided in, that he would obtain from Dewajee, authority, on his return, to enter into any engagements which might be required for preserving the daughters of the Jahrejas residing in that part of the country. The mission of Wassonjee Eswurjee was entirely successful; and on his return to camp, after expressing the reluctance of his master to set an example which might bring on him the reproach of his cast, *a deed of the most solemn, effectual, and binding nature was executed, renouncing for ever the practice of Infanticide.*

"*The following is a translation of this instrument.*

"Whereas the Honourable English Company, and Anund Row Guicowar, Sena Khaskel Shamsher Bahadur, having set forth to us the dictates of the shastras, and the true faith of the Hindoos, as well as that the Brimhaway Wurtuch Pooran declares the killing of children to be a heinous sin, it being written, that it is as great an offence to kill an embryo as a Brahmun, that to kill one woman is as great a sin as killing 100 Brahmuns; that to put one child to death is as great a transgression against the divine laws as to kill 100 women; and that the perpetrators of this sin shall be damned to the hell Kule Sootheeta, where he shall be infested with as many maggots as he may have hairs on his body; be born again a leper, and debilitated in all his members; We, Jahreja Dewajee, and Coer Nuthoo, Zemindars of Gondul (the custom of female Infanticide having long prevailed in our cast), do hereby agree for ourselves and our offspring, as also we bind ourselves in behalf of our relations and their offspring for ever, for the sake of our own prosperity, and for the credit of the Hindoo faith, that we shall from this day renounce this practice, and, in doubt of this, that we acknowledge ourselves offenders against the Sircars. Moreover, should any one in future commit this offence we shall expel him from our cast, and he shall be punished according to the pleasure of the two Governments, and the rule of the shastras."

"The above writing is duly executed. With the exception of Jam, *every Jahreja chief readily, and without offering a single objection, subscribed to a counterpart of this instrument.*"*

In the Bengal Presidency, the proceedings of Government were considered sufficiently decisive to suppress this unnatural custom. The Sup. of Police addresses the Chief Secretary of Government, in 1818,—"Sec. 11, Reg. III. 1804, already

* Par. Papers, 1824, pp. 46—49.

provides for the punishment of Infanticide, and it is clearly inexpedient that the Legislature should interfere in any other manner; *the practice being declared a crime, it is the duty of the Magistrate to do his utmost to convict those who still persist in it.** The prevalence of this custom in the Bengal Presidency, under such circumstances, is a source of deep regret, and demonstrates the necessity of very efficient measures for its suppression; while it shews the defective moral influence of heathenism, in restraining from the perpetration of the most unnatural crimes.

More efficient plans than those in operation, have been proposed for the abolition of Infanticide in India. "His Lordship in council regrets to observe, (says the Secretary to the Bengal Government, in 1816,) from the remarks contained in your Report, which are, in fact, confirmed by information received from your official sources, that the measures adopted by Mr. Duncan, when President at Benares, and the provisions of Reg. XXI. 1795, and Sec. 11, Reg. III. 1804, *have failed to prevent the inhuman practice which exists among the Rajkoomars, and some other tribes of Rajpoots, of destroying their female infants;* and that, although a greater degree of precaution is now observed to prevent detection, there is too much reason to fear, that *the crime itself has not in any degree diminished!* The attention of the Nizamut Adawlut will be directed to the subject of the paragraph above specified, and they will be desired, after obtaining what further information the local authorities may be able to furnish, to offer such suggestions, as may appear to them calculated, for the more effectual prevention of this dreadful crime, and for the detection and punishment of those who may be guilty of it."†

"The increasing interest (says Captain Ballantine, in July 1816,) with which the entire abolition [of Infanticide] is viewed by the British Government, and the community in general, suggests to me the propriety of offering for your consideration, and the sanction of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, *more efficient means of prosecuting, under our own immediate supervision, every possible channel by which to detect any deviation from these solemn engagements.* I have not relaxed on any occasion, to impress on the minds of the Guicowar officers, the common interest with which the entire abolition of the practice is considered. *I have therefore to solicit permission, to entertain such an establishment as may*

* Par. Papers, 1824, p. 16.

† pp. 14. 70.

be considered equal to the full accomplishment of this interesting and humane object. It is known to you, that in the detection of any case of delinquency, as in those enumerated by Colonel Walker, a fine proportioned to the case, and the ability of the parties, is imposed; nor may it seem, I would respectfully observe, objectionable that the public expense on this account should be reimbursed from the same source. The means for detection must of course be, by clandestine intercourse with the parties and surrounding inhabitants, and to which end persons so deputed must remain for some time on the spot. Guzurattee mehtas, or writers, are the proper persons to be employed on this duty; they were employed by the native Government in these duties, and the present number to be selected for this important duty should not be less than five at fifty rupees per mensem."*

The Resident at Baroda, in 1816, J. R. Carnac, Esq., approved of the propriety of these suggestions:—"The Jahrejas, though proud, are, like the other natives of India, very avaricious. The object which could not be gained by speaking to their feelings, might be effected by working on their disposition. *The reward of a hundred rupees, to him who could satisfactorily establish in another the perpetration of Infanticide, might bring to light numerous circumstances of which we now remain in ignorance.* Nor would the expense of such remunerations fall on either the Native or British Governments. By the bond to which the Jahrejas have subscribed they have rendered themselves liable to punishment at the will of the Sircar; and it could not be considered a severe punishment, to insist on the payment of a fine which would more than defray the charges attendant on receiving the information of their guilt. It may not be deemed irrelevant to furnish Government with what I conceive an adequate scale of rewards and punishments; an informer against the Jam should receive 1000 rupees; against the inferior Rajahs 500; against their near relations 250; and against a poor Jahreja 100. The Jam, if proved guilty, should be fined 30,000 rupees; an inferior Rajah 10,000; their near relations 2500, and a poor Jahreja as much as he could pay without ruin. The difficulty, of inducing any one to come forward against so powerful a man as the Jam, renders it necessary that his reward should be liberal; and, for the sake of example, it is desirable that a person in his high station should be detected and severely punished. We can never expect the

* Par. Papers, p. 98.

practice of Infanticide to be fairly laid aside, till *the principal Jahrejas are either induced or forced to set the example.**

The measures here proposed are desirable and necessary. The Hon. Court of Directors observe in a letter to the Governor of Bombay, March, 1816, referring to an inquiry of the Resident at Baroda, to ascertain and report whether the practice had been discontinued wholly or in part in Cutch, and whether it had entirely ceased within the province of Cattywar:—“Most sincerely do we wish that that report may prove satisfactory; and we must again enjoin you, in the most serious and earnest manner, to be *unremitting in your endeavours to accomplish this humane object in the countries where the British influence can be felt or exerted.*”†

Colonel Walker, on returning from India, still deeply interested in the success of his humane efforts to abolish Infanticide, addressed the Hon. Court of Directors, in 1819, to the following effect:—

“In offering my opinion upon the means of suppressing female Infanticide in the West of India, I must first observe, that this object should be accomplished without violating the feelings of the natives, and without having recourse to actual coercion. I must also beg to refer to my own proceedings, which succeeded in obtaining the consent of the people to relinquish this barbarous practice. It was accomplished with great difficulty, but it was so far a spontaneous act that it was solely effected by persuasion. It is under this influence alone that the measure can ultimately be expected to prove successful; but, from the peculiar habits of the people of this part of India, the practice of destroying the children cannot be overcome by the mere dictates of natural affection. When this tie was once abandoned, it would be long before it could be again recovered; and it would be necessary that they should be continually watched, and urged to the performance of a duty, which is seldom neglected even by the brutes! It was foreseen that the mere engagement which these people had contracted for discontinuing Infanticide, however solemn, would not be sufficient, unless they were looked after with vigilance, and frequently encouraged; and unless those instances, in which they infringed their own voluntary engagement, were detected and punished. This mode of punishment was provided by their agreement.

“It was under the influence of a similar train of reflection, that I suggested to the Government, when I quitted India, to exact *an annual report of the progress of Infanticide*, and that it should be the object of continual care and solicitude. Before I retired from the service, I had the satisfaction to see that the principles for its abolition had made no slight impression on the minds of the people, and in a short period they saved a considerable number of infants. But, from the report which has now been received from India, it would appear that *the whole number, saved in the course of TEN years, is little more than SIXTY!* and perhaps not a third more than were presented by their parents to me in Cattywar, with feelings of affection and delight.

* Par. Papers, p. 103. See p. 114, and Par. Papers, 1828, p. 15.

† Par. Papers, pp. 94. 99.

“ The first circumstance which requires attention is, *to see the people often, and, by frequent intercourse, to inspire them with sentiments favourable to humanity.* It is scarcely to be expected, that the Jahrejas will seek our society with greater encouragement than it is the habit of our countrymen, generally speaking, to afford to the natives of India; and we must therefore visit them in their villages. They must be sought out in their recesses, invited to attend the public Cutcherries, and the subject brought as often as possible under public discussion. In these situations opportunities would frequently arise of enforcing the heinous nature of the offence, of calmly discussing its tendency, of exposing its crime, and of contrasting the abominable practice with the contrary usage of the rest of mankind. In every attempt to arrest this crime, the Brahmuns, and the precepts of the Hindoo religion, would be a powerful aid. That religion is directly opposed to the practice, and I always found the Brahmuns most willing coadjutors in this cause of humanity.

“ The people would not withstand any *systematic exertion which might be directed to its overthrow.* Did it not yield to an attempt which was made in a doubtful situation, amidst a multitude of other occupations, and which was not pursued for a long time? The same facilities, and greater, now exist to ensure success. The Guicowar authority may be disposed more readily to co-operate with us, our own is better established, and we possess *an actual share in the government of the country.* The Collector of the newly-acquired revenue in Cattywar would be an essential agent in this humane work. By means of the police, which is under his control, and by the frequent intercourse which his office obliges him to hold with the natives, he would have opportunities of communication, superior, perhaps, to any other person. *Let the collector, the agent in Cattywar, the agent in Cutch, and the Guicowar authorities, heartily, and in concert, exert themselves, and they would be irresistible.* But I would not rest the success of this interesting measure on vigilance alone, and the active use of even all the agents in our power. I would employ other *stimuli*, and not neglect those that may be calculated to produce an effect on the grosser passions of those who persevere in the practice of Infanticide. I would not encourage the idea of an expensive agency, nor the direct and professed employment of spies, which are more likely to defeat than to promote the object; but there are, surely, means of ascertaining the result of a birth in a family without either offending its delicacy, or requiring much expense. The fact of a pregnancy is always public, and the report of the neighbours would often be sufficient evidence. *A few detections would arrest the practice.* If the intercourse were as frequent as I have recommended, many things would be casually learnt, and little indeed could be concealed. In the course of this intercourse many acts of friendship, of courtesy and attention, could be conferred on the Jahrejas, which would be attended with little expense, but which they would highly value; they are both greedy and necessitous. The present of an inferior turban, of a deputta, of a snuff-box, of a pair of spectacles, or any other trifling article, would be prized by them as a mark of honour, and as a great acquisition. These little favours would be the means of bringing them together, of inducing them to come into our society, and finally of reconciling them to our views. *It is by association and constant attention that they are to be reclaimed.* The character and government of our country must suffer materially, should those people be allowed to resume a practice, which they had abandoned with all the formality of a regular and solemn compact. May it not be said, that *we are more indifferent to the cause of humanity, than in exacting a rigid compliance with the terms of a treaty which involved a paltry revenue, or some insignificant district?* We may by kindness and

patience bring them back to the path of their duty. The voice of nature, and the influence of the women, will unite in assisting us; and in this struggle against a deplorable practice, we shall finally prevail, while our motives must be applauded, and cannot be mistaken. Were the power of Government never applied, but in cases so obviously beneficial and disinterested, the rudest minds would bless them; and the feelings of men, as well as their reason, would render them both agreeable and irresistible.”*

To the adoption of the plans proposed to suppress Infanticide, several objections have been made; these relate to *expense—marrying the females saved—employing officers for detection—and the plans being opposed to the wishes of the people.* “The Governor in Council,” it is said, “does not approve of Captain Carnac’s entertaining an establishment for the purpose of suppressing female Infanticide, which, even admitting its formation to be essential to effecting that desirable object, we are not at liberty to sanction without the authority of the Honourable Court; nor does it appear advisable to adopt the other proposition, of defraying the *expense* of the marriage of the children of a Jahreja.”†

To *marrying those saved*, the Governor in Council objects by saying,—“Captain Carnac must be informed, that if the Honourable Court should undertake to defray the expense of the nuptials of the female children of one of the Jahrejas, the rest of the fraternity would expect the same consideration, to which they would be equally entitled with the Rajah of Moorbee: the introduction of such a practice, independently of the great expense attending it, would also be liable to be abused. The Governor in Council is desirous, however, to be informed what would be the probable amount of the expense attending the marriage of a female of this class, in case the Honourable Court should view the subject in a different light, and should authorize incurring it on the present, or on any future occasion.”†

Respecting *the officers for detection*, the Resident at Baroda, Sep. 1816, states:—“In 1812, during my employment in the negotiations at Nowanugger, Witul Rao, Dewanjee, in the hopes of satisfying my inquiries, established several mehtas in the principal Jahreja towns, with instructions to communicate the birth, preservation, or murder of female children, as soon as they received information of such occurrences; but the jealousy with which these men were regarded rendered their exertions almost abortive; and, while no Jahreja would himself communicate the condition of his wife, they found it in vain to ask for information from his

* Par. Papers, pp. 119—121. † pp. 98, 107. ‡ pp. 99, 106.

neighbours. The duties of these mehtas were of that unquestionable nature that gives general dislike, and were likely to produce a feeling of opposition that would defeat all their inquiries. It was to the establishment of these men that Captain Ballantine alluded. They were withdrawn when the Paishwa resumed his rights in Guzerat, for the reasons stated in Captain Ballantine's letter. That gentleman probably supposes that, though such officers could gain little information, their presence operated as a check, and made the fear of discovery tend to the abolition of female Infanticide; and it seems reasonable to think that it should have this effect. No better plan having yet been devised, Captain Ballantine has done his duty, in recommending to the adoption of Government, that which seemed to him the best fitted for the object in view."*

Objections to this judicious method of detecting the crime of Infanticide are urged by the Governor of Bombay, as late as Oct. 1827. "From Lieutenant-Colonel Miles's despatch, and the renewed agreements concluded with the several Jahreja Chiefs, subject to the British government, your Hon. Court will learn with satisfaction, that although this barbarous practice has not, it is to be feared, altogether ceased, yet its frequency has greatly diminished. Lieutenant-Colonel Miles's exertions are very praiseworthy, and we have expressed our entire satisfaction with his humane intentions in checking Infanticide; at the same time we have apprized that officer, that the measure he purposed adopting, *of keeping carcoons to watch over births*, was thought objectionable in Cattywar, as leading to an intrusion into domestic privacy very foreign to Indian notions. The chiefs of Chorin, with whom agreements have been concluded, are differently situated, and the measure may be less obnoxious among them; in which case, it would be a desirable experiment; but we have recommended, that the greatest caution should be observed in its adoption, and to ascertain its probable effects by previous inquiry."†

As it respects the adoption of these plans *being opposed to the wishes of the people*, it is remarked by the Governor in Council, in 1817, "Your Hon. Court will perceive, that since we had the honour of addressing you on the subject of female Infanticide, in our letter of Aug. 1816, we have been unable to adopt any effectual means of extinguishing that inhuman practice; and we are obliged to add, that the pro-

* Par. Papers, pp. 102, 106.

† Par. Papers, 1828, pp. 5, 6.

positions submitted to us for our consideration, with a view of discovering how far the Jhareja chieftains adhered to their engagements, have been abandoned, under the *persuasion that they would prove extremely offensive to their feelings.*”*

The necessity and utility of these plans are ably advocated from the exceptions made against them. “The very alarm (says the Resident at Baroda, Sep. 1816,) which the promulgation of the plan of rewarding informers would excite, might greatly tend to occasion the preservation of many female infants. Aware that no feelings of kindness, religion, or general interest for the cast, could induce the poor Jhareja to resist the temptation of a reward, every man would be afraid of his neighbour and his domestic; while there must be many, not of the Jhareja tribe, who are informed of the state of their families, and who can therefore gratify their avarice with less dread of censure. The advantages of this plan, however, are opposed by disadvantages; and these would grow into an evil of some magnitude to the whole body of the Jharejas, *unless provided against at the first outset.* The hopes of reward might induce many to bring forward false accusations, and also such as might have an appearance of validity, without being grounded on fact. The informer should therefore be bound to give proof for the specific information which he brings, under pain of being severely punished, if his information should prove false. The only accounts which it seems probable an informer could bring, appear to be that he knew of the pregnancy of a certain Rajpootanee, and that *the event was never published to the community.* Should the issue have been a female child, and it had died, it would require some discrimination on the part of the person investigating, to determine whether the child might not have been still-born, or died shortly after its birth. In either of the last mentioned cases the informer should receive no more than a third of the reward. But if it should so appear that the Jhareja’s wife, against whom the accusation was preferred, had not been pregnant or had suffered an early abortion of her offspring, the accuser should be punished rigorously, or otherwise, according to the circumstances of the case. The evils of goindas in respect to the Jharejas cannot, I presume, be felt in any degree to the same extent as they are in Bengal. The information which they are required to yield admits of circumstantial proof, and is not like that concerning robberies and murders, frequently

* Par. Papers, p. 106.

dependent on presumptive proof, and it is consequently not likely to be given but where there exists, or have existed, some undeniable, and in some measure, public grounds for its being true.

"I propose this plan with much deference to the wisdom of the Right Hon. the Governor in Council, sensible that it may appear better in theory than it may prove to be good in practice; but, *I am at the same time hopeful that it may be better than no plan at all, in rendering the exertions of my predecessor a permanent benefit to the country.* But Government must be aware, that *my success is entirely dependent on subordinate agents*, nearly as far removed from me, as I myself am from the seat of Government;* and that, whatever interest I may take in the subject, my individual exertions can be of no further use than in stimulating them to a zealous attention. I have every reason to believe, that neither Captain Ballantine nor the Dewanjee has been less active than the most humane man could wish, but *the means in their power were not fitted to enable them to command success!*

"The expense of marrying the daughters of the chiefs of Cattywar would probably be as follows;—the marriage of the Jam would amount to 30 or 35,000 rupees; that of the daughter of a minor Rajah, such as the Rajah of Moorbee, Goondul, and Rajcote, to 15 or 16,000; the daughter of one of the near relations of the Rajah would require from 5 to 7,000 rupees, and that of a poor Jahreja's daughter from 1,000 to 1,500 rupees. It would evidently be enormously expensive for any Government to defray the charges of marrying even only one daughter in each family, and it might be impolitic to marry that of one person, and not of another. The Moorbee Rajah, however, might be made an exception, *since it was he, who first saved his daughter; and it was by his means, that Colonel Walker laid the foundation of the superstructure he afterwards raised.* I conceive the Guicowar Government would willingly share with the British Government, the expense and the honour of presenting a dowry, to the first female child saved from the barbarity of an unfeeling parent."†

* "Subsequently to Col. Walker's departure, the public service rendered it expedient that the Resident at Baroda should remain at his station; which was 200 miles from the province where the practice of Infanticide prevailed."—Debate on Suttees, in a general Court of Proprietors, March, 1827. Asi. Jour., May, 1827.—Auth.

† Par. Papers, pp. 103, 104. "Many virtuous and humane princes," says Colonel Todd, "have endeavoured to check or mitigate an evil, in the

Captain Ballantine observes upon the same subject,—“I venture to repeat, the means I recommended were desirable and eligible in many points of view; and, in my humble apprehension, calculated to obtain us actual instances of individual criminality, and no doubt to have followed up with greater effect the prohibitory nature of the solemn compacts the Jahrejas entered into with us, to discontinue the systematic murder of their female offsprings. In regretting the cause of the apprehension submitted in the preceding paragraph, it is only necessary to recal to the recollection of Government, that we have hitherto, and have still, to depend on the native governments and authorities for the only information to be obtained, or essential attention to the enforcement of the stipulations of our engagements.

“From the voluminous papers before me, the British Government seems to desire the abolition of this singular custom with equal interest and solicitude; and that probably, through its wisdom and recommendation, *the Honourable Court will eventually sanction the adoption of measures better calculated to root out the evil.* For might not the expense and responsibility, and our active supervision, with deference I submit, be with strict policy and justice made chargeable to the Government, who alone derive any pecuniary or real advantage from the country, and, who of course should be equally interested in the first dictates of humanity, and in the annihilation of customs offensive to all religions, and degrading to human nature in general?”*

“I beg respectfully to remark,” says J. R. Carnac, Esq., Resident at Baroda, in 1817, to the chief Secretary of the Bombay government, “that in no suggestions for the maintenance of an establishment for the discovery of those Jahrejas who have immolated their female offspring, am I sensible

eradication of which every parental feeling would co-operate—Sumptuary edicts can alone control it. The plan proposed, and, in some degree, followed, by the great Jey Sing, of Amber, might, with caution, be pursued, and with great probability of success. He submitted to the prince of every Rajpoot state, a decree, which regulated the *daejar*, or dower, and other marriage expenditure, with reference to the property of the vassal, *limiting it to one year's income of his estate.* This plan was, however, frustrated by the vanity of Chondawut, of Saloombra, who expended, on the marriage of his daughter, a sum even greater than his sovereign could have afforded. Were bonds taken from all the feudal chiefs, and a penal clause inserted, of forfeiture of their fief, by all who exceed a fixed impartial expenditure,—the axe would be laid to the root; the evil would be checked, and the heart of many a mother (and we may add, father) be gladdened by preserving at once the point of honour and their child.” Asi. Jour., Oct. 1830, p. 167.

* Par. Papers, pp. 108, 109.

of having recommended additional emoluments to my assistant, or in the most distant shape to combine the important objects of humanity with any personal advantages. My desire has always been the adoption of *some effectual plan, hitherto entirely unheeded*, to give effect to the humane exertions of my predecessor, in the conviction, of *the utter impossibility of preventing female Infanticide, where the means are confined to the personal influence merely of my assistant in Cattywar*.

"The disappointment which has been experienced can be traced exclusively to THE WANT OF A SYSTEM, by which the detection of the guilty could be ensured, and not to any indifference on the part of the local officers to the enforcement of the engagements contracted by the Jahrejas. I have had the honour on several occasions of bringing the subject in the most urgent manner to the attention of Government, and in submitting recommendations on the means for an effectual abolition of Infanticide, have implored Government to devise any plan which in its wisdom might be efficacious. While my suggestions have been deemed objectionable, *no other plan has been prescribed, and doubtless, the want of it is frequently affording the most melancholy evidence, of an evasion of the excellent engagements contracted by the influence of Lieutenant Colonel Walker."**

The Governor of Bombay addressed the Honourable Court of Directors, in 1827, in the following manner, which indicates a pleasing attention to the subject of Infanticide:—"The Chief of Rajcote applied to us for our guarantee to a mortgage of four villages, to enable him to raise a sum of money to defray the expenses of his marriage. The late Chief of Rajcote was one of the first who attended to Lieutenant Colonel Walker, in his settlement of Cattywar, and acceded to the wishes of that officer, in his humane endeavour to abolish Infanticide, and the marriage of his daughter (himself a Jahreja) had involved the family, which had led to the mortgage of the farm of his talooka. It appeared to us, however, that instead of sanctioning this mortgage, (which we were nevertheless disposed to do,) under the peculiar circumstances of this chieftain's case, it would be more expedient to mark the high sense which we entertained of the conduct of this family in renouncing Infanticide, to make the Takore a donation from the fund established for this purpose. A donation of the sum of rupees, 12,000, was accordingly made to him, to enable him to bear the expense of the marriage."† The

* Par Papers, pp. 112, 113.

† Par. Papers, 1828, p. 6.

beneficial effects of such measures are self-evident, and yet alone they appear inadequate to the suppression of this unnatural crime.

The facilities which Britain possesses for abolishing this rite are very considerable. The whole civilized world naturally looks to her to do her duty in India, and suppress every sanguinary practice subversive of the principles of natural and revealed Religion.

“The influence,” says the Hon. Governor of Bombay, in 1817, “which the cession of the Paishwa’s tribute from Cattywar will afford to the British Government over that part of Guzerat, will, we trust, enable us to secure a more rigid adherence to the engagements of the Jahrejas; and the Resident at Baroda has been directed to depute Captain Ballantine to inform them, of our determination to enforce the penalties, whenever a breach of their engagements can be established; and to withhold our countenance from those who shall continue to follow this inhuman custom.”* In a letter to the Court of Directors, in 1820, it is said, “Your Honourable Court will learn with satisfaction, that, by the 17th Article of the treaty with Cutch, *the practice of female Infanticide has been formally renounced in that Province.*”†

The Guicowar Government, in 1825, expressed its full approbation of Colonel Walker’s suggestion, that, “The sums levied and fines from disturbers of the peace and other offenders should, through the clemency of Government, be distributed in such sums as were suitable to the station in life of the parties concerned; to defray the marriage expenses of females who should be preserved.” To which it was replied by the Cutch Government, “The case under consideration is one of charity and will procure the blessings of Heaven on both Governments; therefore, whatever sums have been realized as fines on offenders since Captain Barnewell was placed in charge of the Districts, or any extra revenue beyond the tribute, as fixed for perpetuity by Colonel Walker, may be appropriated as above specified: the disposal being year by year duly communicated to us, and the arrangement is highly satisfactory to this Government.” In Jan. 1826 the Resident in Cutch reported 143 female children being alive, and observes, “I have made an arrangement, in concert with the other members of the regency, for *the birth of every child (male or female) that occurs in a Jahreja family being reported to the Durbar;* and as all deaths are to be notified at the

* Par. Papers, p. 107.

† p. 114.

time, and in the same manner, I hope these precautions will effectually put a stop to any instances of Infanticide that may still be occasionally practised." The adoption of a similar check in Cattywar, if practicable, was considered by the Governor extremely desirable.*

The measures, which should be adopted, for the speedy and entire abolition of Infanticide, are ably stated by the philanthropic Colonel Walker in a letter to the Hon. Court of Directors, in 1819. The following extracts appear very interesting :—

" I shall turn with pleasure to the circumstances which are favourable to this cause of humanity, and which may encourage us to expect that this revolting practice will be overcome. The Court of Directors, the Government and its Assistants in India, appear at present to take great interest in the success of the measure. The prejudices of the Jahrejas with which I had to grapple, if not entirely done away, are at least suppressed and disavowed. They appear so far to move within the range in which nature acts, that they express no pride in the destruction of their offspring, and feel no shame in rearing them. It is evident that a very favourable change has taken place, since all the infants they have saved have been the consequence of their own choice; and, as some of their daughters have been reared within very recent dates, the principle of natural affection is even at this moment producing its effect.

" One of the principal objections to the remedial measures proposed to and rejected by the Bombay Government, *without the substitution of others*, is, that they uniformly consist of small details. They suggest to me the idea of a conqueror proposing to lay a vast region at his feet by merely disarming or taking captive a few of the videttes or outposts. It appears to me that there are two great principles, of which all the minor details must be merely ramifications. The first principle is, *the maintenance of the authority of Government in connection with the solemn engagements of the Jahrejas*; and the second is, *the adoption of that conduct towards the natives which I have endeavoured to illustrate*.

The authority of Government must be maintained, and the engagement, which has been mutually contracted, exactly fulfilled. We must show that we are serious, and that we are determined to be obeyed. This will be more difficult than in 1808, but still it must be done. I would begin by sending to every Jahreja chief an authenticated copy of his engagement, and apprise him in the most solemn and precise terms, the determination of the Company and the Guicowar to exact the performance of an obligation which has prescribed to all parties sacred and imperative duties. These *separate addresses* to the chiefs would soothe their pride, and prevent them from taking offence; but, that none may be able to plead ignorance of the intentions of Government, I would follow up the measure by a *public proclamation*, and give it as wide a circulation as possible. This should be addressed to the bosom of every Jahreja. It should declare the intention of Government upon the subject. It should strongly mark the abhorrence of the crime, and explain the nature of his own obligations in consequence of his engagement to renounce Infanticide. That *where the monstrous inhumanity of Infanticide exists, it is impossible that any good can exist* : that it involves

* Par. Papers, 1828, pp. 23—25.

a violation of good faith, as well as the recognised principles of Religion, and that no trust can be reposed in the perpetrators of this horrid crime: that, therefore Government are resolved to punish such outcasts of human nature by withholding from them every mark of confidence and regard, as well as by inflicting pains and penalties according to the nature of the case. That on the other hand those who give evidence of a sincere return to nature and the principles of Religion, shall be regarded with affection, and enjoy every mark of esteem, honour, and emolument, of which circumstances will admit.

"The servants of Government, Native or British, should have instructions to *watch over the operation of the engagements in their several districts, and to report upon every occurrence of a birth among the Jahrejas, or even the surmises of its consequences.* As they are not very rigid in the seclusion of their women, and as all those who are in the lower stations of life, who form the great majority in every society, must necessarily be employed in occupations which expose them to public view, a case of pregnancy can scarcely ever be concealed. There is no attempt made indeed to prevent its being known, and surely it would not require much discrimination of judgment, nor the exercise of a very officious impertinent curiosity, to ascertain a circumstance which is so notorious. But *there are other circumstances of less direct evidence, from which very correct inferences may be drawn, and of which we may avail ourselves, in cases where stronger testimony may fail.* It is well known, that among Hindoos of all descriptions, the birth of a son is an object of congratulation and rejoicing. Whenever a birth in a Jahreja family was unattended by these happy symptoms; where it was passed over in silence, we might, with very considerable certainty, conclude that the birth was a female!! Cases of a suspicious nature must occasionally occur, and come under our observation; but the miserable children of poverty must not become the victims of vengeance, while the more aggravated guilt of those who range in the higher ranks of life are passed over with impunity.

"Every servant of Government should have injunctions to *ascertain the consequence of a birth by all the means that may be in his power.* Nothing should be too trifling for his notice which may bear on the point; he should collect even the rumours of the country upon the subject, and report to his superior; he again to another, if such there happen to be, and so on till each case reach the assistant of the Resident, and then the Resident himself should report to the Government at Bombay. I would beg to recommend, that the report of the Resident should be made at least *every three months for the first year or two;* or till it appear that the measure is proceeding so securely that an *annual report,* (which must never be dispensed with,) shall be deemed sufficient. *Quarterly Reports* for a time, indeed, would be highly beneficial, and, if they were mere blanks, still I think they should be punctually made. I would even suggest, if it could be attained, to *engage the chiefs themselves to make returns of births, and not only of females but of males, which would be a check upon the evidence in regard to the former.* This would be gaining a step of decisive importance, not only to the cause, but might increase the small number of useful facts which we possess on the state of population in India.

"*It is evidently necessary that the whole system should be supported by rewards and punishments.* A considerable diversity of opinion may prevail as to their nature. The crime may be rendered more frequent by the severity of the laws which are enacted to prevent it; while there may be as much danger of encouraging it by too great tenderness in punishing. The offence is of such an odious description that it cannot be considered as a fit object for the exercise of clemency. At the same time it has been so long

legalized by custom, and so common in its practice, that it may not be proper to inflict the last severity of the law on the first transgressors. Afterwards, however, and when the ordinance has been for some time generally observed, the criminal may be prosecuted as a common murderer. Cases of delinquency should, in every event, be punished by fine, and branded with infamy. The chiefs should be particularly held to their engagement, and punished with a pecuniary penalty to the extent of their means, and the degree of their offence. The poverty of many Jahrejas, however, must render the mode of amercement with respect to them impracticable; and the punishment of those who violate the engagement under such circumstances must be limited to disgrace, or ejection from cast.

"To this may be superadded, *the displeasure of Government and the reproach and correction of society*. I have said that I would not have recourse to coercive means, and, if possible, I would still adhere to this rule; but the authority of Government must at all events be maintained, and this gross departure from duty punished. If all other means therefore should fail, I would not hesitate to apply those of coercion; taking care to show that it is a matter of necessity, and not choice. Rewards and punishments always suppose something done to merit the one or incur the other: but it is generally a less difficult task to repay a good deed, than to discover the best means of punishing a crime so as to prevent its repetition. *Various marks of regard might be shown, at little expense, to the observers of the engagement.* They should have less the appearance of bribes than marks of honour; but at the same time, instances may occur in which it may be necessary to display the generosity and liberality of Government. This must be particularly necessary in cases of extreme poverty, and inability to rear the offspring which has been saved. Such cases of extreme poverty and distress have actually occurred. I would suggest the adoption of a Regulation, which, while it might serve as some check on the perpetrators of Infanticide, would be an encouragement to those who follow a different conduct. The latter should receive as much praise and publicity as possible. In this point of view, it might be found useful to *publish in the Cutcherries and places of public resort, after a report has been transmitted to Government, the names of those who have been faithful to their engagement, and of those who have been proved to violate it.* Might it not be a beneficial excitement, to confer *an honorary medal on the Jahrejas who save their daughters?* The silver of a few rupees might answer the purpose; the medals would contain a suitable inscription, and the persons receiving them should be invested with them by the highest local authority of the District, and in as public a manner as possible.

"From the increased share and influence which we now possess in the revenue and Government of Cattywar, we have proportionally increased means of binding the principles and directing the sentiments of the natives. Among the circumstances of which we have the command, is the power of employing in the transaction of public business only meritorious natives, and of selecting, especially for places of honour and trust, those Jahrejas who may have saved their children. The Company, in a great measure, possess *all those means of preferment and profitable appointment which formerly belonged solely to the native Rulers.* The fines recovered from delinquents should constitute a fund, *sacred to the benefit of those who have saved their daughters, which should be distributed by the Resident according to the merits and wants of particular cases.* The management of the fund in this manner would be one means of satisfying the country that the humanity of the Company's Government was quite disinterested. The

accomplishment of this desirable object, ought to be considered as a prudent and legitimate measure for the consolidation and stability of our Government or influence in that quarter of India.”*

From an attentive review of the various facts and observations contained in the two volumes of Parliamentary documents on Infanticide, it is evident, that the *unnatural custom of Infanticide still prevails to a lamentable degree in India*. In the first of these volumes the detail of its revival, after the efforts of Colonel Walker to suppress it, is peculiarly painful to every humane mind. The other volume presents a more pleasing scene, but shows that there is yet much to be done, before this custom can be annihilated: a few extracts will demonstrate this. The Governor in Council of Bombay writes to the Hon. Court of Directors, in 1825: “Mr. Gardiner, late Resident in Cutch, annexes to his report a list of *ninety-one female infants* belonging to the Jahreja tribe, now living in Cutch and Waugur. He appears to have satisfied himself of their existence, and in any case, when it was practicable, had the infants brought to him. None of them appear to have exceeded the age of *seven years*, which marks the time when the abolition of this horrid practice first had operation under our influence. He had his belief that among the chiefs the feeling is pretty general, that it has become their duty, as well as their interest, to preserve their female children; for, the penalty being undefined, any infringement of the agreement might be visited in the severest manner by a pecuniary mulct. On the other hand, the inferior byaud, having nothing to lose, are not under the same apprehension, and *no doubt the practice is still continued to a lamentable extent among them*.”† “A constant intercourse with the Jahrejas,” says R. Barnewell, Esq., Political Agent in Cattywar, in 1824, “during my annual circuit, has given me opportunities of impressing on their minds, the interest taken by the British Government in the suppression of the barbarous and unnatural practice, and the guilt attached to the commission of it by the dictates of their own religion. I receive continued assurances that they will disown it; but, *from the disproportionate number of females still existing, it is evident that, although this horrible practice may be somewhat subdued, it is still far from being relinquished*.”‡

“I was much surprised, (says the late Bishop Heber, speaking of Banswarra, in Guzerat,) to find, in such a situation,

* Par. Papers, pp. 123—127.

† Par. Papers, 1828, p. 3. ‡ p. 10.

so large and handsome a place, of which I knew nothing before, except as one of those States, which have been noticed in India for the wildness and poverty of their inhabitants ; and for their abominable custom of murdering the greater part of their female infants. This cruel and most unnatural sacrifice, it has long been the endeavour of the British Government to induce its vassals and allies to abandon. Major Walker, when Resident at Baroda, thought he had succeeded with the greater part of them ; but it is believed by most officers on this side of the country, that the number saved was very small in proportion to that of the victims. Unhappily, pride, poverty, and avarice, are in league with superstition to perpetuate these horrors. It is a disgrace for a noble family to have a daughter unmarried, and still more to marry her to a person of inferior birth ; while they have neither the means nor the inclination, to pay such portions as a person of their own rank would expect to receive with them. On the other hand, the sacrifice of a child is believed, surely with truth, to be acceptable 'to the evil powers ;' and the fact is certain that, though the high-born Rajpoots have many sons, very few daughters are ever found in their palaces ; though it is not easy to prove any particular instance of murder, or to know the way in which the victims are disposed of. The common story of the country, and probably the true one, (for it is a point on which, except with the English, no mystery is likely to be observed,) is, that a large vessel of milk is set in the chamber of the lying-in woman, and the infant, if a girl, is immediately plunged into it. Sir John Malcolm (who supposes the practice to be on the decline) was told that a pill of opium was usually given. Through the influence of Major Walker, it is certain that many children were spared ; but, since that time, things have gone on very much in the old train, and the answers made by the chiefs to any remonstrances of the British officers is,—'*Pay our daughters' marriage money and they shall live !*' Yet these very men, rather than strike a cow, would submit to the most cruel martyrdom. Never may my dear wife and daughters forget, how much their sex is indebted to Christianity !*

The prevalence of Infanticide in certain parts of the Bengal Presidency has been stated by the Functionaries of Government. The Magistrate of Etawah, says,—"Murders have occurred respecting the division of land ; we have no instance of real and deliberate homicide ; but I fear that there is much reason

* Heber's Jour. vol. ii. p. 88.

to believe, that *child murder is frequently perpetrated.*"* "There are (says Bishop Heber) among the Hindoos frequent instances of murder, but of a most cowardly and premeditated kind. They are chiefly cases of women murdered from jealousy, and *children for the sake of the silver ornaments with which their parents are fond of decorating them.* Out of *thirty-six* cases of murder, reported in the Province of Bengal, during the short space of, I believe, *three months*, *seventeen* were of children under these circumstances." "The number of children who are decoyed aside and murdered for the sake of their ornaments, Lord Amherst assures me, is dreadful."†

"The horrible practice of female Infanticide still prevails in some Districts in the Island of Ceylon. In the last general census, taken in 1821, the number of males exceeded that of *females* by *20,000!!* In one District there were, to every hundred men, but fifty-five women, and in those parts where the numbers are equal, the population was almost exclusively Mussulman. The strange custom of one woman having two, or even more, husbands; and the consequent difficulty of marrying their daughters, in a country in which, to live single, is disgraceful, seem to be the causes of this unnatural custom. An astrologer is consulted on the birth of a female child, and, if he pronounce her to have been born under evil auspices, she is exposed alive in the woods, to be destroyed by beasts of prey or by ants; generally, I was happy to hear, without the consent of the mother."†

The adoption of a general law for India appears necessary.

J. Poynder, Esq., in his speech at a General Court of India Proprietors, March, 1827, in which a resolution was carried, that "*In the case of all rites involving the destruction of life, it is the duty of a paternal Government to interfere for their prevention,*" very forcibly observed; "It was on record, that, notwithstanding all that had been done by Col. Walker's meritorious exertions, the practice of Infanticide had again revived, in consequence of the apathy and indifference of that gentleman's successors. He might be told, that practices of this description must of necessity go on. This however he must strenuously deny: if *positive laws were enacted and put in force* on this, as they had been on other subjects of less moral importance, such practices might and would be prevented. Let not Gentlemen content themselves with the

* Par. Papers on Infan. 1828, p. 36. † Heber's Jour. vol. i. p. 82. vol. ii. p. 306. † vol. ii. p. 252. See Ham. Hind. vol ii. p. 329.

exertions of individuals: it was not by the efforts of such excellent men as Col. Walker, succeeded as they might be, by individuals who would not perform their duty, that the destruction of such practices could be accomplished. *It was only by a general law for India that a general reform could be expected.* Let them not lay 'the flattering unction to their souls' that partial efforts could remove the evil. Such measures—

"Will but skin and film the ulcerous part,
While rank corruption, mining all within,
Infects unseen."*

The conduct of the natives of the Society and Sandwich Islands is worthy of particular notice. "In order to mark their sense of the enormity of Infanticide," says Mr. Ellis, "the very *first article in the code of Laws* proposed by the chiefs, and adopted by the people in most of the Society Islands, shortly after their reception of Christianity, is a prohibition of Infanticide, annexing the *punishment of death to its perpetration under any circumstances whatever*. In the Sandwich Islands, although not abolished, we have reason to believe it prevails less extensively than it did four or five years ago. The king, and some of the chiefs, since they have attended to the precepts of Christianity, have readily expressed in public their convictions of its criminality, and that committing it is in fact *pepehi kanaka* (to kill man) under circumstances which aggravate its guilt. Kairamokee, Regent of the Islands, has more than once forbidden any parents to destroy their children, and has threatened to punish with banishment, if not with death, any who shall be found guilty of it."†

The objections urged to the appointment of informers appear to arise from a false delicacy, and a destitution of that abhorrence of murder, which in Britain we are taught to consider natural. Is blood to be secreted because intrusion into the haunts of murderers is unwelcome? R. Barnewell, Esq., in Cattywar, urging the Bombay Government to adopt more effectual means for the abolition of this practice, very justly observes:—"The only means to ensure further success is to persevere in discountenancing, as much as possible, this atrocity; but, so long as the force of pride and interest has a dominion sufficiently powerful to subdue in the Jahreja every principle of humanity and religion, this unnatural practice will be but slowly abolished.

* Asiatic Journal, May, 1827, p. 699.

† Ellis's Tour, p. 303.

"The effect of rewards for convicting the offender, and establishing the guilt of the parties, might be attended with some benefit; they might be offered to stimulate the activity of informers; to enforce the penalties prescribed by the engagement, and remove obstacles which now interfere to prevent the crimes being discovered. The fines levied for the commission of the offence might be expended, partly or wholly in rewards to those actively engaged in enabling the British Government to give greater effect to the suppression of the crime; this appears the only temptation likely to induce an informer to come forward, that it would be politic or desirable to authorize, or that seems calculated to afford any increased facility in establishing the guilt of those perpetrating it."* "I should beg," says Lieut. Col. Miles, Political Agent Pahlunpore, "to recommend that the cakoons (writers) in the Jahreja Talooks be instructed to keep a register of the births of female children, and use all vigilance in detecting any future violation of those solemn engagements."† The propriety of encouraging the detection of the crime of Infanticide appears evident.

It is the duty of the Hon. East India Company's Government, and, on their neglect of it, that of the British Nation, to promote the speedy and entire abolition of this, and every inhuman custom in India. The Government in India has been more attentive to the abolition of Infanticide than formerly. Some few fines have been levied, and donations given to defray the expense of the marriage of Jahreja females. Until Infanticide be punished severely, it may be feared that it will not be annihilated. Why is not "inquisition made for blood?" Political expediency cannot justify palliation of crime and murder. No such expediency really exists. Let the inhabitants of the United Kingdom "relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." Let petitions from every part of the land demonstrate the deep interest felt in the abolition of Infanticide, and every murderous practice in British India.

Societies and Corresponding Committees should be formed for the abolition of human sacrifices in India. They would diffuse information on the nature and extent of these sacrifices, and the propriety and facility of their abolition—originate Petitions—and press the subject constantly upon the attention of the British Government in this country and in India. Such a Society exists in the City of Coventry. How long shall the exclamation of the Poet continue to be so just—

* Par. Papers, 1828, p. 10.

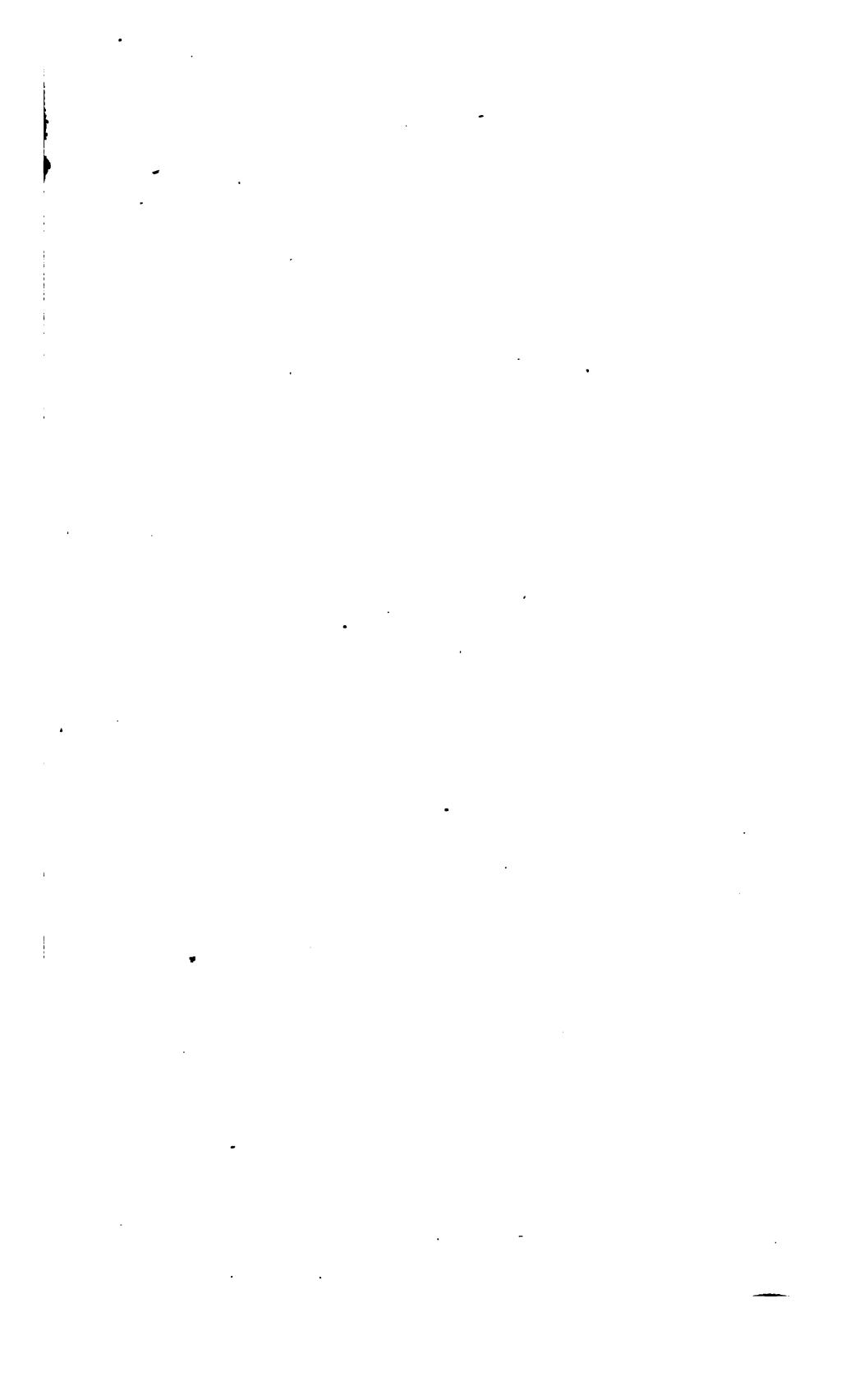
† p. 29.

“——— Hear it not ye stars,
 And thou pale moon, turn paler at the sound!
 Man is to man the sorest, surest ill.
 Heaven’s sovereign saves all beings but himself!”

Why do not the British, the modern Romans, in arts and arms, enterprise and extent of colonization, imitate the ancient Romans, who, says Montesquieu, “deserved well of human nature, for making it an article in their treaty with the Carthaginians, that they should abstain from sacrificing their children to their gods?” Is Britain, once characterized “*Britannos hospitibus feros*,” by the benign power of Christianity recognised as the liberator of the slave—the patron of civil and religious liberty—the friend of the human race—Heaven’s messenger of Gospel mercies to millions over whom she rules? Let the best influence of the British character be manifest wherever it is known, and the sentiment of the Poet constantly regarded:—

“——— Spread it then;
 And let it circulate through every vein
 Of all your Empire; that, where *Britain’s power*
Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too!”

COWPER.





TEMPLE OF JUGGERNAUT, IN ORISSA.

BOOK II.

BRITISH CONNECTION WITH IDOLATRY.

CHAP. I.

Origin, nature, proceeds, and appropriation of the Pilgrim Tax.—Traces of British connection with Idolatry and Mahomedanism in various parts of India.

THE connection of Britain with Idolatry in India, consists in the establishment of the Pilgrim Tax at the Temple of Juggernaut in Orissa, Gya, and Allahabad; in the reception, from various temples, of the gains of Idolatry, and in making annual grants of money for the support of this obscene and cruel system. The nature, extent, and injurious tendency of this system are developed in this book; and the misery of the deluded pilgrims, allured to the shrines of superstition, (rendered more celebrated by Government regulations and emoluments,) cry loudly to Britain, relative to the support of heathen temples, “*Let them alone.*”

The origin of the Pilgrim Tax at the Temple Juggernaut, is thus stated in an interesting “Account of Orissa,” by the late A. Stirling, Esq.:—“The Moguls (who gained possession of Orissa about the close of the sixteenth century) seemed to have been actuated by peculiar rancour towards Juggernaut, and lost no opportunity in disturbing the Hindoos in the performance of their devotion at his temple. During these contests, in and about Pooree, the images,* so much venerated by one party and abhorred by the other, were twice or thrice carried away across the Chilka Lake, and concealed among the hills, until the times appeared favourable for again setting

* Juggernaut, Bulbuldra, and Subudra, his brother and sister.

them on their thrones in the temple. This religious warfare was at last set at rest, by the institution of the tax on pilgrims ; which, if we may credit the author of the work translated by Gladwin, under the title of 'History of Bengal,' yielded the Mogul Government a revenue of 900,000 rupees. Under such circumstances religious antipathies, however strong on the part of the ruling powers, yielded gradually to the consideration of self-interest.* The Mahrattas, who succeeded the Mahomedans in the Government of Orissa, levied the tax, and the British have followed the example of their predecessors.

"Before this place (Juggernaut) fell into the hands of the English, the King, a Mahratta Chief, exacted tolls from the pilgrims passing through his territories to Juggernaut. At one place the toll was not less than £1. 9s. for each foot passenger, if he had so much property with him. When a Bengalee Rajah used to go, he was accompanied by one or two thousand people, for every one of whom he was obliged to pay toll. The Hon. Company's Government levies a tax of from one to six rupees on each passenger."† Whether the origin of the Pilgrim Tax at Gya and Allahabad was the same as at Juggernaut is not certain ; but it is probable, that the rapacious followers of the prophet of Mecca, established it in various parts of India.

The nature of the system will appear from the Government Regulations relative to the Pilgrim Tax, extracted from "Harington's Analysis of the Laws and Regulations of the Bengal Presidency," vol. iii. and vi.; and the Parliamentary Papers relative to Juggernaut, printed May 1813. The following compendious view of the system appears deserving of attention.

JUGGERNAUT.

"This is a celebrated place of Hindoo worship on the sea coast of Orissa, district of Cuttack, Lat. 19. 49. N. and Lon. 85. 54., 300 miles from Calcutta. The population is estimated at 30,000. Possession was taken of the town and temple by the British, Sep. 18, 1803 ; *the sacred will of the idol having been first ascertained through the medium of the officiating priest !* At Juggernaut there are thirteen annual festivals :—Chandan (sweet-scented power), Snan (bathing festival), Ruth

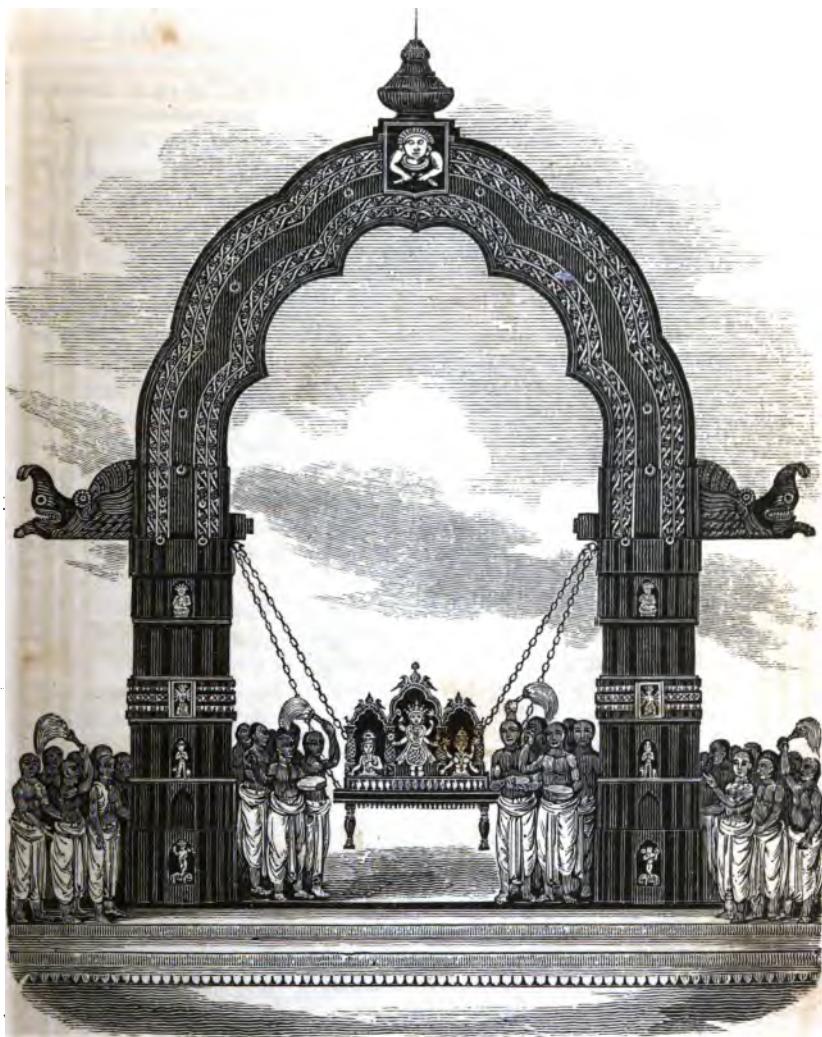
* See Asi. Researches, vol. xv. 1825, pp. 163—338.

† Ward's View of the His. Lit. and Myth. of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 134. See also Saturday's Mag., July 7, 21, and Aug. 11, 1832.

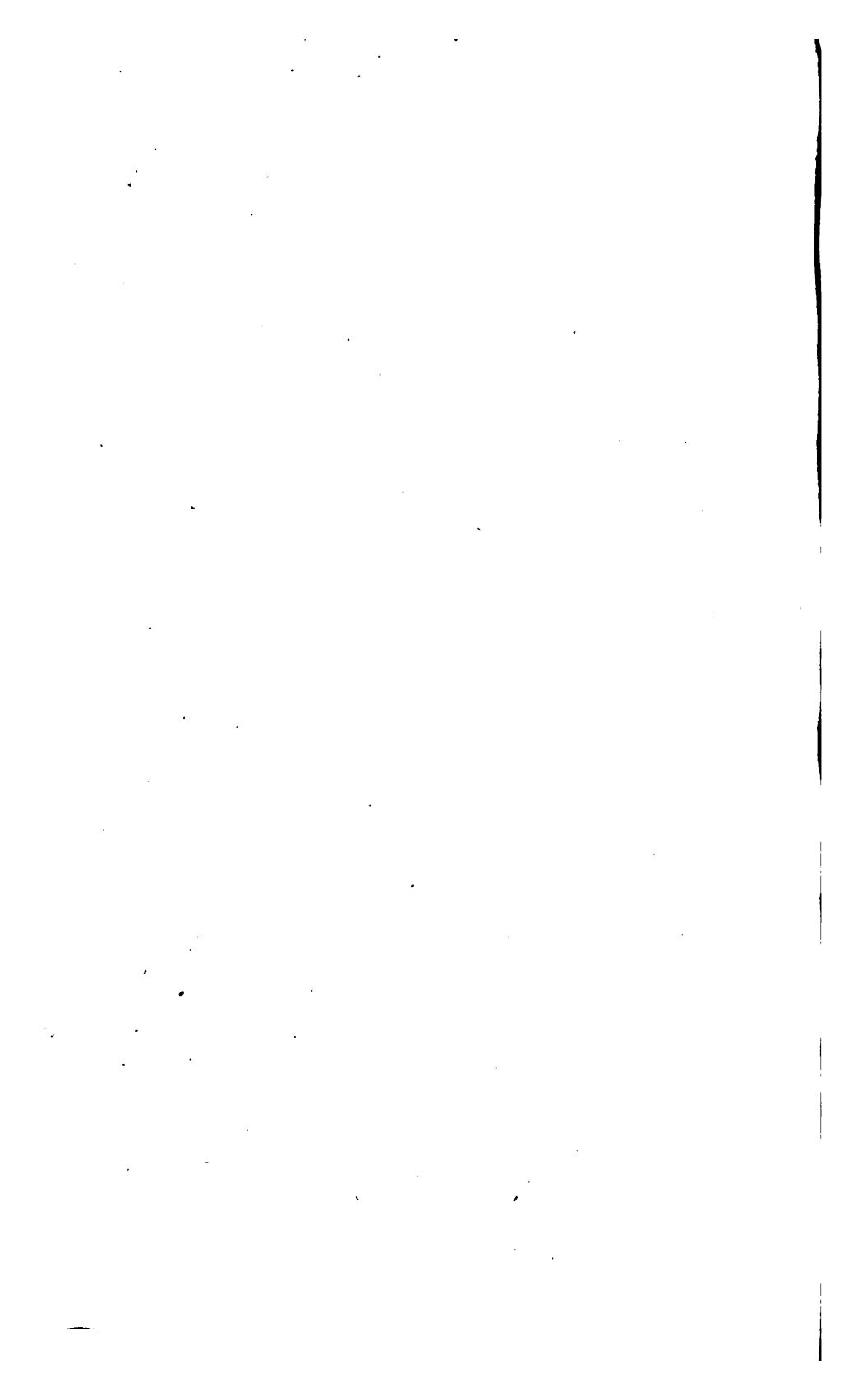


JUGGERNAUT AND HIS BROTHER AND SISTER.





DOLE JATTRA, OR SWINGING OF JUGGERNAUT.



(car ditto), Bahura (returning ditto), Shayan (lying down ditto), Jamna (birth ditto), Kojugara (waking ditto), Rasa festival, Urana (warm clothing ditto), Abhishaca (anointing ditto), Macura (sign of the zodiac ditto), Dole (swinging ditto), Ram Narami (Ram's birth-day ditto). Much the greater number of pilgrims are present at the Swinging and Car Festivals. The concourse of pilgrims to this temple is so immense, that at fifty miles distance, its approach may be known by the quantity of human bones which are strewed by the way."*

"Juggernaut is one of the most celebrated places in India. All the land within twenty miles is considered holy ; but the most sacred spot is enclosed within a stone wall, twenty-one feet high, and forms nearly a square : two sides measuring each 656 feet, and the other two 626 feet in length. Within this area are about *fifty temples*, dedicated to various idols ; but the most conspicuous buildings consists of one lofty stone tower, 184 feet high, and twenty-eight feet eight inches square inside, and is called the Bur Dewal, and two adjoining stone buildings with pyramidal roofs. The idol Juggernaut, his brother Bulbuldra, and his sister Subudra, occupy the tower. The first pyramidal building, which is forty feet square inside, is connected with the tower, and is the place where the idol is worshipped during the bathing Festival. Adjoining this temple is a low building on pillars (with a fabulous animal in the centre), which is intended as an awning to shelter the entrance from the rays of the sun ; and after this is a second building, with a pyramidal stone roof, where the food prepared for the pilgrims, or others, is daily brought, previous to distribution. This latter building is said to have been removed from Kanaruck, or the black Pagoda, and is called the Beg Mundee. The temple of Juggernaut was erected by Rajah Anung Bheem Deo, and completed in A. D. 1198. The roofs are ornamented in a singular style, with representations of monsters, which can only be understood by a drawing ; but the walls of the temples, which are not visible beyond the enclosure, are covered with statues of stone. Several represent a famous Hindoo god, Mahadeo, with his wife Parbuttee, in attitudes so grossly indecent, that it seems surprising, how any superstition could debase its votaries to such a degree, as to make them introduce into their most sacred places such obscene representations ! Each side of the boundary wall has a large gateway in the centre ; but the grand entrance is in the eastern face.

* Hamilton's Description of Hindostan. Vol. ii. pp. 51—53.

"The idol Juggernaut is probably the coarsest image in the country. The figure does not extend below the loins, and it has no hands, but two stumps in lieu of arms, on which the priests occasionally fasten hands of gold. A Christian is almost led to think, that it was an attempt to see how low idolatry could debase the human mind. The priests endeavour to account for the deformity by a very strange legendary tale. Some thousands of years ago, in the Sutya Yagu, Maharajah Indradyumna, of Ojein, in Malwa, applied to the celebrated manufacturer of gods, to make a new idol. This request was granted, on condition that the Maharajah should not interrupt the work, as it could never be completed, if any attempt were made to see the process. This caution was not duly attended to. The prince endeavoured to see what progress had been made, and it became necessary that he should be satisfied with the imperfect image. When two new moons occur in Assaur, (part of June and July,) which is said to happen about once in seventeen years, *a new idol is always made*. A neem tree (*malia azadarachta*) is sought for in the forests, on which no crow or carrion bird was ever perched: it is known to the initiated by certain signs! This is prepared into a proper form by common carpenters, and is then intrusted to certain priests, who are protected from all intrusion: the process is a great mystery. One man is selected to take out of the old idol a small box, containing the spirit, which is conveyed inside the new: *the man, who does this, is always removed from this world before the end of the year!*"*

The first Regulations relative to Juggernaut's temple were adopted by the British Government, Jan. 1806; these were afterwards rescinded, and others framed in 1809 and 1810. The following is *A summary of the Regulations* :—

The superintendence of the temple, and its interior economy, are vested in the Rajah of Khoorda. The Governor-General in Council possesses the power of removing the Rajah or any of his successors from the superintendence, on proof of misconduct. The superintendent of the temple is authorized to punish instances of neglect or misconduct, by imposing small fines, or by removing the offender (if not one of the three head Purchas) from his office; *the amount of fines is to be carried to the account of Government*. The three dewul Purchas are to be appointed by the Collector of Cuttack, subject to the confirmation of Government. In the event of orders being issued by the Rajah contrary to the recorded rules and institutions of the temple, a representation is to be made to the Collector of the tax, for the orders of the Governor-General in Council, if it appear necessary. The third dewul

* Col. Phipps' Account of Juggernaut.—Asi. Jour., March 1824. The father of the *Grand Lama* suffers in the same manner. Ham. Hind. vol. ii. p. 574.

Purcha shall give account to the Collector of the tax of *all offerings and presents made to the idol*. The collection of the tax is intrusted to an officer, with the official designation of "The Collector of the Tax on Pilgrims," subject to the authority of the Collector at Cuttack; the general superintendence of the collections, and the control of the officers employed in the performance of that duty, are vested in the Board of Revenue at Fort William. The avenues for the admission of pilgrims shall be confined to two Ghauts, Attara Nullah on the North, and Ghaut Lokenauth on the south-west of the town of Juggernaut Pooree. The pilgrims liable to the tax shall be divided into four classes—*laul jattrees, nim lauls, bhurrungs, and punj tirthees*, including the following persons of low cast who are not permitted to enter the temple.* The rate of tax payable by the different classes is as follows:—Pilgrims of the first class from the north, passing the Attarah Nullah, pay a tax of *ten rupees*; from the south, passing Lokenaut, *six rupees*. Pilgrims of the second class from the north, pay *five rupees*; from the south *three rupees*. Pilgrims of the third class, from either the north or south, pay *two rupees*. Pilgrims of the fourth class, passing either Ghauts, pay *two rupees*. A pilgrim of the first class is allowed free access to the temple for thirty days, constantly attended by a punda. He may be exempted from the attendance of these officers, *by a further payment of ten rupees to the Collector*; and, by surrendering his pass, shall be allowed to remain in the town as long as he pleases. Pilgrims of the second class, at the Car Festival, are allowed access to the temple ten days; at other festivals seven days only. Pilgrims of the third class, at the Car Festival are allowed five days; at other times but four; and must be attended by a punda. Pilgrims of the fourth class are *allowed to worship outside the temple* sixteen days. Pilgrims may enrol themselves in either of the first three classes on paying the prescribed tax. Printed certificates shall be procurable on the payment of the fixed tax, at the office of the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, the Collector of Cuttack and Ganjam, and at the two Ghauts. Form as follows:—

"A. B., inhabitant of _____ in the district of _____, having this day paid into this office the sum of sicca rupees _____, is entitled to pass through the _____ Ghaut without further interruption, as a *laul jattree* to the cutcherry of the Collector of the tax at Juggernaut. On producing this certificate to the said Collector, he is further entitled to receive a pass, and to have access to the temple thirty days."

<i>Names or designation of attendants.</i>	<i>Amount of tax paid respectively.</i>	<i>Period for which to visit the temple.</i>
------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------

Forms No. 2, 3, and 4, differ only in the names of the class of pilgrims, the rate of tax, and the period of attendance at the temple. A pilgrim of the first class, desirous of visiting the temple with his family and attendants, not

* Kusbee (prostitutes), cullal (liquor sellers), machoowa (fishermen), numosooder (boatmen), ghooskee (private bad women), gazur (labourers who carry burdens on their heads), baugdee (fishers, labourers), joogee (weavers), kahar bawry (bearers), raujbunsee (different cast of boatmen), chamar (shoe-makers), dhomee (washermen), paun (basket-makers), teor (another cast of boatmen), bhoimalee (makers of garlands, &c., for marriages), haddee (maters). These *sixteen casts* are not suffered to enter the temple to worship Juggernaut.

exceeding twenty persons, these must first pay the tax of the second or third class, and then they may stop as long as their master. *The certificates shall be dated and attested by the official seal, the blank places filled up, &c.* A pilgrim presenting the printed certificate is to be allowed to pass without interruption. The molestation of such an individual, by the daroga at the Ghaut, shall be punished by a fine, not exceeding his salary for three months and dismissal from office. The duty of the Collector of Juggernaut is to superintend the conduct of the darogas. Pilgrims of the first, second, and third classes, having passed the Ghauts at Juggernaut, are to apply to the Collector for a licence of access to the Temple in the following form:—

"A. B., inhabitant of _____, in the district of _____, is entitled to perform the customary ceremonies, under charge of _____ during _____ days, that is to say, from the _____ day of the month of _____ until the _____ day of the month of _____; and for that period you will afford to the holders hereof free access to the Temple of Juggernaut. At the expiration of the period granted, you will return the licence into the office of the Collector of tax."

The fourth class, who are not allowed to enter the temple, receive a form a little differing from the above. In case of sickness the Collector is allowed to extend the period of a pilgrim's continuance in the town, but is to observe due caution in the exercise of this authority. Pilgrims are not to be delayed obtaining licence to visit the temple, and therefore a sufficient number of blank licences are to be prepared. The Collector of the tax shall keep a register of licences granted, and every punda or purharee who neglects to return them shall be fined, in no case exceeding the amount of the tax paid by the first class of pilgrims. The attendants of the fourth class are to return their licence or be fined, in no case exceeding one month's salary. *Pilgrims stopping in the town beyond the time prescribed, are to be expelled by the police daroga.* The following descriptions of persons are exempt from paying the tax:—Byrages, sunyasees, dundies, brumacharies, mohunts, gosains, khomartees, and nagas, persons employed in carrying the water of the Ganges to Juggernaut and pouring it over the idol at Lokenaut, and persons resorting to Juggernaut Pooree for trade, (excepting for twelve days from the beginning of the Car Festival,) or any other purpose except on pilgrimage. Persons professing to be carriers of the water of the Ganges are to be placed under the conduct of a punda; and on refusing to do it are to be expelled the town, or to pay the tax. Persons intending to live in the town the remainder of life are exempted from the tax, if they are not able to pay it. All native military officers and sepoys on duty at Juggernaut are exempted from the tax; but, *to obtain admittance into the Temple, a pass must be received from the commanding officer at the station to the Collector of Tax, who shall then admit them free.* Servants of Europeans may enter the town without paying the tax. The exemption from tax of persons born within the Byturnee river and Ganjam, having been found *detrimental to the public revenue*, and as under the Mahratta Government such persons were made to pay the tax, the following rules respecting the exemption of such persons are enacted: During the Ruth and Dole Festivals, the exemption in favour of these people is restricted to the residents within Pipley, to the north, and Manickpatam, to the south; at all other times of the year they pass free. At the above festivals they have to pay a tax as follows: Lauls, one rupee; Nim Lauls, eight annas; Bhurungs, four annas. They are to receive the same attention as other pilgrims. Kungals or pilgrims in actual state of poverty, on declaring it, under certain

prescribed ceremonies, are admitted free.* The Collector of the tax is required to give every attention to the religious opinions of the Hindoos, and the particular institutions of the temple.†

The Collector of the Pilgrim Tax at Juggernaut, in March 1806, proposed to the Government in Calcutta, the adoption of *a premium for the pundits who collect the pilgrims*. He stated, "As the pilgrims will never be well treated by their conductors, unless they receive a present from their own hands, I beg leave to propose that the fees of the pundits, &c., be publicly fixed, and collected by the pundits themselves, separate from the tax, as was formerly done under the Mahratta Government." To this it was replied:—"The Governor General in Council approves of your proposition for permitting the pundits to collect a fee from the pilgrims, exclusive of the tax payable to Government; you will accordingly, *fix the rates at which such fee should be levied, and publish the rates for general information at the temple, and in its vicinity*.—March 20, 1806."‡

Colonel Phipps, of the Bengal Native Infantry, stationed at Juggernaut in 1822, in an interesting article respecting the temple and worship of Juggernaut, gives the following information relative to the collectors of pilgrims, and the *premium* they receive:—"It having been decided that a tax should be levied, every precaution was taken to make it yield as much as possible. Alterations were made in the Regulations from time to time. One of the principal was in the mode of rewarding the purharies and pundits. The purharies are a body of people who reside at Pooree, governed by four surdars; one of whom is their gomasta, or chief manager, who attends at the Attara Nulla, where the main gate is placed. They have a great number of subordinate agents, *who travel about in search of pilgrims, and bring them in companies to Juggernaut*. The pundits are the servants of the idol, and do the same duties as the purharies at the gate. The Government, at first, authorized these people to collect at the barriers a fee from the pilgrims, for their own benefit; but, this privilege having been abused, it was resolved that the British Collector should levy, *beside the tax for the State, an*

* Numbers have perished through neglect, and disease, before they were admitted into the town. A correspondent in June, 1827, states that sheds for accommodating three or four thousand pilgrims, have been erected under the superintendence and at the expense of the British Government.

† Harington's Analysis, vol. iii. pp. 209—220.—Par. Papers, relative to Juggernaut, May, 1813, No. 194, art. 7, pp. 81—86.

‡ Par. Papers, May, 1813, p. 35.

additional one, the amount of which he subsequently paid over to the purharees and pundits, in such proportions as they were entitled to, from the number of pilgrims which each had succeeded in enticing to undertake the Pilgrimage. The pilgrims who attend the festival of the Chundun Jattra, and wish to remain in order to see the Ruth Jattra, are termed Lal Jattrees. They pay ten rupees to Government, and three rupees to the priests who have brought them, if they come from the northward; and, if from the southward, six rupees to Government, and three rupees for the priest. A great many pilgrims attend the Chaund or Snan Jattra; and those who wish to remain a fortnight, and see the Ruth Jattra, are termed Nim Lauls. If they come from the northward, they pay to Government five rupees, and a rupee and a half to the person who brings them; if from the southward, three rupees to Government, and half that sum to the punda who brings them. Two rupees six annas is the tax for five days.”*

“Some persons, on leaving this place, deposit, with the Brahmuns of the temple, one or two hundred rupees, with the interest of which they are to purchase rice, and present it daily to Juggernaut, and afterwards to dundees or brahmuns. Deeds of gift are also made to Juggernaut all over Hindostan,† which are received by agents in every large town, and paid to the mutdharees at Juggernaut Pooree, who by this means (though professing themselves mendicants) have become some of the richest merchants in India. The temple has been endowed by several rich Hindoos, Rajah Ram Krishna Dav, gave two villages, the rents of which amount to about 4,000 rupees annually; Nimoo-mullik, of Calcutta, gave daily one rupee, and his children continue the donation. It is supposed, that not less than 100,000 rupees per annum are drawn from the Hindoos by the brahmuns of this temple.”‡

Among the documents published by order of Parliament in 1813 there is no official estimate of the number of pilgrims

* Mis. Register, Dec. 1824, pp. 575—580. See Friend of India, Oct. 1825, p. 270.

† “The same places of popular esteem or religious resort are equally respected in *Tibet and Bengal*. Allahabad, Benares, Durjodun, Gya, Saugor Island, and Juggernaut, being objects of devout pilgrimages, but the two last are esteemed of pre-eminent sanctity; while Gya, the birth-place of their great legislator (Bhood), is only of secondary rank. Those who are unable to perform the pilgrimages in person, acquire a considerable degree of merit by having it effected by proxy.” Ham. Hind., vol. ii. p. 579.

‡ Ward’s View of the Hindoos, vol. ii. pp. 9. 135.

resorting annually to this temple. "The following is a statement of pilgrims of all classes who attended for five years at the *three great festivals*, procured from the most authentic sources:—

YEARS.	PAYING TAX.	EXEMPT.	TOTAL.
1817—18	35,941	39,720	75,661
1818—19	36,241	4,870	41,111
1819—20	92,874	39,000	131,874
1820—21	21,946	11,500	33,446
1821—22	35,160	17,000	52,160"*

At the great Car Festival in July 1825, it was stated that the number of pilgrims was 225,000. A late resident in Orissa, in a note to the Author, in 1823, says,—"On referring to some accounts, I can say, that all classes of pilgrims resorting to Juggernaut annually, amount to from about 50,000 to 300,000. I have observed the latter number in two or three instances when any holydays of consequence took place. I resided at Juggernaut about *twelve* years, and did duty immediately under the Collector of Tax on Pilgrims."

GYA.

Gya is the modern capital of Behar, lat. 24. 49. N., long. 85. E. Distance from Calcutta 322 miles. Population about 30,000. To procure the salvation of deceased relations, crowds of Hindoos here perform the shradda, or funeral ceremonies for deceased relatives. "Respecting this celebrated place of worship, there are many Brahminical legends, of which the following has the merit of being the shortest. Gya an Ausoor giant and infidel, by severe penances obtained divine favour, and subjugated the three worlds,—heaven, earth, and hell. The demigods bereft of their dignity, implored the assistance of Vishnu, who entered into a long contest with the Ausoor, but could not overcome him. The monster however was so well pleased with Vishnu's prowess, that he promised to give him whatever blessing he should ask, and the latter, in consequence, requested him to descend into the infernal regions. The giant consented, but begged he might be pressed down by the foot of Vishnu, which was accordingly done; and the scene of action has ever since been reckoned sacred for the space of several square miles. The

* Stirling's Account of Orissa.—Asi. Res., vol. xv. p. 225.

Buddhists ascribe the sanctity of Gya, to its having been either the birth place or residence of their great prophet and legislator.”*

The nature of idolatry at this place is thus described:— “At Gya there is a particular stone on which Vishnoo set his foot, and a person by putting on this stone, in the form prescribed, a certain paste prepared there, and by repeating at the same time the name of a deceased friend, can transfer that friend from hell itself to supreme felicity: and this benefit he may extend, not to one friend only, but, by repeated applications of paste, to as many as he can recollect, even of his distant ancestors!!”†

“No printed regulations have been enacted relative to the tax levied at Gya, the duty of the Collector, and a European Superintendent, being simply to receive a fixed rate of tax, upon licences granted to the pilgrims for visiting the different places of worship and pilgrimage in the vicinity of the town. In a statement from the Collector at Gya in July 1790, the rates of duty paid by pilgrims for permission to perform their religious ceremonies chiefly in honour of deceased ancestors, at the river Phulgo, or adjacent places, were stated to vary from *six annas*, to *twelve rupees, eleven annas, three pie*. This duty of Government is independent of donations to the *gyawals*, or priests. Ever since the city of Gya became famous for its sanctity, it has been the custom of its *Brahmans*, to *travel through all countries where the Hindoo religion prevails in search of pilgrims*, whose donations are considered the property of the *gyawal*, through whose means they are brought. These contributions have ever been a source of considerable wealth, and are the property of those, *who, but for them, would probably never have visited Gya*. When a pilgrim arrives, his *gyawal*, or religious father, conducts him to the *daroga*, or superintending officer of the *sayer* collections, and explains to him the ceremonies which the pilgrim is desirous of performing; after which an order, specifying the names of the pilgrim and *gyawal*, as also the ceremonies, is made out, *under the official seal and signature of the Collector*, authorizing the performance of the ceremonies. At the time of delivering this order, *the duty [to Government] is paid, which varies according to the number and nature of the rites performed.*‡

“The British Government,” says Hamilton, “has an agent at Gya, who levies a tax on pilgrims, according to the magnitude of the ceremonies he means to perform. *One class visiting only one place, pay two $\frac{1}{16}$ th rupees; another visiting two places, three $\frac{1}{16}$ th rupees; a third visiting thirty-eight places, pay four 5-16th rupees, and the fourth class, visiting forty-five places, pay fourteen $\frac{1}{16}$ th rupees!* The duty to Government, however, is but a small part of the pilgrim’s expense; for he is fleeced by the priests, not only of all the money he brings with him, but of *promissory notes for future payments*, which are sent to him when he returns home; the priests of Gya maintaining emissaries for this purpose in the remotest parts of India, which they also occasionally visit on speculation. The most numerous votaries are Bengalees

* Hamil. Hind., vol. i. p. 265. For a recent account of Gya, see Mis. Reg. Nov. 1827, p. 584; and Dec. 1829.

† Grant’s Observ. &c., Par. Papers, June, 1813, p. 61.

‡ Harington’s Analysis, vol. iii. p. 207.

and Mahrattas; and some of the great chiefs of the latter have been known to expend 50,000 rupees.*

ALLAHABAD.

“Allahabad is the capital of a province of the same name, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. Lat. 25. 27. N., Long. 81. 50. E. Distance from Calcutta 550 miles, and from Benares 63 miles. Population in 1803, without the garrison, 20,000. By the Brahmuns Allahabad is called Bhat Prayag; or, by way of distinction, as it is the largest and most holy, is simply designated Prayag. The other four Prayagas (or sacred confluences of rivers) are situated in the province of Serinagur, at the junction of the Alacananda with other streams, and are named Devaprayaga, Rudraprayaga, Carnaprayaga, and Nandaprayaga. This Prayaga owes its celebrity to the junction at this spot of the Ganges, Jumna, and Sereswate. There is no such river as the last now visible in the neighbourhood, but the Hindoos assert that it joins the other two under ground, and that by bathing here, the same religious merit is acquired, as if the penitent had bathed in the three separately. Many persons renounce life at this confluence, by going in a boat, after the performance of certain solemnities, to the exact spot where the three rivers unite, where the devotee plunges into the stream, with three pots of water tied to his body.† When a pilgrim arrives, *he sits down on the bank of the river, and has his head and body shaved, so that each hair may fall into the water, the sacred writings promising him one million years' residence in heaven for every hair thus deposited!!* After shaving, he bathes; and the same day, or the next, performs the obsequies of his deceased ancestors.”‡

The following Rules are enacted by Regulation xviii. 1810, for the collection of duties on pilgrims at Allahabad, and for the prevention of abuses in such collections:—

“On every pilgrim on foot, *one rupee.*”

“On every pilgrim with a horse, or palanquin, or carriage of any description, *two rupees.*”

“On every pilgrim with a camel, *three rupees.*”

“On every pilgrim with an elephant, *twenty rupees.*”

“All other duties or fees at the Ghaut, within the fort, or at any other place, are prohibited. Every pilgrim, on application to the Collector of the Land Revenue at Allahabad, shall be furnished with a licence to perform the usual ceremonies; and no person shall be admitted to perform such ceremo-

* Hamilton's Hindostan, vol. i. p. 265.

† This is said to have been recently abolished by the British magistrate. Asi. Journ. August, 1827, p. 241. ‡ Ham. Hind., vol. i. p. 300.

nies without a licence. The inhabitants of the town and suburbs of Allahabad, and the Hindoos in the Honourable Company's Army, are exempt from duty; but every such person must be furnished with a licence of exemption from the Collector, before he can be entitled to perform the religious ceremonies. No tax of any kind shall be imposed upon the shaving barbers attending at the conflux of the rivers; but they shall be required to register their names at the Collector's office, and execute an obligation to the Collector, under a penalty of fifty rupees in every instance of contravention, not to perform that part of the ceremony, resting with them, to any one without a licence. Access to the place of ablution shall be restricted to a certain number of gates and avenues, fixed by a barrier annually established, on the subsiding of the rivers, from the palisades of the fort to the bank of the river: and no person shall be admitted through such barrier without the prescribed licence. Such numbers and descriptions of native officers, as may be approved by the Board of Commissioners, shall be stationed by the Collector at the barrier, to prevent any person performing the ceremonies without a licence. *A sufficient military force shall, on application of the Collector, be posted at the barrier during the mela or principal concourse of pilgrims in January and February, who shall prevent the people breaking through the barrier or otherwise forcing admission.* The licences and exemptions, after being shown at the place of admission, shall be delivered up to the officers, to be returned to the Collector in order to their being cancelled. Persons, with a view to avoid the payment of the duty, attempting to cross over in boats from the opposite side of the river to the place of ablution, shall be liable to a fine of three times the prescribed duty: and, if any barber shall assist any such person in performing the ceremonies, he shall be liable to the penalty stipulated in his engagements. No barber, except such as shall have entered into the prescribed obligation, shall officiate in the ceremonies; and any barber contravening this prohibition shall be liable to the penalty of fifty rupees for every pilgrim shaved; and, if not able to pay, he shall be committed to jail for three months."*

Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet, the deputation of the London Missionary Society, speak of the existence of this system on their visit to Allahabad in 1826.—"Some idea of the prodigious multitude of pilgrims, that annually visit this holy city, may be formed from the circumstance, that there are *four hundred barbers* in it, who are supported principally, by shaving the heads of the bathers in the sacred waters of the Jumna and the Ganges; such purification being indispensable before venturing upon an ablution, which is supposed to reach the very soul, and cleanse it from all defilement. A small Tax is levied by the British Government on each of these strangers; and at festival times, the office where it is received, and licences to bathe are issued, is *thronged with eager applicants, who grudge no labour, suffering, or expense, that they may obtain heaven by such means as are here required for the purchase of it ! !*"†

* Harington's Analysis, vol. iii. p. 222.

† Jour. of Voy. and Travels, &c., vol. ii. p. 328.

The proceeds of this system, and the appropriation of them, appear from the notes appended to this section of the "Analysis."

JUGGERNAUT.

	<i>Rupees.</i>
Gross collection of Pilgrim Tax for 1815—16 (including 72 rupees miscellaneous receipts)	53,725
Assessment of endowed lands	26,818
Sale of <i>holy food</i> *	5,484
	<hr/>
	86,027
Deduct charges for establishment and contingencies	17,143
Expenses of Juggernaut's Temple	56,372
English cloth for the three cars	1,365
	<hr/>
	74,880
Net collection	8) 11,147
	<hr/>
	£1,393

Dr. Buchanan, in his "Christian Researches," states, from official accounts, the annual expenses of the Idol Juggernaut, presented to the English Government, as follows:—

	<i>Rupees.</i>	<i>£.</i>
Expense of the table of the Idol	36,115 or 4,514	
Ditto of his dress or wearing apparel	2,712 —	339
Ditto of the wages of his servants	10,057 —	1,259
Ditto of contingent expenses at the different seasons } of pilgrimage	10,989 —	1,373
Ditto of his elephants and horses	3,030 —	378
Ditto of his ruts, or annual state carriage	6,713 —	839
	<hr/>	
Rupees	69,616	£8,702

"In item 'wages of servants' are included the wages of the *courtesans*, who are kept for the service of the temple.†

"What is called in the official account 'the state carriage,' is the same as the car or tower. Mr. Hunter (the Collector of the Pilgrim Tax) informed me that three 'state carriages'

* "With the consent of the Purchas, I deputed an Aumeen to oversee and state the produce from the sale of *holy food*, the quantity and value of cloth presented for the purpose of being displayed on the wheel at the top of the temple, on which Government receives, from the person presenting, its full value as a fee, under the head of Dujja, exclusive of which he has also to pay the fee of the Purchas and others, for their ministry during the ceremony." G. Webb, Collector of Tax, Dec. 1807. Par. Papers, 1813, p. 65. Auth.

† For the character of these persons, see Heber's Journ., vol. ii. p. 283.

were decorated this year (June 1806) with upwards of £200 sterling worth of English *broad cloth* and *baize*."

What a trifling sum is 11,147 rupees, about £1,390 sterling, as the clear gain of supporting idolatry at Juggernaut; a gain, doubtless, accompanied by the death of hundreds of unhappy pilgrims! The variation in the annual number of pilgrims is considerable; the principal cause is the early or late commencement of the principal festivals. The mortality in the rainy season is great, and intimidates even the superstitious Hindoos from undertaking the pilgrimage. Mr. Harington states "the net receipts for 1814—15 at 135,667 rupees, and the number of taxed pilgrims, who were assembled from different parts of India at the Snan and Rut Jattra in May and June, to have been 77,323, inclusive of those exempted from the payment of duties. The attendance of pilgrims in June and July, 1815, who paid the established duty, was 5,444. The difference is partly to be ascribed to the lateness of the season of the principal festival, and the difficulty of travelling by land in Cuttack and the adjacent districts."

GYA.

The amount of Pilgrim Tax at Gya is more considerable than at Juggernaut; and is, with a small deduction, thrown into the Public Treasury.

	<i>Rupees.</i>
"Gross collections from May, 1815, to April, 1816,	229,805
Deduct charges of collections and 1 per cent. to English } Superintendent	7,021
Charitable allowances to several individuals	2,530
Donation to Native Hospital in Calcutta	11,300
Native Rajah, 10 per cent. on net collections	26,078
	<hr/>
	46,929
	<hr/>
	8)182,876
Leaving the net receipts	<hr/> £22,859"

ALLAHABAD.

The receipts and disbursements of the tax on pilgrims for 1815-16 were as follow:—

	<i>Rupees.</i>
"Gross collections, including 695 rupees levied from pilgrims } without licences, who attempted to evade the tax	79,779

Charges and commission of 5 per cent. to the English Collector.	6,726
	8)73,053
Net receipts to Government . . .	£9,131 ^{**}

TRIPETTY.

“ This is the most celebrated Hindoo temple south of the Krishna river, lat. 13. 46. N., long. 79. 24. E., 80 miles N. W. from Madras. The temple is placed in an elevated hollow or basin, enclosed by a circular crest of hills, the precincts of which have never been profaned by Christian or Mahomedan feet, nor has even the exterior of it been seen but by a genuine Hindoo. The reciprocal interests of the Brahmuns, and of the different rulers under whose sway it fell, compromised this forbearance by the payment of large sums to Government, which, in 1758, amounted to £30,000 sterling. The incarnation of Vishnu, worshipped here, has a variety of names, as Venecata Ram, and Tripati ; but, by the Mahrattas, he is named Ballajee, and his functions are considered to have particular reference to commerce. Crowds of pilgrims resort to it from all parts of India, who pour into it offerings of goods, grain, gold, silver, jewels, precious stuffs, horses, cows, and other articles, the aggregate of which, when converted into money, *not only yields a surplus revenue to Government, but serves to maintain several thousand persons performing the offices of an idolatrous worship, which is here conducted with extraordinary pomp.* † The traders of the Banyan and Battia tribes of Guzerat are accustomed to present a per centage of their profits to the temple annually. The amount realized to the British Government at this temple was, in 1809, 60,791 star pagodas ; 1810, 50,722 ; 1811, 50,722 ; or about £19,000 sterling.” ‡

The following account, of British connection with idolatry at this temple, is from the pen of a Functionary of the British Government, in the district of Tripetty :—

“ Tripetty is in a valley, about the centre of a long range of hills, running almost north and south. No Christian eye has ever seen the pagoda, nor even has a Mussulman ever attempted to put his foot on the hills, the mere sight of which, so gratifies the Hindoos, that leagues off, upon first catching sight of the rocks, they fall prostrate calling on the name of the god.

* Hamilton's Hind., vol. i. pp. 266—301.

† For the character of this worship, see an extract from Dubois, Asi. Jour. Oct., 1830, p. 102; and Poynder's Speech on the Pil. Tax, p. 33—36.

‡ Hamilton's Hind., vol. ii. p. 431, 432.

The idol is worshipped, by votaries, who pour in from all parts of India, under a thousand names. The idol in the temple is an erect stone figure, about seven feet in height, and personifies Vishnoo. The temple is distinguished by the oblations which are offered to its god, by Vishnoo's votaries from all parts of the Indian world. The cause of these offerings is as follows;—the idol smitten with love for Sudmarultee, daughter of Akasha, Rajah of Narrainevunnun, determined to espouse her, but wanting coin for the matrimonial expenses, he raised the wind by the aid of *Cuvera*, the Indian Plutus. This god, however, directed that the money thus lent, should be repaid annually, to the sovereign of the countries lying between the Palaur, and Soonoomookee rivers.

“The Brahmuns maintain that the Hindoo princes allowed the revenues from this source, to be entirely employed on the spot, in religious ceremonies, and that the *Mussulman* first appropriated on the score of the above claim the produce of these oblations. During the early wars we had with the French in this part of the world,—this source of revenue was one of the first fruits of our conquests; though certainly its legitimacy is much to be doubted! These offerings are made generally from interested motives, and are of every diversity of articles conceivable, viz., gold and silver lumps; coins of all sorts; bags of rupees; copper money; spices; assafetida; the hair cut off the head, frequently saved from infancy. A man who is lame presents a silver leg; if blind, a silver or gold eye, &c. The birth of a son; reconciliation with enemies; success against the foe; safe termination of a journey; the marriage of a son or daughter; prosperity in trade, &c., are among the reasons which lead together, in the direction of Tripetty, the wise as well as ignorant heathen.

“The offerings are not always presented by the interested party, they may be sent by relations, friends, or vakeels, but they are frequently forwarded by *Gosynes*, who are servants of the temple, and of which there are a considerable number. Before the Brumhutsween (or nine day celebration of the nuptials), they set out in different directions, and reaching the country in which they intend to commence operations, they unfurl the sacred flag of the god, with which each is intrusted. Round this idolatrous banner the Hindoos gather, and either trust their offerings to its bearer, or carry them to the foot of the idol. A sufficient mass being congregated, ‘the blind leader of the blind,’ strikes the standard, and returns in time for the nuptial anniversary. They are seldom detected in stealing the offerings, but they no doubt derive some emolument from the pilgrims, as their presence secures them from trouble, taxation, and other annoyance. As they journey, they chant every five or six minutes, the name and attributes of the god; *Gov, Gov, Govinda, Rauz, Rauzoo!* the whole party, men, women, and children, successively take up the word, as rapidly as possible, and then simultaneously utter it.

“The offerings are of various extent; they seldom exceed 1000 rupees. The god compliments the worshippers at his altar, with presents, proportioned to the liberality of their oblations; if the devotee gives 100 rupees he receives a turband; from 100 to 500 a flowered silk vestment; from this to 1,000, a shawl, &c. A second source of revenue is called *wurtena*, or presents for the idol's own use; whether jewels, horse cloths, &c., the donor is made to pay the estimated value of the offering to Government, before he is allowed to make the idol its present; the article is then retained for the use of the temple! A third source of revenue is called *arjeetum*, or receipts, and is of three classes, *abbeesheykoom*, purifications; *naivaidoom*, offerings, and *wahanum*, processions.

“1. *Abbeesheykoom*. Every Friday the idol is anointed with civet, musk, camphire, &c., and washed clean again with milk. The devotee, desirous of seeing the operation, pays what he chooses; but in the *Brumhautsoooneen* he pays fifty rupees. *Porlungee Seeva*, is enrobing the god in a flower garment, which ceremony takes place every Thursday. During the festival sixty rupees are paid for seeing the business. *Soomanlah Seeva*. All who delight to see the idol decorated with a necklace of flowers, pay twelve rupees, and this pleasure may, for this daily payment, be enjoyed the whole year! *Sahasranamaschana* signifies the diurnal worship of the god under his thousand names; five rupees is the price of this devotion. *Munsoor Seeva* is an imposing ceremony, and the spectator yields twelve rupees for seeing the object of his worship rocked to sleep!!

“2. *Navadoom*, or offerings. *Purmanum*, is an offering of milk, sugar, and rice. *Pooleevagarrun*; tamarinds, sweet oil, and rice. *Moodgarrun*; dall, ghee, and rice; and *Duddee davrum*, butter, milk, and rice. They may be prepared by the offerer on paying six rupees; but if the circar (or Government) provides, sixteen rupees! *Bugchanaraidoom*, is an offering of sweetmeats; the devotee has the offering prepared by the circar, and from twenty to twenty-eight rupees are paid for the honour of presenting it. *Malanavaidoom*, is a large offering of from 1000 to 2000 seers of rice, provided by the circar, but to be paid for 100 or 200 pagodas. *Amuntra narroocharrum*, are united offerings of all, daily offered, price is sixty-five rupees. *Ookaipud-chadee meersa*, a presentation of the plant ookai, said to be peculiar to the Tripetty hill; four rupees.

“3. *Wahanum*, or processions of the idol; they are twelve in number, and each has a reference to different parts of the Hindoo Mythology, as connected with the worship of Vishnoo.” After enumerating several, the writer adds, —“For all the above, the votary, who gives the idol the trouble of coming out, is forty rupees less rich than before!”

“THE WHOLE OF THE REVENUES OF THE TEMPLE, FROM WHATEVER SOURCE DERIVED, ARE UNDER THE MANAGEMENT OF, AND APPROPRIATED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. A regular establishment is entertained, paid by salaries; and a horde of brahmunes are maintained by lands, appropriated for that purpose, over the surrounding country, subject only to a slight tax. The temple is kept up in all its dignity; and the *average receipts*, on the account of Government, for the last ten years, will show what a good thing we make of it!! The head general officer is called the tahnildar, whose business is the general superintendence over the others; to see the pilgrims are well treated and lodged; supplies kept in the bazars; ceremonies duly performed as paid for, and that no bribery or oppression takes place. He reports to the Collector, or his assistants, according to orders, on all cases of doubt or importance. Common servants are allowed for taking care of the records, lighting and sweeping the cutcherry, &c.; twenty peons attend the tahnildar's office, and are paid a pagoda (eight shillings) a month, with two head peons of larger salary. During the *Brumhautsoooneen* an additional sibbundy is allowed; twenty-five peons, twenty pullers, and two hurcarrahs, or scouts; we also assist the tahnildar with forty or fifty peons, a party of whom are constantly on the hills, looking out for the thieves, who congregate where the prey may be found. A company of seapoys (soldiers), under a native officer, are stationed as the tahnildar may choose, as permanent guards. In passing through the silver porch, the pilgrims are admitted into a rather confined court, and are introduced to the god; in front of whom are two vessels, and into these the votaries drop their respective offerings, and, making their obeisance, pass

out through another door. At the close of the day the guards are searched ; without examination, the offerings are thrown into bags, and are sealed with the seal of the pagoda, then by the tahsildar and jeengar ; after which, the bag is sent down to the cutcherry below the hill. At the end of the month these bags are transmitted to our cutcherry ; they are opened, sorted, valued, and finally sold at auction. The annual net proceeds is about 87,000 rupees. In 1820, the collections were 102,000 rupees ; in 1822, the collections were 142,000 rupees ; but this is exclusive of expenses, for which 20,000 may be deducted. The resources of the pagoda were legitimately enjoyed by the Mussulman Government ; for services earned with blood and treasure, and at the risk of losing our trade on the Coromandel coast, one of the first rewards, or rather poor payment, was this revenue, and it has been paid unremittingly ever since. It was a strange, but a determined policy, when, through the country, the pagoda lands were resumed by the Company, and *tusdeck* allowance granted in their place. The revenues of Trippetty are on a gradual decline, and will die, in the lapse of years, a natural death.”*

“ It appears,” says the late J. Harington, Esq., “ from the public accounts of 1815-16, that a small collection of tax is made from the pilgrims of Seetla Dabee at *Kasheepoor, Surkura, and Sumbul*, in the district of Moradabad ; and from the pilgrims of Soru in *Itawa*.† The amount received in the former district was 2,592 rupees, and in the latter 3,091 rupees, in the year referred to. But I have not been able to obtain any further information relative to these collections.”‡

The following official documents show the gain of this unnatural association with *Idolatry*, the baneful influence of which, in regulating and aggrandizing it, is very considerable. “ I apprehend,” says J. Poynder, Esq., “ that it is impossible to take credit for much less than a *million of money*, as the ascertained net profit for the period referred to (seventeen years) ; and that when the additional receipts, from the places mentioned by Mr. Harington, are adverted to, for a similar period, that amount must be greatly exceeded. This still leaves various places to be accounted for, from which a revenue is derived, and which are not yet in any shape before the public, viz., *Dwaraca, Somnauth, &c.*”§

* See Asi. Jour., July 1831, pp. 193—198. See also E. I. Mag., April 1832, p. 352.

† “ It will be found that the Pilgrim Tax is collected not only at the great temples at *Juggernaut* and *Trippetty*, but at *many of the smaller pagodas of celebrity* ; and a part of these collections may be classed in the Government accounts, under the general head of ‘*Farms and Licences*.’ This system appears of indefinite extent. The chief of the revenue department, in Feb. 1832, acknowledged—‘ I have never seen a clear statement of the lands assigned to temples, the collections from such lands have apparently been merged in the land revenue.’”—E. India Mag., April 1832, p. 352.

‡ Har. Analysis, vol. iii. p. 208. § Asi. Jour. Oct. 1830, pp. 103, 104.

JUGGERNAUT.

ANNUAL AMOUNT of the TAX ON PILGRIMS attending the TEMPLE OF JUGGERNAUT; with an Account of the Annual Expenses, from 1812-13 to 1828-29, (estimating the value of the Rupee at 2s. 6d. English.)

Years.	Amount of Tax collected.	Collector and Establishment.	Expenses of Temple.	Buildings, Repairs, and Contingencies.	Total Charges.	Net Receipts.	Surplus Expenditure.
1812-13	6,381 2 6	2,011 10 0	5,825 17 6	850 10 0	8,687 17 6	2,306 15 0	
1813-14	10,895 0 0	2,011 10 0	5,522 7 6	425 5 0	7,969 2 6	2,925 17 6	
1814-15	26,065 0 0	2,877 7 6	5,979 0 0	845 7 6	9,701 15 0	16,363 5 0	
1815-16	6,714 17 6	1,896 5 0	6,502 0 0	9,757 17 6	18,086 2 6	...	11,371 10 0
1816-17	7,336 15 0	1,619 2 6	5,581 10 0	...	7,200 12 6	336 2 6	
1817-18	11,752 12 6	2,151 2 6	6,276 12 6	53 5 0	8,481 0 0	3,271 12 6	
1818-19	10,119 0 0	1,245 2 6	6,381 10 0	31 7 6	7,658 0 0	2,461 0 0	
1819-20	20,744 0 0	1,656 7 6	6,195 12 6	...	7,852 0 0	12,892 0 0	
1820-21	7,503 17 6	996 12 6	5,682 15 0	...	6,679 7 6	824 10 0	
1821-22	14,698 15 0	1,333 12 6	6,588 12 6	...	7,936 0 0	6,762 15 0	
1822-23	29,156 2 6	2,283 7 6	6,097 0 0	...	8,380 7 6	20,775 15 0	
1823-24	8,376 17 6	1,047 2 6	5,846 17 6	...	6,904 0 0	1,472 17 6	
1824-25	9,369 17 6	1,239 17 6	6,068 12 6	...	7,308 10 0	2,061 7 6	
1825-26	34,495 2 6	2,682 5 0	4,579 5 0	85 17 6	7,347 7 6	27,147 15 0	
1826-27	9,227 2 6	1,469 2 6	3,822 5 0	137 5 0	5,428 12 6	3,798 10 0	
1827-28	11,857 12 6	1,575 12 6	4,121 10 0	78 15 0	5,775 17 6	6,081 15 0	
1828-29						6,708 17 6	

Full accounts not yet received.

Seventeen Years' Net Receipts, £99,205 15s. Od.

GYA.

ANNUAL AMOUNT of the TAX on PILGRIMS attending the TEMPLE of GYA; with an Account of the
Annual Expenses from 1812-13 to 1827-28.

Years.	Amount of Tax collected.	Establishment for collecting Tax.	Collector's Commission.	Donation to Native Hospital.	Total Charges.	Net Receipts.	Net Charge.
1812-13	34,611 7 6	25,669 5 0	332 2 6	2901 7 6	31,710 0 0		
1813-14	28,286 7 6	25,659 0 0	289 5 0	2848 5 0	26,413 2 6		
1814-15	25,905 0 0	2626 0 0	258 2 6	2884 2 6	23,020 17 6		
1815-16	28,725 17 6	945 0 0	287 15 0	1376 0 0	2606 10 0		
1816-17	26,937 10 0	925 10 0	268 12 6	1500 0 0	2694 2 6		
1817-18	23,821 17 6	833 17 6	237 10 0	1500 0 0	2571 7 6		
1818-19	33,547 7 6	796 2 6	334 12 6	1600 0 0	2630 16 0		
1819-20	27,421 10 0	1065 2 6	273 10 0	1600 0 0	2638 12 6		
1820-21	39,295 15 0	840 17 6	392 2 6	1500 0 0	2733 0 0		
1821-22	37,832 5 0	763 7 6	294 2 6	1500 0 0	2557 10 0		
1822-23	32,580 2 6	805 15 0	406 5 0	1500 0 0	2712 0 0		
1823-24	31,688 10 0	796 2 6	315 15 0	1500 0 0	2610 17 6		
1824-25	31,100 15 0	789 15 0	310 7 6	1375 0 0	2472 12 6		
1825-26	30,551 10 0	628 15 0	304 17 6	1500 0 0	2433 12 6		
1826-27	35,728 12 6	628 15 0	356 12 6	1500 0 0	2460 7 6		
1827-28	29,502 5 0	628 15 0	169 0 0	1500 0 0	2297 15 0		
						27,204 5 0	

Sixteen Years' Net Receipts, £455,980 15s. 0d.

ALLAHABAD.

ANNUAL AMOUNT of the TAX on PILGRIMS attending the TEMPLE of ALLAHABAD; with an account of the Annual Expenses from 1212-13 to 1827-28.

Years.	Amount of Tax collected.	Collector and Establishment.	Collector's Commission.	Contingent Charges.	Total Charges.	Net Receipts.	Net Charge.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1812-13	28,034 5 0	208 10 0	208 10 0	38 5 0	246 15 0	27,787 10 0	
1813-14	5,861 15 0	208 10 0	261 5 0	...	469 15 0	5,392 0 0	
1814-15	8,627 12 6	208 10 0	297 0 0	24 0 0	529 10 0	8,098 2 6	
1815-16	11,320 10 0	208 10 0	462 0 0	133 10 6	829 0 0	10,491 10 0	
1816-17	6,446 7 6	208 10 0	322 0 0	78 2 6	608 12 6	5,837 15 0	
1817-18	5,272 12 6	208 10 0	274 17 6	123 7 6	606 15 0	4,415 17 6	
1818-19	11,931 15 0	208 10 0	589 17 6	59 15 0	608 2 6	11,072 12 6	
1819-20	7,754 10 0	208 10 0	395 7 6	73 17 0	677 15 0	7,076 15 0	
1820-21	7,400 17 6	208 10 0	376 2 6	131 15 0	716 7 6	6,684 5 0	
1821-22	8,662 10 0	208 10 0	424 5 0	120 2 6	752 17 6	7,909 12 6	
1822-23	14,267 17 6	208 10 0	730 5 0	431 15 0	1370 10 0	12,897 7 6	
1823-24	9,773 17 6	203 12 6	458 7 6	58 17 6	745 17 6	9,028 0 0	
1824-25	8,707 17 6	208 10 0	419 10 0	369 2 6	997 2 6	7,710 15 0	
1825-26	17,961 2 6	208 10 0	877 17 6	404 15 0	1466 2 6	15,970 0 0	
1826-27	10,128 5 0	191 2 6	184 15 0	679 0 0	1054 17 6	9,073 7 6	
1827-28	11,619 7 6	226 17 6	904 0 0	565 12 6	1635 10 0	9,983 17 6	

Sixteen Years' Net Receipts, £159,429 7s. 6d

TRIPETTY.

ANNUAL AMOUNT of the TAX ON PILGRIM'S attending the TEMPLE OF TRIPETTY, with an Account of the Annual Expenses from 1812-13 to 1821-29.

Years.	Amount of Tax collected.	Collector and Establishment.	Net Receipts.
1812-13	£ 19,922 17 6	£ 4,990 2 6	14,932 16 0
1813-14	22,982 15 0	5,263 10 0	18,969 2 6
1814-15		5,407 10 0	
1815-16		4,951 12 6	
1816-17		4,248 2 6	
1817-18		5,444 12 6	
1818-19		4,779 2 6	
1819-20		3,788 17 6	
1820-21		3,933 10 0	
1821-22	14,145 17 6	4,251 15 0	9,894 2 6
1822-23	18,633 0 0	4,587 5 0	14,045 15 0
1823-24	12,556 12 6	5,278 5 0	7,278 7 6
1824-25	18,028 12 6	5,330 0 0	12,698 10 0
1825-26	11,585 17 6	4,446 7 6	7,139 10 0
1826-27	16,574 0 0	3,140 12 6	13,433 7 6
1827-28	16,701 7 6	4,231 5 0	12,470 2 6
1828-29	14,101 17 6	4,022 7 5	10,079 10 0

TRIPETTY—10 Years' Net Receipts.....	£ 120,941 2 6
The Amounts collected for an interval of 7 Years more cannot be precisely ascertained; but the united Expenses of the Collection and Establishment for those 7 Years (which are known) appear to bear so close a relation to those of the remaining 10 Years, that the average Receipts may be safely stated at.....	84,658 15 6
Making a Total, for 17 Years, of	£205,599 18 0

To prove the correctness of this estimate, the 7 Years' Collection and Establishment are 1827*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* higher than the next 7 Years' Collection and Establishment. Total Net Receipts from Juggernaut, Gya, Allahabad, and Tripetty, in *seventeen years*, £912,662 !!*

* See Poynder's Speech on the Pil. Tax, Sep. 1830 (Hatchard), pp. 159—163.

The following traces of British connection with Idolatry and Mahomedanism, in various parts of India, are chiefly extracted from Hamilton's Description of Hindostan, two vols., quarto, dedicated to the late Right Honourable G. Canning, President of the Board of Control, &c., &c.

"*Dacca* is situated about 100 miles above the mouth of the Ganges, and 180 by land from Calcutta. The Nabob of Dacca has long been celebrated for the suavity of his manners, and his steady attachment to the British Government. In 1807 an allowance of 3000 rupees was granted to him for the repair of a building devoted to religious purposes, not only on account of the uniform propriety of his conduct, and the respectability of his character, but also as a public indication of the disposition of the British Government to support the freedom of religious worship among all classes of their subjects."*

Bate Isle. An island situated at the western extremity of the Guzerat peninsula. Shunkowar is its proper name, and is derived from that of a Hindoo demon, so named from his dwelling in a large shunk or conch shell, wherein he concealed the sacred Vedas, which he had stolen from Brahma. An incarnation of Vishnu, under the name of Shunk Narayan, cut open the shells and restored the Vedas to their lawful owner. The demon pleaded, as his excuse, that he hoped to have been put to death by Vishnu for the theft, which would have insured him future happiness. In consequence of this exploit, Shunk Narayan, or the destroyer of the shell demon, established his own worship on the island, where it continued paramount until the flight of another Hindoo deity, named Runchor, from Dwaraca, to escape the fury of a Mahomedan army; since which time Runchor has been supreme on Bate. In 1462 this place was taken by Sultan Mahmood Begra of Ahmedabad and Guzerat, who demolished the temples, broke the images, and gave up the country to indiscriminate plunder. In 1816 Colonel East advanced with a detachment towards the Isle of Bate, which quietly surrendered, on the promise of a suitable provision and complete security for their private property and religious establishments. An agreement was executed, by the conditions of which they engaged not to permit, instigate, or connive at any act of piracy, committed by any person under their authority, and also to abstain from plundering vessels in distress. A free or open commerce to be permitted to all British vessels paying the regulated

* Hamilton's Hind., vol. i. 1820, p. 186.

duties. *The British, by this treaty, undertook to afford the Temple at Bate, suitable protection and encouragement.*”*

“Dwaraca. A town and celebrated temple (named also Juggeth,) situated at the western end of the Guzerat Peninsula. It is the most sacred spot in this part of India. About 600 years ago the valued image of their god, Runchor (an incarnation of Krishna), by a manœuvre of the Brahmuns was conveyed to Daccoor, in Guzerat, where it still remains. After much trouble the Brahmuns at Dwaraca substituted another in its stead; which unfortunately also took flight across a narrow arm of the sea, to the island of Bate, about 135 years ago, on which event another new one was placed in the temple! Dwaraca is designated by the name of the island; and, having long been the residence of Krishna, it is a celebrated place of pilgrimage for the sectaries of that religion. At Muddee, near Dwaraca, the land thieves of Oka are named *Kaba*, a Sanscrit word which signifies a seeker or searcher, on account of the severe scrutiny all pilgrims and unprotected travellers undergo. The rags of the Byragee are carefully examined, and the ball of ashes, with which he besmears his body, is broken by these robbers, in hopes of finding some small coin concealed in it! The pirates in this part placed great reliance on the power of their deity at Dwaraca, his priests and attendants being the strongest instigators to depredation. In return they (the priests, &c.) received a certain portion of all plundered property, as a recompense for the protection received from the Idol Runchor. Before embarking, it was a common practice for the pirates to promise a larger share than the god could claim by right, if he would ensure success to their trip. Many vessels were fitted out in the name of Runchor, as sole owner, and actually belonged to the temple, which received the plunder they brought back!

“On the arrival of a pilgrim at Dwaraca, he bathes in a sacred stream, for which he pays the Dwaraca chief $4\frac{1}{2}$ rupees: brahmuns only pay $3\frac{1}{2}$. A visit is then made to the temple, where offerings are presented, and a certain number of brahmuns are fed. The pilgrim next proceeds to Aramra, where he receives the stamp which is made with an iron instrument, on which are engraved the shell, the ring, and the lotus flower, the insignia of the gods. The instrument is made hot, and impressed on any part of the body, but generally on the arms, and frequently leaves an impression. It is often impressed on young infants: and a pilgrim may receive not

* Vol. i. pp. 661, 662.

only his own stamp, but also stamps on his body for the benefit of an absent friend. The stamp costs 1½ rupee.

"The average number of pilgrims resorting annually to Dwaraca has been estimated to exceed 15,000, and the revenue derived to the temples about a lack of rupees (£12,500). It has been decreasing, as well as the number of pilgrims. In 1807 the chief of Dwaraca promised not to permit or instigate any act of piracy, and the British Government engaged to *afford the temple every suitable protection and encouragement*: a free and open commerce was permitted to vessels paying the regulated duties. The depredations by sea renewed on British property, and the predatory system into the adjacent countries commenced by land, made the conquest of Okamundel the only effectual remedy for evils of such in-veteracy and duration. Dhengee was captured by Colonel East in 1816, with inconsiderable loss; and, notwithstanding the treachery meditated by the Dwaraca chief, in consideration of the sanctity of the place,* he determined to attempt a negociation which was finally successful. In 1817 Okamundel, with its holy places of Bate and Dwaraca, was finally transferred to the Baroda Government.†

"*Puttan Somnauth* is a town near the southern extremity of the Guzerat Peninsula. Somnauth is one of the twelve images of Seeb, which are said to have descended from heaven to earth; and the great fame of its temple attracted the cupidity, while it stimulated the bigotry, of Sultan Mahmood, of Ghizni. According to Mahomedan authors, the image was destroyed, but the Hindoos assert, that the god retired into the ocean! The symbol placed in the temple is deemed peculiarly propitious to those who desire offspring. It is visited by pilgrims from every quarter, who pay a trifling duty to the Nabob, for permission to perform their devotions at this favourite shrine. In 1816, through the interposition of the Bombay Presidency with the Junaghar State, arrangements were effected, tending to secure *greater freedom of pilgrimage to Somnauth*.‡

"*Poona*, the modern capital of the Mahratta empire, is situated 100 miles from Bombay. The view from Parvate hill commands the town with all its gardens and plantations, the cantonments, and the British residency at Sungum. At the bottom of the hill is a large square field enclosed with high

* Why such respect for this idolatrous place—a den of thieves and pirates?

† Vol. i. pp. 657—663.

‡ Vol. i. p. 671. See *Asi. Jour.* Feb. 1827, p. 256.

brick walls, where the Paishwa used to assemble the Brahmuns, to whom he gave alms at the great feast, when the rainy season terminates ; *who, on these occasions, begged their way from all parts of Hindostan.* When all were assembled they were shut in and marked ; and as they came out, one at a time, the gratuity was given to them. Something of the same kind is still continued by the British Government. On the conquest of Poona, to conciliate the religious classes, an explicit assurance was given, that all existing establishments should be maintained, and all endowments held inviolate.”*

“ *Seringapatam* is the modern capital of Mysore. Hyder’s palace occupies the east end of the island, and although built of mud displays considerable elegance, and is a very handsome native structure. Adjoining is the mausoleum of Hyder, where rests all that was royal of this Mahomedan dynasty, consisting of Hyder himself, his wife, and Tippoo, who lie under tombs covered with rich cloths, at the expense of the British Government ; and *the establishment of priests to offer up prayers*, and of musicians to perform the Nobut (an instrument of music beaten five times a day), is retained as formerly. Hyder’s palace is now the residence of a surgeon ; his seraglio, a European Hospital. Tippoo’s seraglio is a barrack for artillery ; his private apartments are occupied by the Resident, and his public by European troops. How greatly degraded from their ancient dignity ! ”† Is not this establishment of priests supported by a Christian Government ?

“ *Colar* is the capital of a district of the same name, 40 miles from Bangalore. It was the birth-place of Hyder. His son, Tippoo, erected a handsome monument for him ; and near it a mosque and college of Moullahs, or Mahomedan priests (with a proper establishment of musicians), were endowed *to pray for his soul : the whole of which is still continued at the expense of the British Government.* ‡

Of the *District of Tanjore*, it is remarked ;—“ The Mahomedans never having actually occupied this territory, or effected any permanent establishment in it, the Hindoo religion has been preserved in considerable splendour, and their ancient places of worship, with their vast endowments, remain untouched. In almost every village there is a temple, with a lofty gateway of massive but not inelegant architecture, where a great many Brahmuns are maintained, either by the revenus formerly attached to them, or by *an allowance from Government.* The Brahmuns are here the chief holders of

* Ham. Hind., vol. ii. p. 195, 196.

† p. 362.

‡ p. 374.

land, and perform almost every office of husbandry, except holding the plough. They are all extremely loyal, on account of the protection they receive, and also *for an allowance granted by the British Government of 45,000 pagodas (about £18,000 sterling) annually, which is distributed for the support of the poorer temples.** How much good would this sum do in India, if expended in supporting Christian schools, and the circulation of the Bible!

The temple of *Seringham* is situated in the district of Trichinopoly, under the Madras Presidency. "The Pagoda is situated about a mile from the western extremity of the Island of *Seringham*. It is composed of seven square enclosures, the walls of which are 25 feet high, and 4 feet thick. These enclosures are 350 feet distant from each other, and each has four large gates with a high tower, which are placed in the middle of each side of the enclosure, and opposite to the four cardinal points. The outward wall is nearly *four miles in circumference*, and its gateway to the south is ornamented with pillars, several of which are single stones, 83 feet long, and nearly 5 feet in diameter. Those which form the roof are still larger. In the innermost enclosures are the chapels. Pilgrims resort to it from all parts of Hindostan for absolution, and none come without an offering of value. Here, as in all great Pagodas, the *Brahmuns live in a subordination that knows no resistance, and slumber in voluptuousness that feels no want. At present the allowance made by the British Government for the support of the temple, and its establishment, amounts to 15,600 pagodas per annum (about £6,240 sterling.)*"† It is to be lamented that voluptuous Brahmuns should be supported by a Christian Government, when Christianity would prove so great a blessing to the people of India.

"*Condatchy* is a bay in the island of Ceylon, and the most central rendezvous of the boats employed in the pearl fishery. *The superstition of the divers renders it necessary for the Government to employ two enchanters to charm the sharks*, in which they appear to be very successful, as, although they are seen, from the boats, and while the diver is at the bottom, accidents rarely occur! These necromancers are all of one family, and possess the entire confidence of the natives. Two divers are attached to one stone, and go down alternately; and when 300 boats are anchored on the banks, 1,500 divers may be supposed to go down every minute; and, probably,

* Ham. Hind., vol. ii. p. 453.

† p. 465.

by their noise and numbers, assist the incantations of the shark charmers! These impostors receive ten oysters from every diver's share, and the *same number are allotted for the pagodas at Ramisseram and Nagore*; besides other privileges and emoluments of very ancient date, which have been continued by the British Government.*

"Two of the villages in *Kardeh Doon*, named *Tokah* and *Casipore*, (in the country between the Sutulej and Jumna rivers,) were granted by the first Rajahs of *Sirmore*, to the Mahunt or high priest of the temple of *Nahan*, together with various other appropriations of land and money for religious purposes; indeed, there was scarcely a part of the Sirmore territory that had not been rendered more or less tributary to that sacred edifice. These had been sequestered during the war, but were restored in 1816 to the Mahunt, which gave great satisfaction to his flock, and to the public in general."†

"*Serinagur* is the capital of the province *Gurwal*, 38 miles from *Hurdwar*. On the opposite side of the river, at the village of *Ranihut*, is a temple sacred to *Raja Ishwara*; which is principally inhabited by dancing women. The initiation into this society is performed by anointing the head with oil taken from the lamp placed before the altar; *by which act they make a formal abjuration of their parents and kindred, devoting their future lives to prostitution!*‡ *Among the items of eleemosynary donations distributed to Brahmuns and others by the old Governments, and continued by the British, the principal in amount is 512 rupees, which is given to various tribes of religious mendicants, who frequent a mela or fair, held annually near Serinagur.*"§ Ought Britain

* Ham. Hind., vol. ii. p. 518.

† p. 620.

‡ The worship of *Brahma* is constitutionally impure. There are temples of consecration for a life of impurity: these exist at *Cambaya*, *Tivikarey*, and other places of Hindostan. Tavernier mentions the existence of this system. "From Cambaya you go to a little village, distant three coss, where there is a pagoda, to which all the Indian courtesans come to make their offerings. This pagoda is full of a great number of naked images. Among the rest there is a large figure of one that seems to resemble *Apollo*, all uncovered. Girls of eleven and twelve years old, who have been brought and educated for the purpose, are sent by their mistresses to this pagoda "to offer and to surrender themselves up to this idol." (Tavernier's Travels in India, p. 37, 1678). See the Apocraphy, Baruch, ch. vi. ver. 43, and 2 Kings, ch. xvii. ver. 30, respecting *Succoth benoth*; Dubois' Manners and Institutions of Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 370; Hamilton's Account of *Kanoe*, vol. i. 375; and Mill's British India, vol. i. p. 279—4to. edition. Is it possible that any man, whose mind has been cultivated under the influence of Christian principles, can wish such a system to be perpetuated?

§ Ham. Hind., vol. ii. pp. 640. 647.

thus to sanction and encourage obscenity? Would it be done were these things fully known? Happy day when British connection with idolatry in India is dissolved; of whose temples,* as well as those of ancient Rome, it may be said—

“Nam quo non prostat fœmina templo?—*Juv.*

“*Bhadrinath* is a town and temple, about eighty miles from Almora, in Kumaon. The structure of the edifice does not correspond with the reputed sanctity of the place, for the support of which large sums are annually received, independent of the *land revenue, appropriated for its maintenance*. It is built in the form of a cone, with a small cupola, surmounted by a square shelving roof of copper, over which is a gilded ball and spire; the height of the building is forty or fifty feet. The number of pilgrims who visit Bhadrinath, annually, is estimated at 50,000. The principal idol, Bhadrinath, is about three feet high, cut in black stone, or marble, dressed in a suit of gold and silver brocade, the head and hands only being uncovered. His temple has more beneficed lands attached to it, than any sacred Hindoo establishment in this part of India. In 1808 it was said to possess 700 villages, which are under the jurisdiction of the high priest, who holds a paramount authority, nominally independent of the ruling power. It was determined, that the revenues of the purgunas appropriated to temples, and other religious buildings, should be continued, provided that the Commissioner was satisfied, that they would not be diverted from their original purpose, and (as too frequently happens) converted to a source of individual emolument. The repair of the road from Serinagur to Bhadrinath, also appeared *an object of some importance, as encouraging the resort of a greater number of pilgrims*, and thereby promoting the intercourse and traffic between the plains and the immense hills, whence springs the source of the Ganges.”†

Of the District of Kumaon, near the Hymalaya mountains, it is remarked,—“Jaghires and rent free lands, especially for religious purposes, were found to be extremely numerous; two entire purguntas being so appropriated. *Kuttoolee* for the temple of Bhadrinath, and *Mysoree* for Kedarnath; the first yielding 1564, and the latter 1600 Gorka rupees. Besides these there were periodical distributions of money, for pious and charitable purposes, which could not be discontinued without exciting a feeling prejudicial to the reputation

* Miss. Reg. Dec. 1831, p. 541, 542.

† Ham. Hind., vol. ii. p. 638.

enjoyed by the British Government, of strictly respecting the rights, privileges, and religious institutions of every class of their native subjects. Most of the above appropriations were, in consequence, confirmed, no claims being rejected, excepting such as rested on grounds of very questionable validity. It was however thought most eligible, to endeavour to commute the grants of land for regular payments in money, an arrangement equally advantageous to the grantees, and convenient to the Government."*

"In the south *Mahratta* country a variety of penances are undertaken by pilgrims, at the shrine of the goddess *Yelhera*, which cannot be performed in the presence of the idol without a large pecuniary sacrifice. For the enviable felicity of swinging aloft in the air, by means of an iron hook fixed in the fleshy part of the loins, at the end of a beam revolving horizontally on a point, a fee of no less than ten rupees is exacted; and the smaller fee of two rupees for the no less honourable display of swinging on a smaller beam, with the head downwards, and the hook attached to the foot. The distinction of sticking a fork through the hand, is attainable at a cheap rate, and the honour of treading upon burning charcoal, may be purchased for an inconsiderable amount. From those who come attended by a band of music, two rupees are levied. All persons bringing offerings of clarified butter, oil, sheep, and gold or silver ornaments, are subjected to a toll; the proportion of these oblations are respectively allotted to the officiating priest, and the renter being exactly defined; and no shops, booths, or stalls, can be erected during these carnivals without payment of a fee for the licence."†
C. Chaplain, Esq., Feb. 1832.

"In all the capital cities, principal towns, and districts, Mahomedan officers, known in this country by the title of *Cadis*, are stationed for the purpose of performing the religious duties and ceremonies prescribed by the Mahomedan law, and various other functions, *at the public expense*; and their appointments are so far independent, that they are only moveable for misconduct."†

"I cannot see," says C. Buller, Esq., M.P., in his letter to the Hon. Court of Directors, relative to Juggernaut, May 1813, "what possible objection there is to the continuance of an established tax, particularly when it is taken into

* Ham. Hind., vol. ii. p. 654. † East India Mag., Ap. 1832, p. 351.

† Teignmouth Cons. on Com. to the Natives of India the knowledge of Christianity, p. 62.

consideration, *what large pensions, in land and money, are allowed by our Government, in all parts of the country, for keeping up the religious institutions both of the Hindoos and the Mussulmans.**"

"*The Temple of Deo Ghur* is situated on a rising ground, in the midst of a thick forest, and is attached to the Beerbhoom district. Thirty-two villages are allotted for the maintenance of the chief pundit or high priest of the temple at Deo Ghur, granted by Government at the settlement of the Jungleterry district. They are in a very flourishing state of cultivation."† "The temple here," says Hamilton, "is famous for a lingam it contains, respecting which a strange story is told in the Purana. Pilgrims resorting to this place, usually bring with them water from the other sacred fanes they have already visited, and pour it over the lingam, round which they walk a certain number of times, while others lie down and continue fasting until they have a favourable dream! Prayers of various sorts are addressed to the deity of the place. Some pray to be kings in the next transmigration, or for such worldly enjoyments as they prefer; others pray for happiness in the heaven of the deity they address; while some, tired and harassed by the misery of successive births, pray to be released from existence altogether."‡

The conduct of individuals in India, especially when in authority, has frequently tended to perpetuate Idolatry. Lieut. Col. Francklin thus describes his interview with the chief priest of the Temple of Deo Ghur;—

"*Anunda Oja* paid us a visit; he is a man of very expressive countenance and firm gait, though upwards of eighty years of age. His manner of bestowing *his benediction on us*, whilst he threw the *malas, or garlands of flowers over our shoulders*, had something noble in it, and made a strong impression on our minds!! He presented Mrs. F. and myself, with *miklas*, or coverings, one of red silk, the other of silver and gold brocade, which he threw round our shoulders: they were stated to possess a *holy quality*, having been blessed by himself! wishing us, at the same time, every happiness in life. I returned the visit of the high priest, who received me in an open area adjoining the temple, within the enclosure of a small temple dedicated to *Kanya*. The usual ceremony of presenting *mala* (chaplet of flowers) was performed, and again he gave his benediction; shortly after which I took leave of this venerable and amiable character, impressed with sentiments of esteem, to see him perform the high functions of his office with so much meekness and humility, though with so noble and dignified an aspect." A visit to the shrine of the impure idol *Seeb*, is thus described,—"The temple was illuminated by an immense circular lamp of tutenague,

* Buchanan's *Apology for Christianity in India*, p. 162.

† Francklin's *Inquiry for the site of the ancient Palibothra*, part i. p. 88.

‡ Hamilton's *Hind.*, vol. i. p. 160.

blazing like gold, four feet in height, by two in breadth, supplied by ghee, and burned with innumerable wicks. The spiral and never-ceasing flame, continually ascending to the summit in devotion to the Supreme Creator of the universe; the altar strewed with flowers, sandal-wood, and precious gums; the surrounding priests, and the various ornaments of the temple, altogether formed a picture difficult to describe, but impressively felt by the spectators: and, to use the words of the energetic Maurice, whilst describing the *Mithratic* rites,—‘The radiated orb of gold; the bright spiral flame, ascending from the ever-glowing altar, impressed the inmost souls of the aspirants with an awful sense of the present deity!’ Imagination cannot avoid kindling at a scene like this, and it is difficult to avoid rushing into enthusiasm, whilst viewing the splendour of this ancient species of devotion. The high priest having *blessed* a garland of flowers, and some sweetmeats for each of us, sent them by his second son; the high priest also gave us his blessing; after which he scattered, over the *Lingam*, some Ganges water, and shortly after inquired if we were pleased with what we had seen. We expressed our satisfaction, and then, making our obeisance, we returned from the temple.”* Ought a Christian to feel satisfaction with, or to countenance the impure system of Idolatry?

The following extracts from the late Bishop Heber’s Journal appear very exceptionable.—“During my progress through the holy places (at Benares), I had received garlands of flowers in considerable numbers, which I was told it was uncivil to throw away, particularly those which were hung round my neck. *I now, in consequence, looked more like a sacrifice than a priest!* and on getting again into the gig was glad to rid myself of my ornaments.”—“This being the great day of Hoolee, all my Hindoo servants came to pay their compliments, and bring presents of red powder and sugar plums. The event was rather costly to me, as I was obliged to make presents in return. *But it is the ‘dustoor,’ and who in India can transgress that unwritten and common law of the land?*”—“The Raja offered to return my visit next day; but knowing that Tuesday is, in the estimation of all Hindoos, *unlucky*, I named Wednesday in preference, telling him my reason. He answered, very politely, he should account every day lucky in which he had opportunity of cultivating my acquaintance; but was evidently well pleased.”†

“In 1811, the Madras Revenue Board, requested the sanction of Government, to the disbursement of 150 star pagodas, by the Collector of *Cuddapa*, on account of *Hindoo ceremonies to procure rain, to be performed at the different*

* See Inquiry for the site of the ancient Palibothra, pp. 89—94.

† Heber’s Jour. vol. i. p. 279; vol. ii. pp. 84, 131. “The Hindoos name a European, who went straight to heaven from Benares, *but it appeared he had left money for the construction of a temple after his death!*” Ham. Hind., vol. i. p. 307.

Pagodas in that district! The object, in sanctioning the performance of these ceremonies, was to inspire the people with confidence, and to encourage them to increased exertions in the process of agriculture.*

“That the interference of the public authorities promotes the popularity of individual temples, there can be no doubt. During the invasion of Fort St. George (Madras) by Hyder Ally, it appears that the garrison was in the greatest distress for want of water. It was seriously contemplated to capitulate on the following day, if relief did not arrive. Whilst things were in this desperate state, the chief officer in the garrison saw, in a vision, a female, who directed him to the Wallajah gate, with the promise that the trench water there would be found fit for use! I need not add, that the dreamer found it so, and thus saved the garrison. The Pagans very gravely assert, that their guardian deity, *Agaatha*, effected the deliverance of the army; whilst the Roman Catholics, with equal gravity, contend, that their Virgin Mary was the saviour. It is a fact, that *Agaatha receives a yearly present from the Company, with the privilege of entering the Fort as far as the first gate!* The notice taken of the idol by Government, and the prevailing traditions of its interposition, occasions the annual receipt of presents, and renders its festival uncommonly notorious. Here we see men, women, and children, in solid masses, parading the streets, and swelling the train of its followers, singing the most obscene songs, and using language, which, the most profligate in Christendom, would be ashamed to utter in the presence of his most dissolute companions.”†

“The Grand Lama is an hereditary living deity, before whom millions prostrate themselves. When Captain Turner was on his embassy to this deity, *to gratify his votaries, he made an offering*, he says, *to the deceased Teshoo Lama*. In addressing the same deity, who had entered the body of an infant *eighteen months old*, he said to the child:—‘The Governor General, on receiving the news of your decease in China, was overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, and continued to lament your absence from the world, until the cloud that had overcast the happiness of this nation was dispelled by your appearance.’” Does such language comport with the dignity of the British, and the integrity of the Christian character?‡

* Hamilton's Hind., vol. ii. p. 342. † E. I. Mag., March 1832, p. 275.

‡ Ward's. View of the Hindoos, vol. ii. p. 308.

Saugur Island, situated at the mouth of the Hooghly river, about 100 miles from Calcutta, is a well known place of pilgrimage. Infanticide was abolished at this place in 1802, during the administration of the Marquis Wellesley. The Madras Government Gazette, Jan. 18, 1827, contains an account of this pilgrimage; and observes, "According to the pundit, an *impost* is levied by the officers of Government stationed here, of four annas per oar, besides a fee of one anna to the establishment: but the charge, if we are not misinformed, is *unsanctioned*, except as made by Byragees and Sunyasees, who assumed the right of levying four annas per oar, and eight annas to one or two rupees for each shop. This claim has been so far authorized, that the right to levy any charge was withdrawn from the Saugur Society upon the petition of the religious mendicants. The temple of Kapila Muni, on the southern coast of Gunga Saugur, is under the alternate charge of a Byragee and Sunyasee. The latter presides at the Mela, in the month of Kartik (Nov.), the former in Magh (Jan.) They levy a tax of four annas on each person who visits the temple, the amount of which is divided among five different establishments of Ramanandi Byragees, in the vicinity of Calcutta."*

It is hoped inquiry will be instituted into the conduct of these officers of Government; and that the various facts here stated, showing the nature and extent of British connection with Idolatry in various parts of India, will excite that attention which their importance demands.

CHAP. II.

The idolatrous Establishments chiefly supported by the Pilgrim Tax system at Juggernaut, Gya, Allahabad, &c.

"It may be easily supposed," observes Colonel Phipps, "that a very large establishment of priests and others, is attached to such a temple as Juggernaut. One of the head men stated the number to consist of 3,000 families, including 400 families of cooks to prepare holy food. *The provisions furnished daily for the idol and his attendants, consist of*

* Asi. Jour., August 1827.

220 pounds of rice, ninety-seven pounds of kullye (a pulse); twenty-four pounds of Moong (a small grain), 188 pounds of clarified buffaloe's butter, eighty pounds of molasses, thirty-two pounds of vegetables, ten pounds of sour milk, two and a half pounds of spices, two pounds of sandal-wood, some camphor, twenty pounds of salt, four rupees' worth of fire-wood; also twenty-two pounds of lamp oil for lights at night. *This holy food is presented to the idol three times a day!* the gates are shut, and no one but a few personal servants are allowed to be present. This meal lasts about an hour, during which period, the dancing girls attached to the temple, dance in the room with many pillars. On the ringing of a bell the doors are thrown open, and the provision is removed. The food prepared for sale, or bespoken by the inhabitants, is not brought into the large tower, but collected in the Beg Mundee, where it can be seen and sanctified by the idol from his distant throne !

"In addition to this food, a very considerable extra quantity is allowed for the great festivals: and, in order to make this superstition as profitable as possible, the priests have decided that nothing can pollute the food prepared in the temple—it may be conveyed to any place—it may be touched by a Mussulman, or a Christian, without becoming unfit for a Hindoo. Nothing can be more convenient than such a belief, as Hindoos in general must eat their food where it is cooked, and a thousand things may pollute it. The consequence is, that the cooks are employed to prepare food for most of the pilgrims, at a price which varies according to the demand, and is always highest during the festivals. It is said, that a few days before the festival of the Ruth Jattra, food is cooked within the court of the temple for at least 100,000 pilgrims; and it will easily be credited that, on these occasions, the 400 families of cooks have full employment. The potters make earthen pots of three sizes; the food is carried away in them, and they form a kind of standard measure: and as none but new pots can be used, the consumption is very considerable, and supports a great many families. The only interruption to this cooking, is during the time the idol is travelling in his car to the place where he was formed, and returning to the temple: nine days in all."*

The number of pilgrim hunters must be considerable; the same Gentleman stating,—"One of the principal natives

* Col. Phipps' Account of Juggernaut, pp. 6, 7.—Missionary Intelligence, March 1823. (Published in Calcutta.)

related that a Purharee, in 1821, despatched 100 *agents* to entice pilgrims; and the ensuing year received the premium for 4,000 pilgrims! He was at that time busily employed, in instructing 100 *additional agents* in all the mysteries of *this singular trade*, with the intention of sending them into the Upper Provinces of India.* This fact, Colonel P. related to the Author at Cuttack in 1822, and declared, he would state it to the Marquis of Hastings on his arrival in Calcutta. A Missionary in Orissa, visiting Kontiloo (or Cooloo), about 90 miles from Cuttack, referring to the *pundas*, or *pilgrim hunters*, states—"I am informed there are *forty of these missionaries of idolatry* in Kontiloo. Nov. 1826." Another colleague in Orissa writes under date "Ganjam, Aug. 1826, I inquired how the *pundas* knew what to expect [of the pilgrims]; and he said, that some of them would come and stay *two or three months* in such a place as Ganjam, by which means they became acquainted with different people's circumstances. They subsist by bringing *maha presaud* (holy food), which they give to different persons, and get what they can in return. Some one says, 'What a curse to Christendom are the priests of Christendom?' surely one may say, 'What a curse to Orissa, and to a much greater extent of country, are the *pundas* and the priests of Juggernaut.'† It is scarcely necessary to state, that the figure on the opposite page represents the *Idol Juggernaut*, whom millions in British India adore.

* In the Parliamentary Papers relative to Juggernaut, May 1813, p. 80, an account is given of the establishment for collecting the Pilgrim Tax.—"Sudder Cutcherry, 19 officers and servants, monthly salary 260 rupees; Ghaut Athara Nulla, Officers, &c., 26, salary 165 rupees; Ghaut Lokenaut, Officers, &c., 17, salary 111 rupees; at the Temple 15, salary 89 rupees.—Total 77 Officers and servants, at 625 rupees per mensem. European Collector's salary 500 rupees per month, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent *commission on the amount of the tax collected*." The allowance to the Officers was fixed at 300 rupees per month and 2 per cent *on the net collections*. Aug. 1809.

† "The *pundas* had a good time of it this cold season. Many rich pilgrims have been continually coming from the *Punjab* and other parts of Hindostan. If it were not for the *pilgrim hunters*, I apprehend the number of pilgrims would be very few. It is no small proof of the lucrative nature of this *pilgrim hunting business*, that the holy Brahmuns of Pooree, instruct and dress up numbers of the *Bowra* cast, (a very low class of Hindoos,) which they send out to fetch pilgrims. If the respectable casts of Hindoos knew who they were, they would kick them out of their houses, instead of entertaining them with reverence."—(Pooree, May 1831.)



JUGGERNAUT'S ESTABLISHMENT.

The following statement of the establishment of Juggernaut was extracted from Rennell's MS. Account of Orissa.*

1. “*Maha Rajah Ram Chunder Dev*, honorary servant to the idol, to make *ultkee chowr*, sweep the ruts,† and strew flowers on the idols. His son now officiates.
2. “*Mood Roth*, alias *Plenipotentiary*, in the absence of the *Maha Rajah* performs the above duties.
3. “*Naik Chattees Neejoy*, the head officer of *thirty-six* different orders of minstrel and other officers, who adorn the idol, and does all other personal services for it; and has full authority to superintend the attendance and performance of the duties of all the other officers.
4. “*Pundah* performs the ceremonies of the *bhoge* (offerings).
5. “*Pussopatuk* adorns the idol.
6. “*Tulchoo*, in the absence of the *Purchas*, accompanies the idol to the tank, and acts for them in the temple also.

* See Friend of India, April, 1822. Asi. Jour. March, 1823.

† It may be worthy of remark, as indicative of the coincidence between ancient and modern idolatry, that the whole city of Ephesus, was, called *Neokoros* (Acts xix. 35.); “a person dedicated to the service of some god or goddess, and whose peculiar business it was to sweep the temple and keep it clean.” Other cities assumed the same appellation.—Auth.

7. "Bhethurschoo adorns the idol, and keeps watch in the time of the bhoge, in order to prohibit any superfluous quantity of offerings being taken in.
8. "Maha Soar, head cooks.—Brahmuns who in the first instance take in the bhoge.
9. "Soar, cooks and scullions.—Brahmuns who take in bhoge after the *Maha Soar*.
10. "Guarra Borro, persons who give water to the *Poojah Pundas* at the time of their performing the ceremonies of bhoge.
11. "Punthree Borro cleans the brass vessels, and takes flour, chundun, &c., in them to the *Poojah Pundah*.
12. "Punthee Borro are Brahmuns who put the kitchree in silver and golden dishes, and set them before the idol. *This is Sirkaree Bhoge, or the allowance by Government!! Alas!*
13. "Soar Borro is the office of distributing proper quantities of bhoge to such other temples and officers as may be directed by the rulers of the temple.
14. "Khoontiah warns the Idol and the Rajah of the time of festivals.
15. "Mecaup, masters of the wardrobe of two different descriptions; *Mecaup* keeps the jewels, and *Changrah Mecaup* the wearing apparel in one department.
16. "Dytah removes the idols from the throne and puts them on the ruts, and replaces them again.
17. "Puttee are Brahmuns. After the Snan Jatra, the idols are taken into a room allotted for the purpose of taking off the old clothes, and swaddling them with new ones, which takes *fifteen days*, during which time, the offerings in the room are made by these people.
18. "Mahajona. This description of officers convey the smaller idols to tanks and other places, and then put them in the proper room.
19. "Hurrup Nask. After the bhoge is removed, these officers bring paun or beetle, and hot spices, and set the same before the idol, which (says the writer) *Juggernaut munches at his ease!!*
20. "Aukund Mecaup. Lamp-lighter.
21. "Khaut Sage Mecaup. Bed-maker.
22. "Poohoree. Watchmen at the time of bhoge.
23. "Pooran Pundah reads the Pooran at certain times near the idol.
24. "Mookphal. A person who attends with a dantoon (used for a tooth brush) and water, *to wash the idol's face in the morning!*
25. "Austaur warns the idols of the time of ceremonies.
26. "Fanruk, watchmen of the wardrobe.
27. "Chathour, a person who carries a chatta or umbrella.
28. "Tauraseean, a person who carries the tras, an ensign in the form of a half moon.
29. "Deoreean, a torch bearer.
30. "Dondchuitur, a person who stands by the throne with an umbrella, at the Ekadussee and other particular festival days.
31. "Kahaleah, a trumpeter.
32. "Ghuntoah, a person who sounds the ghunt or brass bason.
33. "Ghutwaree, a person who rubs sandal wood.
34. "Lenka, Peons (soldiers).
35. "Perdhanee, persons who give the golden rods to the purchas.
36. "Dooarees, door keepers.
37. "Sumuntah grind kullaee and other kinds of grain.
38. "Deb Dausee, dancing girls with a band of musicians."

A more particular account of this Establishment was procured for the Author, written on the leaf of a tree, by a native of Juggernaut: the following is a free translation of it.*

1. "The *Moodeerut*, as the Rajah of Koorda's Representative with Juggernaut, at all the festivals moves about the light, performs the daily service before him, and makes the offering of food.

2. "There are three head *Pundas*, who having poured clarified butter on the sacred fire, and worshipped the sun and the divine regents of the gates, present the sacrificial articles from the kitchen, to the three gods,† at three of the daily offices, until the period of Juggernaut's retiring to rest.

3. "There are three *Pushoo-palas*, who perform worship between the periods of the regular service; and, ascending the throne of Juggernaut, clothe him in the three different dresses appropriated to the three services.

4. "The *Bheet-baboo* guards the sacrificial food before it has been offered, prevents the crowd pressing on it, and should the smallest blemish be found in it (such as a hair or an ant), he seizes and punishes the *Pundas*.

5. "The *Tulubu Pureechas* guard Juggernaut when he retires to rest. In their absence the *Pushoo-palas* act in their stead.

6. "The *Potee-mukapatra*, at the twelve periodical festivals, make the proper offerings, and move about the image of Sooda-buden; and at the great bathing festival, when Juggernaut moves out to the Neeladree beej, worship him during his progress, and during the fifteen succeeding days, when he is supposed to be ill, not having recovered from the effects of his bath!

7. "The *Patree-buroo* arranges the sacrificial articles, and calls the *Pundas* to worship.

8. "The *Gora-buroo*, at the time of worship, places the water-pot, and presents the water to the officiating priest.

9. "The *Khootiya* calls the *Phashoo-paluk*s who are appointed to wake Juggernaut, and bring forward the vestments and necklaces with which he is to be invested.

10. "The *Panseyya-mekab* presents the ornaments of Juggernaut to the *Pushoo-paluk*, and counts them as they come from Juggernaut's body; and likewise counts out to the *Pureechas* any new ornaments offered by pilgrims.

11. "The *Changro-mekab* carries the vestments of Juggernaut, and counts them out; and, when new vestments are offered by the pilgrims, he counts them and puts them away.

12. "The *Bhandar-mekab* counts the ornaments when taken off from Juggernaut by the *Panseyya-mekab*. The vestments presented by pilgrims, pass into their custody after they have been worn.

13. "The *Suwar-buroo* sweeps the place, and places the sacrificial dishes before Juggernaut, presents odours to those who wake him, and distributes the sacrificial flowers among the servants and worshippers.

14. "The *Pureeksha-buroo* holds up a looking glass to Juggernaut during worship.

15. "The *Ukhundu-mekab*, or lamp-lighter, places lights and removes the lamps.

16. "The *Pureeyarees* watch at the gates and doors.

17. "The *Dab-khat* brings out Juggernaut's bed!

18. "The *Pureeyarees* of the southern gate cries out,—'the sacrificial food is coming.'

* See Friend of India, Oct. 1825.
† Juggernaut, and his brother and sister.

19. " *Pureeyarees* of the gate watch the food; and, when Juggernaut moves out, carry with him the sweet smelling wood.
20. " The *Juya* and *Vijuya-pureeyarees* (porters) allow no one to enter while Juggernaut is at his meals; and there are two watchmen at the door of the inner room, where Juggernaut partakes of his food!
21. " The *Khurgu-nayuk*, at the close of the daily offices, presents the paun to the officiating priests to be given to Juggernaut; and, on the occasion of the last daily office, offers it himself.
22. " The *Khatsuya mekab* carries Juggernaut's bed to him at night, for him to sleep on; and carries it back to its place in the morning!
23. " The *Mook-pakhul pureeyaree* presents the water and the tooth-pick to Juggernaut, and inspects every thing respecting the temple.
24. " The *Savar-Kota* prepares the cakes, and delivers them to the *maha-Savar*.
25. " The *maha-Savar* brings the first service of cakes.
26. " The *Gopal-bullubha* distributes it.
27. " The *Bhatee-buroo* places food of a particular description before the idol.
28. " The *Rosh-payeed* lights the lamp in the kitchen, and expels the *Suvars* when they become unclean; he accompanies the royal offering of food as far as the *Juya* and *Vijuya* gate.
29. " The *Beeree-buha-suvar* takes the articles of paun from the *Sumurthas* and delivers them to the *Suvars*.
30. " The *Dhoa-pakhaliya* Brahmun washes and cleanses the kitchen.
31. " The *Unga-buha* Brahmun removes the ashes from the cook-room, and throws them away.
32. " The *Dita-suwaree* carries the image of Juggernaut when necessary, and prepares the image.
33. " The *Datya* paints the image, and fastens the flag on his carriage.
34. " The *Dwar-nayuk* is employed in opening and shutting the door.
35. " The *Mahajhun* carries the images of *Juya* and *Vijuya*, the two heavenly porters.
36. " The *Beeman-buroo* carries the image of Juggernaut and fixes it in its place.
37. " The *Moodolee-bhandur* guards the door, puts the *chamura* into the hands of distinguished pilgrims who desire to fan Juggernaut; and locking, guards the door of *Juya* and *Vijuya*.
38. " The *Chootar* holds the umbrella over the great god when he proceeds on a journey.
39. " The *Turasee* holds before him the *turas* (a large fan) when on a journey.
40. " The *Mey-dumboora* proceeds with the *Mey-dumboora* when he goes on a journey.
41. " The *Moodra* holds the lamp when an offering of flowers is made to Juggernaut.
42. " The *Paneeya-put* delivers the water-pots to the *Buroo*, and washes them.
43. " The *Keehuleea*, at all stated festivals, during the service and the offering of flowers, performs worship, and plays the *Kahulee*.
44. " The *Ghuntooa* rings the bell during Juggernaut's meals, and when he goes on journeys!
45. " The *Chumputee-tumukreeya*, at the time of *pusoowa* and during journeys, plays the *tumuk*.
46. " The head *Punda* calls all the servitors to their duty, and gives the

golden sceptre to the *Pureecha*, and gives food to the Brahmuns of the *Mooktee-mundupa*.

47. "The *Ghutuwaree* prepares the sandal-wood and gives it to the *mekaps*; and, at one of the festivals, goes before the image with the incense.

48. "The *Buree Deega* supplies the water for cooking; and removes the remains of food.

49. "The *Sumundha* pounds peas of one kind, and grinds peas of another.

50. "The *Gruhu-mekap* cleanses the dishes after the principal meal.

51. "The *Yogukuma* brings forward the articles of the principal meal.

52. "The *Tomabutee* accompanies the principal evening meal with a lamp, and brings the pots and cooking utensils.

53. "The *Chaulbacha* cleanses the rice and the peas.

54. "The *Elek* carries the chukru or discus of Vishnoo before the idol when he moves out, and is a general superintendent.

55. "The *Patrok*, having dismissed the attendants, cleans up the temple, and *there* retires to rest.

56. "The *Choomara* serves the image of Guroora (the bird god), has charge of the great standard of the temple, and lifts the great lamp.

57. "The *Khurga dhoaneeya* cleanses the space between the western part of the temple, and the place called Jugunmohun.

58. "The *Nagadhyia* washes Juggernaut's linen, and hangs it up to dry !

59. "Daree-ganee sings the songs which precede the anointing of Juggernaut with sandal wood.

60. "The *Pooran-punda* reads the Pooranas in the gate of Juggernaut.

61. "The *Beenkar* plays the *beena*, a musical instrument.

62. "The *Tunubobuk* dances in the spot called Jugunmohun.

63. "The *Sunkhooa* sounds the shell during the offices of worship.

64. "The *Madolee* plays on the *madol*, a musical instrument, during worship.

65. "The *Tooree-nayuk* plays on the *tooree* or trumpet.

66. "The *Muhasetee* washes the linen of Juggernaut.

67. "The *Paneepaee mahar* removes all filth from within the enclosure.

68. "The *Hakeemeeskristar-buru-pureecha* is the great judge of all questions; he holds the golden cane."

Of the nature and regulations of the establishment at Gya no correct information appears to be extant; but the establishment appears to be considerable, as Mr. Harington observes, "The Gyawalas (pilgrim hunters of Gya) travel through all countries where the Hindoo religion prevails, in search of pilgrims, who, but for them, would probably never have visited Gya." "The number of pilgrims, and their attendants, in ordinary years, is not fewer than 100,000; but, in time of peace, when visited by the great Mahratta chieftains, the number exceeds 200,000, with many horses; nor will twenty lacks (two millions) of rupees defray their expenses, where many of them reside for three months."*

Of the establishment at the temple of Tripetty, near Madras, it has been remarked, "crowds of pilgrims resort to it from all parts of India, who pour into it offerings of goods, grain, gold, silver, jewels, &c., the aggregate of which, when

* Ham. Hind., vol. i. pp. 266, 277.

converted into money, not only yields a surplus revenue to Government, but serves to maintain several thousand persons performing the offices of an idolatrous worship, which is here conducted with extraordinary pomp.”*

At Allahabad the number of priests and licensed barbers supported by the pilgrims must be considerable. Much hostility was manifested in 1815 to the introduction of an efficient police. “The class denominated *Pragwals*, who perform the religious ceremonies at the junction of the great rivers, to the number of 4 or 5000, showed a determination to resist, threatened to cease to officiate, and withdraw altogether, which would have caused a loss to Government of the pilgrim revenue. Many other conspiracies to arrest the progress of the arrangements took place; but, by patience and firmness, they were ultimately dissipated and suppressed.† The number of pilgrims in 1812 and 1813 was greater than had occurred for 28 years, being 218,792. The tax accruing to Government is three rupees‡ for each person, but a much greater expense is incurred in charity, and gifts to the Brahmuns.”§

The author of an interesting volume, entitled “*Sketches of India*,” speaking of Allahabad, makes the following reference to the Pilgrim Tax system:—“On the small point of land at which the rivers, the Ganges and Jumna join their waters, sit numbers of Brahmuns, known by their distinguished flags,

* Ham. Hind., vol. ii. p. 432.

† Similar conduct was pursued at *Bindrabund*, a noted place of pilgrimage. —“In 1812, at the recommendation of the magistrate, and for the promotion of an improved system of police, gates were erected at the different entrances, and at the heads of the streets and alleys. The most respectable inhabitants and landed proprietors, cheerfully acquiesced in the arrangements; but considerable opposition was experienced on the part of the Chobees and other sacred persons, who compose a large portion of the population.”—Ham. Hind., vol. i. p. 369.

‡ This is a considerable sum to a person who has to labour a month to obtain it. Hamilton, speaking of Bengal, says, “Notwithstanding the low price of the necessaries of life, the common labourers find it extremely difficult to subsist on their scanty earnings, which, in some places, are not more than from a penny to twopence a day.” Vol. i. p. 100. This confirms the statement, that a rupee to a poor Hindoo is equal to a sovereign to a poor labourer in England. “It may show the poverty of the country,” says Bishop Heber, “and the cheapness of the different articles, to observe, that having bought all the commodities which he wanted for a few pice, he was unable in the whole market to get change for a rupee.” Jour., vol. i. p. 14. A missionary in Orissa, speaking of a country excursion, (April 1827,) observes, “Here at twenty or thirty miles from Juggernaut, there is little money circulating, and what there is, is almost all cowries, (shells,) of which sixty make a farthing. A little rice comes into the market, but bartering is so common, that an offer of cowries is rejected.” The Pilgrim Tax is doubtless frequently very oppressive. § Ham. Hind., vol. i. pp. 299—301.

who receive the sums each pilgrim must pay for performing his ablutions, seal them, sell amulets, certificates, and Ganges water, to be conveyed many miles distant. A Sepoy sentinel, near the spot, boasted of the privilege he enjoyed, as being in the Honourable Company's service, he was exempted from the usual fine, paying a *smaller sum for permission to dip his body in the sanctifying stream at this place!** To prop superstition, and countenance fraud, is surely a policy at once timid and impious: to benefit by the credulity of the poor Idolater is a financial arrangement very little to our honour: and, perhaps as little to our interest." The Constitutional Guardian remarks, "This account, that of Juggernaut, and the conduct of General Brownrigg, when Budhu was re-established in Ceylon, are parallel cases, that call for inquiry at the India House; and we may be sure they will redress such anomalies when they have time to investigate them."

CHAP. III.

The miseries resulting from this System, and its general character.

Of the new road from Juggernaut to Calcutta, Hamilton remarks, "This road was begun in 1813, and is still going on; but with respect to the pilgrims, *the merit of their peregrination being in proportion to the hardships they sustain, every arrangement tending to render the holy place more accessible, and their immediate sufferings less, in the same proportion diminishes the merits of the pilgrimage, and nullifies the contemplated expiation.*"†

"At the two annual fairs (held at Hurdwar, distant 1050 miles from Calcutta, a place of great celebrity for its numerous pilgrims), it is supposed, from 2 to 300,000 people are collected. Once in 12 years, when particular religious ceremonies are observed, the number is computed to be almost a million; and in April, 1809, they were estimated at two millions. Owing to the precautions taken by the British Government, the fairs have lately ended at Hurdwar without

* A Hindoo said to a Missionary at Allahabad,—"I have paid the Company this morning a rupee for my salvation; and can there be a doubt of my safety?"—Auth.

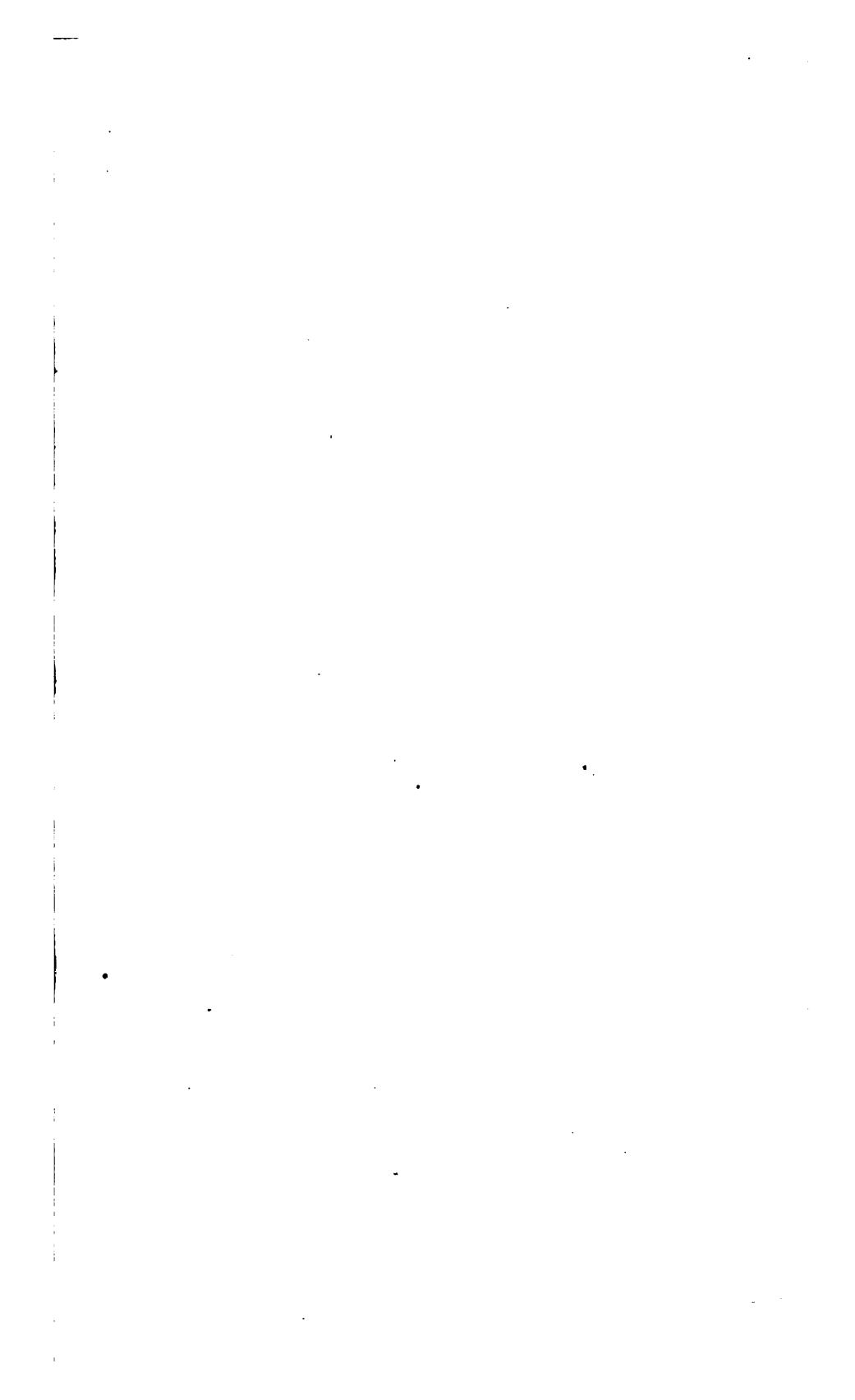
† Ham. Hind., vol. ii. p. 54.

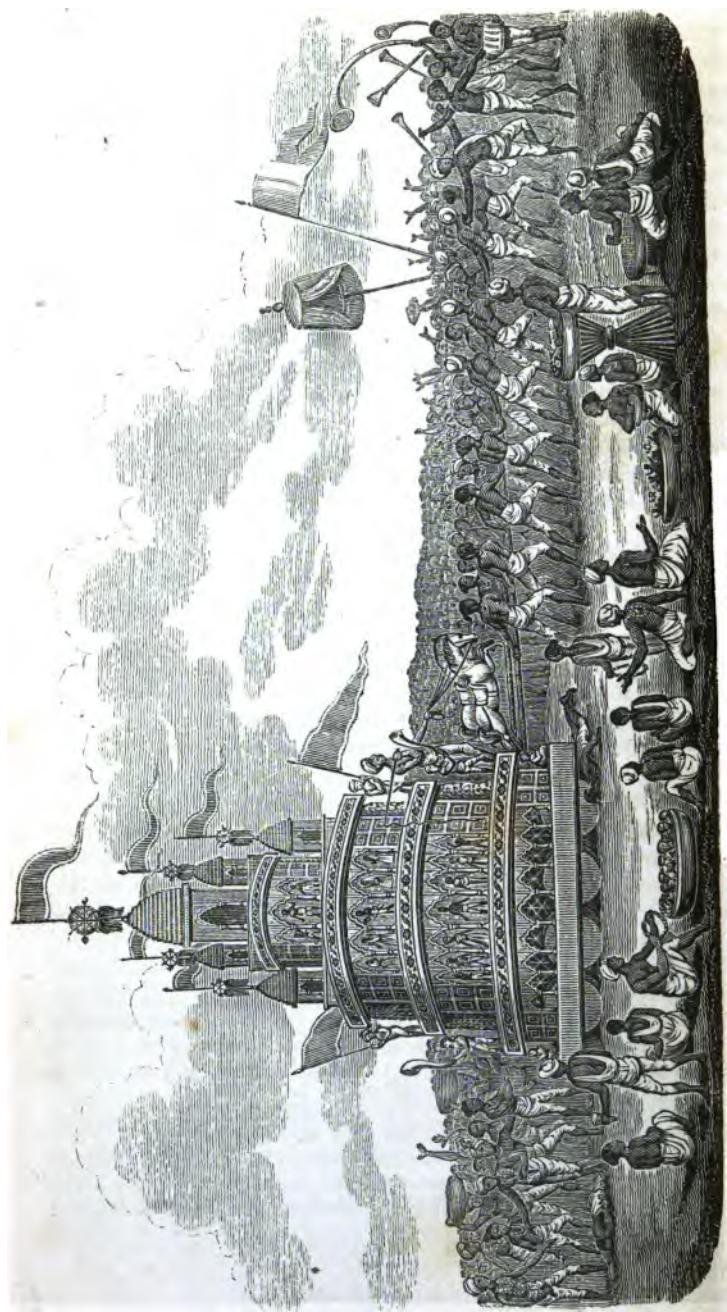
bloodshed ; to the astonishment of the vast multitude, who were before accustomed to associate the idea of bloodshed and murder with that of the fair. Those who come merely for bathing arrive in the morning, and, after performing their ablutions, depart in the evening, or on the following day. During the temporary Mahratta sway, a kind of poll tax and duties on cattle were levied ; but all is now *free without impost and molestation, which considerably detracts from the merit of the pilgrimage.*”*

It is evident that the Pilgrim Tax enhances the supposed value of pilgrimages, and hence the celebrity of those places of idolatrous resort, at which it is levied. But the poverty, sickness, mortality, and brutal treatment of the dead, consequent upon vast assemblies of pilgrims, demonstrate the pernicious tendency of a system which regulates, supports, and aggrandizes idolatry. The miseries of pilgrimage (particularly to Juggernaut's temple in Orissa), will be seen from the united testimony of various eyewitnesses.

The late A. Stirling, Esq., Persian Secretary to the Bengal Government, in his “Account of Orissa,” describes the great car festival of Juggernaut, and adverts to the miseries of the pilgrims :—“On the appointed day, after various ceremonies are performed within the temple, the images are brought from their throne to the outside of the Lion-gate, not with reverence, seated on a litter or vehicle adapted to such an occasion; but, a common cord being fastened round their necks, certain priests, to whom the duty appertains, drag them down the steps, and through the mud, while others keep their figures erect, and help their movements by shoving them from behind in the most unceremonious manner, as *if they thought the whole business a good joke!* In this way the monstrous idols go rocking and pitching along through the crowd, until they reach the cars, which they are made to ascend, by a similar process, up an inclined platform. On the other hand, a powerful sentiment of religious enthusiasm pervades the admiring multitude of pilgrims assembled without, when the images first make their appearance through the gate. They welcome them with shouts and cries of *Jye Juggernaut!* Victory to Juggernaut! and when the monster Juggernaut, the most hideous of all the figures, is dragged forth, the last in order, the air is rent with acclamations. The celebrated idols are nothing more than wooden busts, *about six feet in height*, fashioned into a rude resemblance of the human head, resting on a sort of pedestal. They are painted white, yellow,

* Ham. Hind., vol. i. p. 451.





PROCESSION OF JUGGERNAUT'S CAR.

and black respectively, with frightfully grim and distorted countenances; and are decorated with a head dress of different coloured cloths, shaped something like a helmet. The two brothers have arms projecting horizontally forward from the ears. The sister is entirely devoid of even that approximation to the human form. The raths or cars* have an imposing air from their size and loftiness, but every part of the ornament is of the most paltry description; save only, *the covering of striped and spangled broad cloth, furnished from the Export Warehouse of the British Government, the splendour of which compensates, in a great measure, for other deficiencies of decoration!*† After the images have been lodged in their vehicles, a box is brought forth, containing the golden or gilded feet, hands, and ears of the great idol, which are fixed on the proper parts with due ceremony, and a scarlet scarf is carefully arranged round the lower part of the body, or pedestal. The joy and shouts of the crowd on the first movement of the cars, the creaking sound of the wheels as these ponderous machines roll along, the clatter of hundreds of harsh sounding instruments, and the general appearance of so immense a moving mass of human beings, produce, it must be acknowledged, an impressive, astounding, and somewhat picturesque effect, while the novelty of the scene lasts; though *the contemplation cannot fail of exciting the strongest sensations of pain and disgust in the mind of every Christian spectator.* In an unfavourable season, or when the festival occurs late, the proportion of deaths occasioned by exposure is very melancholy.”‡

Dr. Buchanan's visit to Juggernaut's temple, in June, 1806, is well known; a short extract or two from his “Christian Researches” may suffice.—“Numbers of pilgrims die on the road, and their bodies generally remain unburied. On a plain, by the river near the pilgrims' caravansera, at this place,

* “The car of Juggernaut measures $43\frac{1}{2}$ feet high; it has sixteen wheels, of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet diameter, and a platform $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet square. The Rutt of Bulbuldra is about 41 feet high, and has 14 wheels, and that of Subudra his sister is 40 feet high, and has 14 wheels.” The wood is annually provided by the Duspilla Rajah, but in 1806 he refused to send it farther than Cuttack. Three new cars are made every year, which after the festival are dismantled, and the wood is sold. Par. Papers, 1813, pp. 35, 64.

† “The other evening a cart load of gay coloured English woollens passed me from the Company's Warehouse, to adorn the idol's cars. Alas! that the same country should, in so shocking a sense, send out both blessing and cursing. June 1827.” (Ext. Miss. Jour.) The quantity is as follows, “Superfine scarlet cloth, 17 yards; fine ditto, 200 yards; fine green serge, 80 yards; black ditto, 80 yards; yellow ditto, 107 yards; total 484 yards.”

‡ Asi. Researches, vol. xv. 1825, pp. 321—325.

Budruck (100 miles from Juggernaut), there are more than a hundred skulls; the dogs, jackals, and vultures, seem to live here on human prey. Wherever I turn my eyes, I meet death in some shape or other.—From the place where I now stand, I have a view of a host of people, like an army, encamped at the outer gate of the town of Juggernaut, where *a guard of soldiers is posted, to prevent them entering the town until they have paid the tax.* A pilgrim announced that he was ready to offer himself to the idol. He then laid himself down in the road before the car, as it was moving along, on his face, with his arms stretched forward. The multitude passed round him, leaving the space clear, and he was crushed to death by the wheels. How much I wish that the *Proprietors of India Stock* could have attended the wheels of Juggernaut, and seen this peculiar source of their revenue! —I beheld a distressing scene this morning in the place of skulls; a poor woman lying dead, or nearly so, and her two children by her, looking at the dogs and vultures which were near. The people passed by without noticing the children! I asked them where was their home? They said they had no home, but where their mother was. O there is no pity at Juggernaut! Those who support *his* kingdom err. I trust, from ignorance. They know not what they do."

Colonel Phipps, who witnessed the great Festival in 1822, thus describes the miseries occasioned by it:—"The loss of life by this deplorable superstition, probably exceeds that of any other. The aged, the weak, the sick, are persuaded to attempt this pilgrimage, as a remedy for all evils. The number of women and children, also, is very great. The pilgrims leave their families and occupations, to travel an immense distance, with the delusive hope of obtaining eternal bliss. Their means of subsistence on the road are scanty; and their light clothing and little bodily strength are ill calculated to encounter the inclemency of the weather. When they reach the District of Cuttack, they cease to experience that hospitality shown elsewhere to pilgrims; it is a burden which the inhabitants could not sustain: and they prefer, availing themselves of the increased demand of provisions, to augment the price! This difficulty is more severely felt as they approach the temple; till they find scarcely enough left to pay the tax to Government, and satisfy the rapacious Brahmuns. The pilgrim, on leaving Juggernaut has still a long journey before him; and his means of support are often almost, if not quite exhausted. The work of death then becomes rapid; and the route of the pilgrims may be traced, by the bones left by jackals and vultures. The

country near the temple seems suddenly to have been visited by pestilence and famine. Dead bodies are seen in every direction. Parriar dogs, jackals and vultures, are observed watching the last moments of the dying pilgrim, and not unfrequently hastening his fate.*

Dr. Carey has very justly observed; "Idolatry destroys more than the sword, yet in a way which is scarcely perceived. The number who die in their long pilgrimages, either through want or fatigue, or from dysenteries and fevers, caught by lying out, and want of accommodation, is incredible."†

The late Rev. W. Ward has made a calculation of the number that are supposed to perish annually, the victims of superstition. He estimates that 4,000 pilgrims perish every year, on the roads to, and at holy places; and a Gentleman, whose opinion is of great weight, says, "I believe this estimate is far below the truth." "By fevers, dysentery, and other diseases, arising from exposure to the night air, and the privations of a long journey, crowds are carried off in a few days. Sacred places, the resort of pilgrims, are spread all over Hindostan, and pilgrims travel to them from distances requiring journeys of three, four, and five months." An officer writing to his friends about the pilgrims at the gate of Pooree, detained for a time to make them pay the tax, says;—"I let above 100 out of limbo at Juggernaut; there were 1000 dead and dying:—all in limbo, starving, to extort money from them."‡

The late Rev. W. Bampton, Missionary at Juggernaut, in an account of the Car Festival of 1823, writes; "In front of one of the cars lay the mangled body of a dead man, one arm and one leg were eaten, and two dogs were then eating him; many people were near, but they did not seem to take any notice of the circumstance! I went to see the state of the pilgrims, who, either because they could not, or would not pay the tax, were kept without one of the gates. Five or six lay dead within a mile of the gate: and it is generally admitted that there is not a *tenth*, perhaps scarcely a *twentieth*, of the pilgrims this year who attend sometimes; and, if there be the same proportion of sick and dead at all times, fifty or sixty dead might some years be seen, within a mile of this gate, and eighty or a hundred sick. A specimen of what is sometimes seen was given me by a military officer, who pointed out a piece of ground, perhaps scarcely an acre, on which he last year counted at one time twenty-five dead bodies."

* Mis. Register, 1824, p. 578.

† Asi. Jour. March 1831.

‡ Ward's View of the Hindoos, vol. ii. pp. 126, 318.

The Rev. C. Lacey, the author's colleague at Cuttack, thus describes the *ruth Jatra*, in 1825.—“The mortality did not much appear before the 16th; on the 19th it was exceedingly bad, for the day before the rain began to fall, and more came on the 19th and 20th; and for the next three days it fell in torrents. At this time the scene had reached its height. In every street, corner, and open space,—in fact wherever you turned your eyes, the dead and dying met your sight! On the evening of the 19th, I counted upwards of *sixty dead and dying*, from the temple down to the bottom end of the hospital (about half a mile), leaving out the sick, that had not much life. At a corner opposite the hospital, on a spot of ground twelve feet square, I counted ten dead and five sick! This was the case, while there were several sets of men in active employ burying the dead! You will think, if the streets were thus crowded, what must be the various Golgothas! I visited but one, and that was between the town and the principal entrance; and I saw sights I shall never forget. The small river there was quite glutted with dead bodies. The wind had drifted them together, and they were a complete mass of putrifying flesh!! They also lay upon the ground in heaps, and the dogs and birds were able to do little towards devouring them.” “Pages,” says Mrs. L., “would not be sufficient to detail the miseries of the deluded worshippers of Juggernaut. The poor pilgrims were to be seen in every direction dead, and in the agonies of death; lying by fives, tens, and twenties. Mr. L. counted upwards of ninety in one place, and in another Mr. Bampton counted 140. In the hospital, I believe I have seen *thirty* dead at once, and numbers in the agonies of death; and even the living using the dead bodies for pillows!”

The Author, then residing at Cuttack, addressed a letter to the late J. H. Harrington, Esq., Calcutta, relative to the miseries of the pilgrims, and the dreadful effects of the Pilgrim Tax, in taking the money which would have procured them food, raiment, and medicine, and thus prevent premature death. Directions were immediately forwarded to Pooree, and some relief afforded to the pilgrims. About 400 rupees were sent to the Missionaries, and two of them (Messrs. Bampton and Lacey) undertook a journey from Pooree to Cuttack (a distance of fifty miles), to relieve the people. A few extracts from the journal of this work of mercy, are of a very affecting nature.—

“June 25, 1825. We left Pooree about five o'clock in the morning, with a few cloths, and a good quantity of medicine and money. We had brandy to prevent the effects of the

effluvia from the dead bodies. For *four miles* from the gate, the dead were very numerous. O what a waste of human life was here! Some on the road among the mud, and some scarcely distinguishable from it: some under sheds into which they crept from the rain; but mostly thrown into the narrow channel or grip on each side of the road. Here I saw them lie together by four, six, eight, or more! I tried to keep account, but could not without detaining the palque bearers. Some of the bodies were carried beyond the grip into the fields, and there lay, watched by the dogs and vultures. A great majority of the sick whom I relieved, on our first stage, were *females* deserted by their friends, who had left them not a pice (a halfpenny), and almost destitute of clothing."*

Of the number that perished it is impossible to form a correct idea. An eyewitness of the scene writes, "The money received at the gate this year, 1825, far exceeded that of others, being 260,000 rupees (£32,500). The number of pilgrims is estimated at 225,000. Captain F—— estimates those who died at Cuttack and Pooree, and between the two stations, at 5000; but Mr. L—— thinks this rather too high an estimate." How many of these miserable people must have died before they could reach their homes!—many of them coming 3, 6, or 900 miles. Mr. M——, the European Collector of the Tax at Pooree, estimated the mortality at 20,000!!

As the Author resided at Cuttack for nearly three years and a half, and has been at the Temple of Juggernaut, at the great festival in 1824 and 1825, he may be allowed to add his humble testimony, relative to the misery of pilgrimage.—I have seen three persons measuring their way to the temple by constant prostration. At Cuttack and Juggernaut I have seen numbers of the dying and dead pilgrims; and one morning, near the temple, I counted between twenty and thirty skulls in one place. In the last stage to Juggernaut, in June 1825, I counted *thirty-seven* bodies or skeletons. A few hundred yards from my residence at Cuttack (near the ford to Juggernaut), at the time of the great festival, the effluvia from the dead bodies had been very noisome; nor is there any allowance from the magistrate to inter the dead. Where the suitee has slain its thousands, pilgrimage has slain its tens of thousands! The European, who has visited Juggernaut at the great festival, may be forcibly reminded of the appalling description:—

* See Report of the General Baptist Missionary Society for 1826.

“—— He saw the lean dogs
 Gorging and growling o'er carcase and limb,
 They were too busy to bark at him.
 From a *pilgrim's* skull they had stript the flesh
 As ye peel the fig when the fruit is fresh;
 And their white trunks crush'd o'er their whiter skull,
 As it slipt through their jaws when their edge grew dull;
 As they lazily mumbled the bones of the dead,
 When they scarce could stir from the place where they fed;
 So well had they broken a lingering fast
 With those who had fallen for that repast.”

Some of the pilgrims to Juggernaut bring the water of the Ganges, to pour over the idol Lokenaut; these are exempt from tax. The author, while residing in Orissa, has frequently seen these devotees. To prove that the water was really brought from the Ganges, the bearers take the precaution to obtain a certificate to that effect, from the officer of the place, who seals the vessel into which it is put with his seal. It is probable that this is done in all cases where the water is taken for idolatrous purposes. The engraving represents the mode in which both men and women carry the water of the Ganges to a distance of several hundred miles.



GANGES WATER CARRIER.

Of the ruth Jattra, at Juggernaut, in 1826, the Rev. C. Lacey writes,—“The festival took place late this year (July 9th), and was not numerously attended. A respectable man threw himself from the front of the car, as it was moving, and the enormous wheels passed over his loins, and nearly separated his upper from his lower parts! His blood and bowels were scattered and drawn about by the wheels passing over him!* There was very little mortality among the pilgrims this year; for, the numbers being small, they were able to obtain food and shelter.”

Similar sacrifices appear to be made at the Temple of *Ramisseram* near Ceylon, which is within the territories of the Hon. Company, and is nearly as famous in the south, as Juggernaut is in the north of India. Mr. Cordiner, in his *History of Ceylon*, says of the ruths in 1804;—“The outside is covered with an extraordinary assemblage of obscene images, too scandalous in the eyes of a European to admit. of description. Each carriage has four wheels of solid wood, and requires two hundred men to draw it. When they are dragged along the streets on occasion of great solemnity, women in the frenzy of false devotion, throw themselves down before the wheels, and are crushed to death by their tremendous weight. The same superstitious madness prevents the crowd from making any attempt to save them.”†

The Rev. A. Sutton, stationed at Juggernaut, in an account of the great festival in 1827, remarks upon the oppressive and impure character of this idolatrous exhibition.—“The people at the outer gate of the town were admitted; they had been collecting for a long time, and were not allowed to enter because they would not or could not pay the tax. It was grievous to see the poor people, (many of whom came from distant parts of India,) with their little all tied up in a bundle, and suspended under their umbrellas, in some unguarded moment, rushed upon by the Pooree tigers, and their all taken from them. These villains of Juggernaut lie in wait, and when they see an old or disabled pilgrim, rush upon him, give him a blow upon the head with a large stick, and snatch the umbrella with the bundle out of his hand! I saw, perhaps, *fifty cases of this kind while I stood!*—The idols have been replaced on the cars to return. I cannot refrain from noticing,

* “Twelve persons had bound themselves to die a sacrifice under the wheels of the cars, but the under magistrate hearing of the circumstance placed them in confinement, and thus prevented the horrid deed. July, 1828.”

† Vol. ii. p. 16. See Ham. Hind., vol. ii. pp. 475, 476.

the obscene gestures and lascivious songs which were again employed to animate the draggers, and spread an infernal enthusiasm through the gazing assembly. I asked a person near, what kind of worship that was ; he replied, '*Kusbeeka bat*' (the language of prostitutes) ; but added, '*it gave Juggernaut pleasure!*' The following day a poor wretch threw himself under Juggernaut's car, and was crushed to death. Mr. B—— saw the horrid sight." The worship of Juggernaut is still the same. C. Buller, Esq., M. P. in 1813, endeavoured to palliate the sanguinary and impure worship of this idol,* but in vain.—"If you would know the character of the nation, look at the temple." When shall Britain cease to promote idolatry?—When shall Christianity abolish the miseries of heathenism?

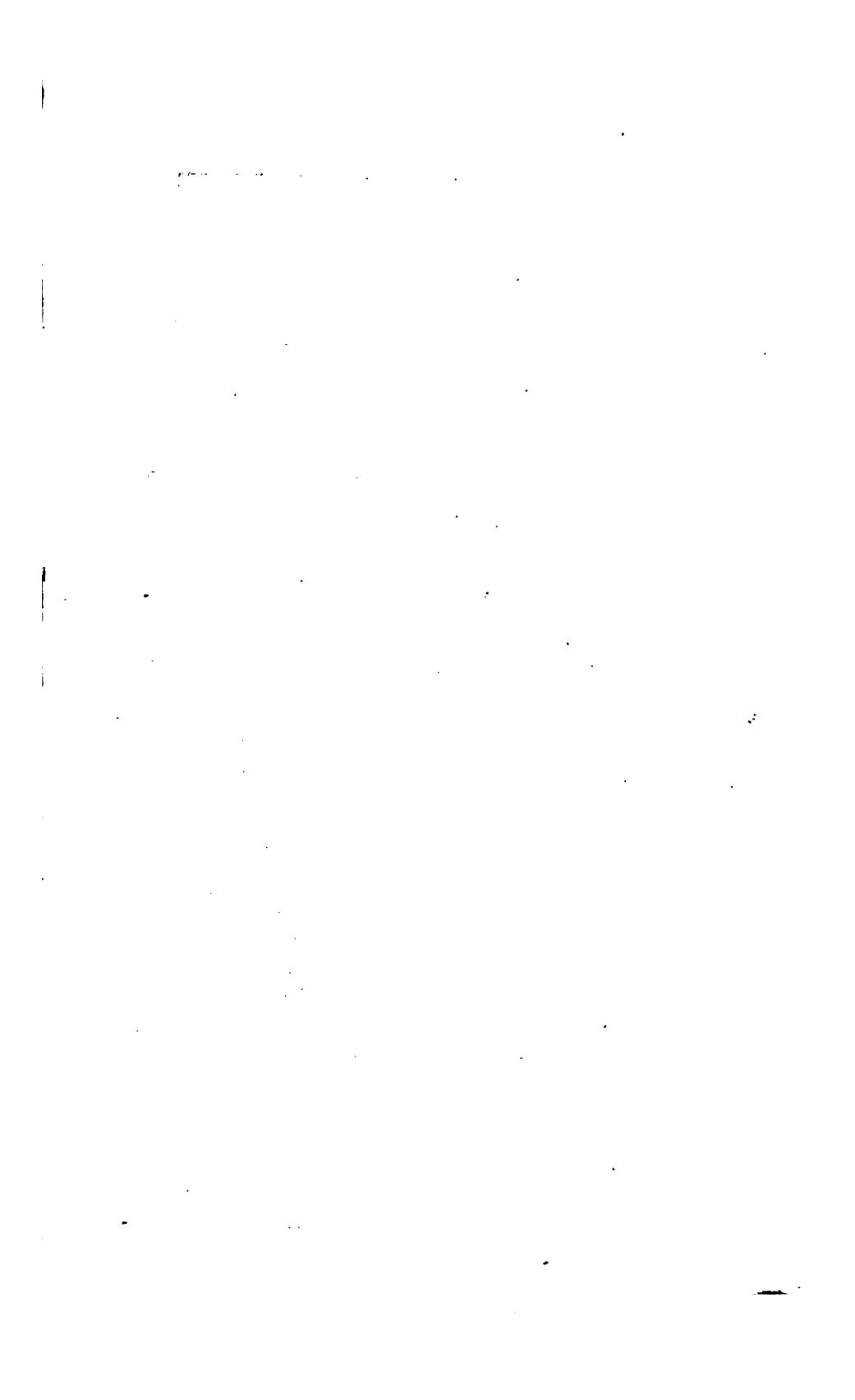
The late Rev. J. M. Cropper, Missionary in Orissa, writes in Feb. 1828 ; "While we continued here (Pertubpore, near Midnapore), a number of jattrees passed us. On inquiry we found they had come from Nepaul, in a body of 500. They calculated that 200 would die by the way: about forty had died already! If this be the case in the cold season (the most healthy time in India), what havoc must death make among the pilgrims, on their return from the ruth Jattra in the commencement of the rains?"

Of the effects of pilgrimage, in another part of India, Hamilton gives the following statement:—"The number of crimes that originate in the Behar District, of which *Gya is the capital*, *may in a great measure be attributed to the vast crowds of pious and superstitious pilgrims*. The wealth these persons possess generally consists of money, jewels, and other articles, which excites the cupidity of the unprincipled ; while, the defenceless condition of the greater part of these stragglers, exhibits it to them as a prey of easy acquisition. Numerous affrays and breaches of the peace may also be expected where such a number of strangers, from all parts of Hindostan, are promiscuously congregated ; nor will these votaries of superstition gain any addition to their prior stock of morals, by their intercourse with their spiritual guides at the sanctuary, who are in general ignorant and dissolute, and do not affect even the appearance of any self denial or ascetism of conduct."†

The general character of the Pilgrim Tax System demands serious attention. The first evil arising from it is, *it increases*

* See Buchanan's *Apology for Christianity in India*, pp. 27, 28, 33—38.

† Hamilton's *Hindostan*, vol. i. pp. 267—301.





TEMPLES OF BOBENESWER NEAR CUTTACK, ORISSA.

the celebrity of places of idolatrous resort. The tax on pilgrims at Juggernaut, while it encourages the emissaries of idolatry to wander to the distant parts of Hindostan, to collect its deluded votaries (a stipulated sum being received by them for each individual passed into the town), by its sanction of idolatry, not only adds to the celebrity of the pilgrimage, but confounds Christianity with Idolatry, in the sight of the Hindoos. A native inquired of a Missionary in Orissa, “*If Juggernaut be nothing, why does the Company take so much money from those who come to see him!*” “This tax,” says Mr. Harington, in his “Analysis,” referring to the sentiments of the Honourable Court of Directors, “is not to be considered a source of public revenue, but to be appropriated to *the repairs and other expenses connected with the place of pilgrimage,* and convenience of the pilgrims.*” While the temples in general in India (as the Black Pagoda, Bobuneswer, Kanoge, Gorucknaut, Kalee Ghaut near Calcutta, &c.) bear marks of neglect and decay, the temple of Juggernaut has recently been repaired (it is said at the expense of a Bengalee); and its celebrity is very great. Of the numerous temples of Bobuneswer, about twenty miles from Cuttack, Mr. Stirling, in his “Account of Orissa,” remarks, “We have no particular account of the period and causes of the decline of the City of Bobuneswer and the worship of Maha Dab (Seeb). *Nearly all but the great temple have been completely deserted, and the establishment kept up there is on a very small and inadequate scale,* under the patronage of the Koordah Rajah, whose ancestors granted all the lands and endowments by which the Brahmuns now exist.”

Of the conduct of the pilgrim hunters in extolling Juggernaut and promoting his worship, “The Friend of India” very forcibly observes; “We have a body of *idol missionaries, far exceeding in number all the Christian Missionaries, throughout the world,* going forth from year to year to

* “The expense for the repair of the temple was formerly defrayed by an Abwaub. It appears not to be fixed in its amount, nor can I learn what the gross amount of the collection was; in future such repairs *as are necessary must be made at the expense of Government,* the Abwaub being consolidated as the land revenue.” Dec. 1807. Par. Papers, respecting the Temple of Juggernaut, 1813, p. 66.

† “Pilgrims resort to the vicinity of Oude, where the remains of the ancient city, the capital of the Great Ram, are still seen: but whatever may have been its former magnificence, it now exhibits nothing but a shapeless heap of ruins. *The interior is a mass of rubbish and jungle, among which are the reputed sites of temples dedicated to Ram, Seeta, Lukshme, and Hanumain.*”—Ham. Hind., vol. i. p. 350.

propagate delusion, and proclaim for the sake of gain (what perhaps not one among them believes), the ~~transcendent~~ efficacy of beholding—A LOG OF WOOD ; and these, *through a perversion of British humanity, regularity, and good faith, paid from year to year by the officers of a Christian and a British Government !* But that which most fills the mind with distress, is the use which these ministers of deception make of the British name throughout the country. In proclaiming the greatness of Juggernaut, they of course affirm that he has now so fully convinced his conquerors of his divinity, that they have taken his temple under their own superintendence ; and that, to provide him with an attendance worthy of his dignity, they expend nearly 60,000 rupees from year to year ; inspecting with care every department, and punishing any negligence in the service of the god. That, although the British so far surpass the Hindoos in knowledge, they are so fully convinced of Juggernaut's deity, that they command a portion of food to be set before him ! That, they in reality worship him ; and although, from their being *mleechas, (unclean,)* the god cannot permit their approach within his temple, yet at his festivals they testify their veneration, by sending the finest English woollens from their own stores in Calcutta to adorn his car. That they appoint officers to see due order observed in his worship ; and some great man, the representative of the Governor General, frequently attends to grace the solemnity with his presence. That, as they need money, convinced of the transcendent benefits to be obtained from beholding him, they levy a small tax on those who behold Juggernaut ; which, on the richest, does not exceed ten rupees, while they permit the poorest to behold him gratis. That, *they themselves are paid and sent forth by them, to persuade all who wish for the full remission of sins, to come and behold the god in all his majesty !*

“ Although the whole of this is a tissue of falsehood, yet when these victims to delusion come to Juggernaut's temple, and see his car adorned with the finest English woollens, the officers of Government in attendance to keep order, and perhaps some English gentleman present, whom they in a moment transform into the Representative of the Governor General of India, they give credit to all the rest. Those who live to return home propagate this among their neighbours ; and thus, *the tax on the idol adds strength to the delusion, and increases from year to year those scenes of death at which human nature shudders.* That the British should be represented, as in reality worshippers of this log,

and employing their superior knowledge in securing order in the service of its temple, and adding splendour to its public festivals, is sufficiently degrading: but that they should also be represented as employing a band of deceivers to beguile the unwary—in so many instances to death! and persuade them to undertake this pilgrimage, that they may in reality enrich themselves by the tax they levy, before they permit the Hindoo to behold his idol, *is sinking the British name to the lowest pitch of degradation.*

“All this is proclaimed by the multitude of agents who go forth from year to year in search of pilgrims. It is their interest to omit nothing, whether true or false, which tends to exalt Juggernaut, and draw pilgrims to his temple. And even their being thus employed, with the express view of inviting all who are capable to undertake this pilgrimage, would serve as evidence in confirmation of all they advanced. Thus, *a regularity, a splendour, an attraction, are given to the worship of this idol, and an impetus to the delusion it originates, which it never possessed under the former dynasty*; an impetus, too, which, fatal as it is in its consequences to so many of our Hindoo fellow-subjects, is increasing with the gain it produces, which knows no bounds but the number of persons they are able to deceive from year to year: and these have no bounds but the inhabitants of Hindostan itself.”* †

Another feature of this system is, *it promotes the increase of pilgrims and pilgrim hunters.* “This tax, if originating in motives of humanity, has completely defeated its end. While it has added that splendour and attraction to the worship of this idol, which it never possessed before, it has created the means of urging persons, in all parts of India, to undertake this journey of death, which never previously existed in such regularity and extent. If this premium existed under the Mussulman Government, its payment was subjected to all the evasions which are the natural offspring of idolatry. The British Government bring to all their proceedings with the natives, *virtues the offspring of Christianity*; hence, on their

* Friend of India, Oct. 1825, pp. 274—280.

† The author of a pamphlet published in Calcutta, on “The state of Protestant Missions in Bengal,” speaking of Juggernaut and Hurdwar (at which latter place he supposes a tax is levied on the pilgrims), says, “The tax imposed by Government has been alleged to have the effect of leading the natives to suppose that the idolatrous festivals, held at these places, receive the public sanction of the supreme authority. To the extent to which this and similar laws are enforced, it would seem to give the weight and authority of a political establishment to the popular idolatry.”

faithfulness in paying this sum, the idol pilgrim hunter relies as safely, as the peasant who brings any article of sale to their factories. If he can search out a thousand persons, and persuade them to undertake this journey, he is as certain of receiving 300 rupees, even if they be of the lowest class, 1,500 rupees if they be *nim lalls*, and 3,000 rupees if he can persuade them to enter themselves as *lall jattrees*, or pilgrims of the highest class, as though he delivered bales of cloth to that amount. This sum, paid with British fidelity to those who search out pilgrims, furnishes a fund so considerable, that it would be no wonder if a number of agents were thereby stirred up, sufficient to traverse the whole of India, alluring those to undertake this pilgrimage of death, who would otherwise never have undertaken it.”*

Of the *increase of pilgrims at Gya*, Mr. Harington candidly acknowledges the fact, and refers it to the regulations of the Pilgrim Tax.—“ He (Mr. Law) had the *satisfaction* of seeing that his efforts were not unsuccessful; while *great and progressive increase* in the amount of the *sayer collections*, under the circumstance of diminished rates, evinces the sound, and (with regard to the pilgrims) the attractive policy of the measure he adopted.” A clergyman at Gya writes, “ I saw at Gya many poor creatures who had travelled 1000 miles, and who, in their journey, endured great privations. The well-meant intentions of Government have totally failed; for, instead of the tax having diminished the number of pilgrims, *it has greatly increased the multitude, rendered the Brahminical order respectable, and placed idolatry on a firmer basis than ever!* The annual amount of revenue collected at Gya is only 250,000 rupees (£31,250 sterling); apparently a large sum, but nothing in comparison with what the Brahmuns receive from the pilgrims. As soon as Government know the inutility of their interference in these things, no doubt they will leave the system to stand or fall unsupported by authority. When that authority is withdrawn, we may venture to predict that in this place, as well as in other parts of the globe, idolatry will fall, like Dagon before the ark of the Lord.”†

“ The introduction of the British Police System so much confirmed the security of the pilgrims, *that the number of these wanderers have been gradually increasing*, as will appear from the following statement of the number who received licences to worship at Gya in the successive years.

* Friend of India, No. xiii. pp. 271—273.

† Mis. Reg., Nov. 1827, pp. 548, 559.

YEARS.	PILGRIMS.	YEARS.	PILGRIMS.
1798	17,670	1805	22,318
1799	21,659	1806	23,291
1800	14,560	1807	33,831
1801	22,732	1808	32,423
1802	18,964	1809	27,952
1803	23,334	1810	27,454
1804	14,190	1811	31,114**

From these remarks, and especially from these official documents, it appears evident, that the Pilgrim Tax gives popularity to places of idolatrous resort, and induces multitudes to wander over India to promote pilgrimages to them ; unconcerned what misery they entail upon their devotees.

A third feature in this system is, *it occasions the death of many pilgrims.* That hundreds die of want and disease in pilgrimages is evident. The sum which a poor pilgrim pays for admission to perform the ceremonies appointed at a holy place, might be the means of saving his life on his journey home ; but, as is frequently the case, having expended all, or nearly all, when he sets his face homeward, he soon finds the supply of the humane scanty ; want is followed by disease ; disease by the desertion of his companions ; and death soon lays him by the road side, unshrouded and uncoffined, the prey of birds and beasts. "Much reproach against the English is expressed by the Hindoos on account of the oppressive nature of the tax. Mr. Lacey, one of the Missionaries who went to relieve the destitute on the road to Cuttack, relates the following incident :—' You would have felt your heart moved to hear the natives say, *Your preaching is a lie ; for, if your Saviour and your religion are thus merciful, why do you then take away the money of the poor, and suffer them to starve ?*' It is indeed no wonder that, when the natives see a poor creature dying for want, they should reflect, that the two rupees he paid as a tax would have kept him alive ; nor indeed is it a pleasing reflection to a European mind, that *these two rupees form precisely the difference between life and death, to many who have perished for want on their way home.*"†

From the whole, it appears that this System is *inhuman*,

* Hamilton's Hindostan, vol. i. p. 266.

† Friend of India, as above, pp. 283, 284.

impolitic, and unchristian. The inhumanity that characterizes these pilgrimages is evident. Is it not impolitic to promote them? Do they not 'eternize the reign of poverty, superstition, and savage ignorance?' For Britain to legislate for idolatry, lest its institutions should grow into disuse—to stoop to the drudgery of superintending the collection of money from pilgrims, 'a painted, pagan, semi-barbarous race,' and, 'last, not least'—for the character of Britain to be associated with idolaters in their scenes of revelry, vice, and misery, is degrading to our national character,* and displeasing to Him who calls idolatry, "*that abominable thing which I hate.*" The general features of this system are legislation for idolatry; paying monthly stipends to priests (from temple lands in the hands of Government); accumulating wealth (the Collector at Allahabad receiving 1 per cent, at Gya five per cent, and at Juggernaut, it is said, ten per cent, on the amount of collections); defiling the revenue of the country with the proceeds of a tax, in many cases "*the price of blood;*" and assimilating professed Christians with idolaters, till the Christian character is scarcely distinguishable, even in the broad feature of *abhorring idols*. The Hindoos in Orissa have asked the Author, "*Is — Sahab a Christian? Does Sahab — read the durma Poostuk, or Holy Book? Do not the Sahabs go to Pooree to worship Juggernaut? Why should the Company destroy Juggernaut? he is their chakar, or servant.*" If Christianity be a blessing to India, this system is evidently opposed to its progress, and every principle of humanity and of Christianity demands its speedy abolition.

* The Collector of Tax at Juggernaut addresses the chief Secretary to Government, March, 1806:—"I have the honour to acquaint you that Ram Bukhsh and Ram Hutgur, pilgrims, presented a serviceable elephant to Juggernaut, and 200 rupees for its expenses, which will last about six months. *The god's establishment is six elephants.* At or before the end of six months, it will be necessary for Government, either to order the elephant to be disposed of, or appoint some fund for its support, *should it be deemed advisable to keep it for Juggernaut's use?*" (Par. Papers, 1813, p. 39.) Who does not blush for his country's shame?

CHAP. IV.

The facility and advantages of the repeal of the Pilgrim Tax—confirmation of the statements.

It is presumed that the abolition of the Pilgrim Tax System would be easy, being unconnected with cast or any ancient prejudices of the Hindoos.* It would be a very popular measure : and what humane, intelligent mind but must rejoice to see the evils of pilgrimage disappear from the plains of India? Britain now regulates, supports, and aggrandizes idolatry at some of the principal places of pilgrimage ; Christianity in tears approaches her and says,—“ *Touch not, taste not, handle not.*” O ye honoured men! at whose feet lie the destinies of millions, remove your countenance from idolatry, encourage the diffusion of true religion in the East, and then, in these idolatrous establishments, will be verified the sentiment of the Latin poet :—

“ *Vis consilii expers mole ruit sua.*”—*Hor.*

The most prominent advantage of the repeal of the Pilgrim Tax would be the *decrease of idolatrous establishments*. Col. Phipps states, on the authority of a respectable native, that 3000 families are connected with Juggernaut’s temple. Mr. Harington estimates the annual expenditure of the temple at 74,880 rupees. “ During the Chundun and Ruth Jattras in 1822, embracing about two months, 40,000 rupees (£5,000) were collected and paid over to the attendants of the temple, who had brought the pilgrims.” Estimating the annual premium to the pilgrim hunters at 50,000 rupees, the *sum requisite to support Juggernaut’s present establishment*

* The influence of British authority among the priests of Juggernaut appears from a letter of Archdeacon Corrie, written at Pooree, in 1823.—“ On the occasion of a partial insurrection, about two years since, the priests gave out that Juggernaut would no longer suffer the English to remain in India, and would not return to his temple (on quitting it at the annual procession) till they were expelled ; and mentioned a certain day for their overthrow. This was justly considered by the General commanding the District, as an attempt to aid the insurgents against the Government ; and he sent a private order to the officer in charge, that, if the Idol were not carried back as usual on the stated day, he should replace it by force, and take military possession of the temple. The natives about the General no doubt gave notice to the priests, and *Juggernaut returned before his time.*” Miss. Register, 1824, p. 582.

would be 124,880 rupees; to meet which the endowed lands amount to 26,818 rupees, leaving a deficiency of 90,062 rupees (£11,257). This sum has to be collected under the direction of a Christian Government, and to be paid to the attendants of Juggernaut,—who suffer their deluded votaries to die of want and neglect, in the very precincts of the temple and the town, and then throw them out upon the sands, for their bones and skulls to whiten its arid plains.

The number of Brahmuns and inferior attendants at Gya, and Allahabad must be very considerable. Let Britain retire from these idolatrous and obscene establishments, and would their popularity continue? For a short period the attendance might be considerable, but the novelty would gradually cease; and though (as in other places unnoticed by the Government,) pilgrimages might continue, the inseparable attendants,—poverty, sickness, and death, would not be so great. The Author has been at Bobuneswer, Munchaswer, Puramunx, and Teenaturra, places of pilgrimage in Orissa; but he does not recollect seeing a sick person among thousands of pilgrims, or a skeleton on the journey. Why such a contrast between these places and Juggernaut? The former are unnoticed by Government, and no tax is levied. The latter has a vast establishment, supported and enriched at the expense of the lives of thousands.

“All my way from the Chilka Lake to Madras,” says Dr. Buchanan, “I did not see one skull. *Like the other temples in the Deccan, the revenues of the temple of Ramisseram are wasting away.* But Juggernaut will fall before Ramacoil or Ramisseram. I saw no human bone in the island. Christianity in its worst shape has civilized the Deccan. All descriptions of people are more humane and intelligent than the Hindoos of Bengal.”*

“The vast establishment of Juggernaut,” says the Friend of India, “founded as it is on delusion and cruelty, would not long continue in its present splendour, when *it ceased to be upheld by virtues of Christian growth.* British regularity, activity, and faithfulness, are virtues which Juggernaut’s worship is incapable of producing; and without these, *the larger the establishment and the sum annually received, the sooner would the whole fall into ruin.* Selfish and rapacious, none of the pundits in the temple would trust one another.† Whatever

* Life of Buchanan, vol. ii. p. 49.

† The late Bishop Heber, speaking of a public meeting of natives in Calcutta, for the relief of the sufferers by famine on the Coromandel coast,

might be the sum received one year, (part of which they would probably conceal from each other,) no punda would have the enterprise to expend sixty thousand rupees on the Idol's establishment, as a speculation for the next year's profits,—of which, after all, others might deprive him. No one would have the activity to see that all the attendants did their duty. One would neglect to prepare Juggernaut's food, and perhaps sell the articles; others would neglect his wardrobe; and others the temple itself, both within and without. As for the pundits being at the expense of adorning his car with the finest English woollens from year to year, this would be out of the question. If they did it one year, they would neglect it the next; and *thus the temple, with all its apparatus, would gradually sink into neglect and contempt.*”*

Another advantage would be, *a decrease of pilgrim hunters.* These men would not travel to collect pilgrims in such numbers as at present, were they uncertain what they should obtain for their labour. Now they know the price set upon each individual, British integrity ensuring its payment; and hence the number of these people traversing the country with their miserable groups. Thousands of pilgrims execrate the oppressions practised upon them, and relate with horror the ravages of death; but the fascinations of the travelling pundits prevail with the credulous and superstitious, and every year

states a fact illustrative of this assertion. One of the most liberal of the subscribers, Vomanundun Thakoor, said to him—“Ramaswamee Pundit may be a very good man, but I took care at the meeting, that all money subscribed should be lodged with the house of Palmer and Co., and be distributed at Madras by the English Committee. *I do not know the Madras Pundits, but I know that Europe Gentlemen have a character to lose.*” Vol. i. p. 74.

* Friend of India, Oct. 1825, pp. 281, 282.—“The woollen cloths were formerly supplied by the Soobahs, and since by the Commissioners and Collectors, *the officers of the temple declaring themselves incapable of procuring them!!* The quantity required is 484 guz (yards), of which one piece must be of superfine cloth. The colours are of no consequence, but there should be variety; *they can be best supplied from the Company's warehouses, and therefore the charge is omitted!!* Owing to the want of an efficient control, I have every reason to believe, *the internal affairs of the temple have not been properly conducted of late.* The Rajah attributes the improprieties to the conduct of the head Purcha, who he says refuses to obey his orders; the head Purcha attributes them to the Rajah's orders, having been inconsistent with the recorded rules and customs. There are complaints made, that both parties have refused permission to opulent Hindoos to make valuable presents to the idol, unless a previous Nuzzuranna were paid, in one instance to the Rajah, and in the other to the Purchas, for permission.”—Feb. 1809, C. Buller, Esq.—Par. Papers, 1813, pp. 65—74. AUTH.

produces multitudes of votaries, of each sex, and of all ages, for this horrid pilgrimage.

"It appears," says Colonel Phipps, "to have escaped observation, that, under the present arrangement, THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT COLLECTS A FUND, FOR THE SPECIAL PURPOSE OF SECURING TO THE ATTENDANTS OF THE TEMPLE OF JUGGERNAUT, SO HIGH A PREMIUM AS TO STIMULATE THEIR CUPIDITY TO SEND AGENTS ALI, OVER INDIA, TO DELUDE THE IGNORANT HINDOOS TO UNDERTAKE A PILGRIMAGE, WHICH IS ATTENDED WITH GREATER LOSS OF LIFE THAN ANY OTHER SUPERSTITION IN INDIA, AND WHICH ANNUALLY INVOLVES IN RUIN A GREAT MANY FAMILIES!" This is the more extraordinary, as the President of the Board of Commissioners, in his correspondence with the Court of Directors, argues that the tax cannot be considered as introducing or tolerating the practice of idolatry. The arguments used on the spot are short and plain. The purharies and pundits will neither employ agents to entice pilgrims, nor will they treat them properly unless it is made their interest. Hindoos will seldom come, if left to themselves; and, if the pilgrimage become unpopular, the tax will be so unproductive as not to be worth collecting. *It is the opinion of the best informed persons in the Province, that the dreadful scenes which occur annually, on all the roads leading to Juggernaut, would soon cease,—if the temple were placed on the same footing, as numerous other places of idolatrous worship, which are left without any kind of interference on the part of Government."**

A further advantage would be, *the decrease of the popularity of places of pilgrimage, and consequently a diminution in the number and mortality of the pilgrims.* A decrease in the resort of pilgrims to any place, naturally lessens its notoriety. Let the Pilgrim Tax be abolished and few will be induced to collect pilgrims. Free ingress and egress as it respects holy places, long restricted by penal enactments, might, for a short time, increase the number of pilgrims, but the novelty would soon wear away; and, even while it continued, the pilgrims, having no tax to pay, could better support themselves than at present, consequently there would be less mortality. "Let the tax and the premium for bringing pilgrims be at once dropped; let all British interference with the idol and its temple be withdrawn; and it is certain their popularity

* Mis. Reg. 1824, p. 580.

cannot long stand. If it did, *the reproach and the guilt of blood would be for ever rolled away from the British nation.* It must in future stand through virtues of its own growth, or sink to ruin. Even the disappearance of that regularity and splendour imparted to the worship of this idol, through British interference, could not be unnoticed by the natives; and would weigh in a powerful manner. 'Why have the British withdrawn themselves? What is there in the worship of Juggernaut which has made them choose to give up every idea of profit, rather than countenance it any longer? This cannot arise from veneration. It must arise from the reverse.' Thus would a shock be given to this superstition, which it has not received for ages.

"Even the delusion attached to the spot, when it was no longer guarded by British power, would soon cease. At present, the whole weight of the British authority is employed to support the deception, that Pooree is a place peculiarly holy, by refusing admittance to any not authorized to enter by paying the tax, &c., and, by compelling them to leave the town as soon as their permission expires! As the pundits would not be vested with magisterial power, *they would have no right to support this delusion, by the arm of civil authority.* It must rest wholly on opinion; and, in spite of all their endeavours, people would enter and prolong their stay contrary to their commands: thus, *by degrees, the place itself would become too common to yield its present revenue.* When left to itself, this object of idolatry would naturally destroy itself. While its worship is delusion, the God of truth seems to have ordained that, in the very nature of things, idol worship should contain the seeds of its own decay; and to attempt to counteract this natural tendency, and to support idolatry by virtues the growth of Christianity, seems an act which, if continued, would make us fear more for the British empire in India, than from the combination of all its enemies."*

Finally, *the British character would appear in its true light, and the efforts of Christian benevolence for meliorating the state of India would be more successful than at present.* Is it to the honour of Britain, to collect annually £50,000 from the poor deluded followers of idolatry, while they are enriched, who travel through the country to inveigle them from their business and their families, frequently never, never to return? Will not the heathen think Christianity

* Friend of India, Oct. 1825, pp. 280—283.

similar to Idolatry, which amasses wealth at "the price of blood?" Will not the Hindoo think highly of his idolatrous rites, when he sees the solicitude of his Christian Rulers lest they should grow into disuse? It must appear incongruous to the Hindoos, to see some Europeans endeavouring to turn them from idols, and others engaged in their festivals, as if they were concerned for the support of their establishments. The following anecdote shews the effect of European connection with idolatry upon the native mind:—

The Author passing one evening the large temple of Seeta Ram at Cuttack (the endowed lands of which it is understood are in the hands of Government, and an annual allowance made to the priests), caught a sight of one of the idols, and he exclaimed, "*pape! pape!*" (sinful, sinful). The native who was with him asked, "Sir, is that sinful for which the Company give thousands?" (meaning rupees). He felt confounded, but said,— "Yes, it is sinful: but the Company are a long way off; they do not know every thing about this country, &c." "Some of the most common arguments employed in favour of idolatry," says a missionary in Orissa, in Oct. 1825, "are conveyed in the following questions: '*If Juggernaut be, as you say, nothing, then why do so many people come so far to see him?* *If Juggernaut be nothing, why do the Company take so much money of the pilgrims at the entrance of the town?*' I asked Abraham (the Hindoo teacher), what he said when the people talked about the Company taking the people's money: he said, he replied to them; 'So far from acknowledging Juggernaut, the English do it to punish the people! It would be too much trouble to *flog so many people*, therefore they set up a gate and fine them!' In the simplicity of his heart, the poor fellow seemed to think this was the case, and I did not undeceive him. As I cannot honestly defend it, I always say it is a sinful practice. As there is a Providence, I certainly think, the British power has more to fear from its connection with idolatry in this country, than from any thing else. A man said to me a few days ago, '*If the Government does not forsake Juggernaut, how can you expect that we should?*' These arguments discompose me more than any others; and they are urged every day, and, perhaps, some days, several times." A late missionary in Orissa writes, in April 1828, "This evening I met with a troublesome man who asked me several questions. '*If Juggernaut be nothing, why do the Company take so many rupees?*' I answered, that was not my sin nor his. 'There are some of you (said the gooroo) who are not holy in

all their conduct. *If your religion were true, the Government would support it: but they do not.'*"

Confirmation of the above statements, shewing the propriety and utility of the repeal of the Pilgrim Tax, and the discontinuance of British connection with idolatry in India, appears important. It is presumed the following facts are deserving of serious attention.

"About the close of the year 1801, a Civil Servant of the Hon. Company, holding the station of Collector in one of the southern Provinces of the Madras Presidency, sent his peons to the great Pagoda of the Province, with orders to break the car of Juggernaut in pieces and sell the wood, as it had been the property of a rebel chief. The Brahmuns remonstrated, claiming the car as the property of the god, and repulsed the peons. The Collector, however, apprized them that he should renew the attempt. On learning this, the Brahmuns sent him an intimidation, and caused it to be circulated throughout the Province, 'That if he offered such a profanation to the car of the god, holy Brahmuns would cast themselves headlong from the lofty tower of the Pagoda.' The Collector sent a formal message, informing them he had heard of their vow to kill themselves, and that he and his family would attend to witness the spectacle! On the day appointed, a great multitude assembled. The Collector and his family, his peons and retinue, attended. The tower over the gateway of the pagoda was the place from which the Brahmuns threatened to precipitate themselves. Within full view of the tower, chairs were set for the Collector and his family. The decisive moment now arrived:—the Brahmuns appeared on the top of the tower, and the Collector gave the order for the demolition. The Brahmuns, with loud imprecations, and menacing gesticulations, endeavoured to intimidate him. They rushed repeatedly to the verge of the tower, and as often retired. But the officer was firm to his purpose: the car was broken, and the wood ordered to be sold; upon which the Brahmuns silently withdrew, and the crowd quietly dispersed."*

"A rare circumstance has occurred this year," says the Calcutta Missionary Herald, July, 1824, "in reference to the car of Juggernaut, kept at Chandernagore, which belongs to the French. This huge car, used to be dragged along the main road leading to Taldanga, where it stood for the space of a week, and was then brought back. This road has lately undergone a thorough repair; and the French authorities sent

* Miss Reg. 1814, p. 58. See Asi. Jour. Oct. 1830.

word to the proprietors of the routh that, as the wheels of the car would tear up the road, they could not suffer it to be dragged over it, unless they paid 500 rupees for its repair. The owners of it offered a sum considerably less than what was demanded, in consequence of which the routh was not allowed to be drawn, in spite of the earnest entreaties of the Hindoos. Thus one of their most ancient customs has been laid aside, by the peremptory orders of the Rulers of Chander-nagore, without creating any spirit of rebellion among the Hindoos. A tax has been laid upon Juggernaut, and as he could not pay the *mulct*, and his votaries had not sufficient respect to pay it for him, he remains a monument of his impotency and subserviency to an earthly being."*

"A few years since there were two cars of Juggernaut at Bydpoor, near Culna, in the Nuddea district. They were kept a short distance from the town, near an unfrequented road. From time to time several persons were missing, who were never heard of again. It was at length discovered that these cars were the nests of waylayers or footpads, whence they issued and knocked down solitary individuals for the purpose of robbing them: they almost invariably murdered them, and then took their bodies and concealed them among the wheels of the cars. The frequent occurrence of these murders occasioned great trouble to the villagers; who were bound and examined by the police officers, and subject to great oppressions. It happily occurred to some Hindoos of the place, that as long as Juggernaut's cars remained, they should never escape the trouble brought upon them by these murders; they therefore came to the determination of setting fire to them, and burnt them to the ground. The place of concealment being removed, the murders have ceased."†

Great depredations are practised upon the pilgrims at Juggernaut's temple in Orissa. As they enter the town, the men employed to drag the cars have been seen to come from their encampment and seize their chattas, clothes, &c. In the town, as they lie asleep, their money is frequently stolen from them. Within the temple what oppressions are committed must remain unknown to Europeans, as no one is allowed to enter it.‡ Hundreds, yea, thousands, die of want, exposure,

* Asi. Jour. May, 1825.

† Mis. Herald, Aug. 1825.—Asi. Jour. May, 1826.

‡ "Some captious persons became offended, and called out to the multitude, 'Worship Juggernaut, worship Juggernaut.'—Miss. Who is Juggernaut?—He that sits on the blue mountains.—Miss. If that image be Durm Brumha, why does it decay? for you know it is renewed every

&c., occasioned by the cruelty practised at Pooree. O that some of the Hindoos were wise and firm enough to destroy *these cars!* When shall the dreadful celebrity of Juggernaut cease for ever!

The late A. Stirling, Esq., in his "Account of Orissa," states what would be the result of leaving Juggernaut unconnected with the Government. "Generally, from two to three days are consumed in reaching the Gondicha Nour temple, where the images are taken out. Before even this period is elapsed, the curiosity and enthusiasm of the pilgrims have nearly evaporated; they steal off in numbers, and leave *Shree Jeo to get back to the temple as he may!* Without the aid of the villagers* and the population of Pooree, *who hold their ground free of rent, on condition of performing this service for the deity, the cars would now infallibly stick at the Gondicha Nour!* Even the god's own servants will not labour zealously and effectually *without the interposition of authority; and I imagine the ceremony (the car festival) would soon cease to be conducted on its present scale,—IF THE INSTITUTION WERE LEFT ENTIRELY TO ITS OWN FATE AND TO ITS OWN RESOURCES BY THE OFFICERS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.*" Hamilton in his *Gazetteer* speaking of the temple of Juggernaut, says;—"the whole ceremony would soon decline almost to nothing, if left to its own resources!"†

The following statement, from a correspondent at Cuttack, appeared in the Calcutta John Bull, July, 1821:—"On account of the lateness of the Ruth Jattra this year, it was not expected that the assemblage of pilgrims would be great; but nothing like the falling off that took place was anticipated. Monsieur Juggernaut, in fact, was almost deserted; and Messrs. Brahmun, Pundit, and Co., threatened to remove his worship to a more central situation in India (in the neighbourhood of Mooradabad). We congratulate our friends in those parts, on their good luck on the prospect of such a visit! We are sorry to state that from the epidemic, want, and exposure,

twelve years. *If he were Juggernaut (the Lord of the world) would he permit his priests in his presence to tear away the silver and gold ear-rings and nose jewels of the jattrees? You know you can never come away from Pooree with a rupee, or pice, or cloth, or lota: could this, think you, be the case if Juggernaut were there?* It is all a trick of the Brahmuns to get your money to feed themselves."—Ex. Mis. Jour. 1827.

* "The inhabitants of the neighbouring pergannah, Raheng, Lumbai, &c., whose peculiar duty and privilege it is, conjointly with the inhabitants of Pooree, to drag the ruths."

† Asi. Jour. Oct. 1830, p. 100.

the mortality among the few deluded wretches (comparatively) that did come, was awful. We hope from the signs of the times, that the reign of Juggernaut is drawing to a close, or is at least upon the decline. The pilgrims either could not or would not draw the ruth, and the priests, of this vile superstition, were obliged to call in other assistance. No devotee was found to pave the way with his blood for Moloch. The sight, at the opening of the gates for the admission of pilgrims, would have melted the heart of a savage; numbers of expiring wretches were carried in, that they might die at the polluted shrine, instead of enjoying their domestic comforts in their native village. Who that witnesses or hears of such scenes, but must long for the time when these degrading rituals will pass away, and the pure and exalting religion of Jesus bless the benighted plains of Hindostan?*

The Par. Papers respecting Juggernaut, May, 1813, abundantly shew that the temple would gradually decrease in celebrity, but for the support of the British Government. References are made to the advance of money for the use of it. A petition from the chief Purcha, in May, 1807, states, "But, for the service of Shree Jeó, it is necessary that *some money should be given at present by Government* on charge of the dewal Purchas; and, if money is not given, *there will be the utmost difficulty in carrying on the affairs of the temple!*" p. 61. The board of Revenue in 1806, suggested that the temple should be supported from the proceeds of its own lands, with fees levied on its account, and voluntary contributions; to which the Collector of tax replied,—"*I suspect the priesthood will not willingly agree to continue the ceremonies of Juggernaut, in the present style, with the funds proposed to be assigned to them.*" pp. 50—53; see also pp. 58, 59, 60—65. Should a Christian people thus uphold idolatry?

The following brief extracts from the Calcutta Papers, shew the nature of public opinion in India, concerning the propriety of abolishing the Pilgrim Tax:—

The *India Gazette* in Oct. 1825, contains an article relative to Juggernaut; a brief extract is inserted.—"In the Weekly Messenger of yesterday, there is a most harrowing account of the miseries suffered by the poor creatures who crowded to Juggernaut, to attend the Satanic festival of the Ruth Jattra. It is humiliating to read such things. They are degrading to us as men, and derogatory to our character as Christian masters of this country. And is it possible that yearly similar scenes occur? But do not the Brahmuns fatten? Do not the wily heartless priests, who squeeze the last rupee out

* Asi. Jour. March, 1822.

of the hands of the poor victims, profit by the system? Yes: and they will retort the charge, *that, they alone do not profit by it.* The abstraction of such vast masses of people must be very injurious to the general prosperity of the tracts whence they issue; unless India in general be considered too populous. When we remember the many parts that lie waste, where a teeming soil would reward the efforts of the industrious, we cannot help thinking the population could be distributed more judiciously, than by a long pilgrimage to Juggernaut, were the journey merely dependent upon those convictions of necessity which lead to emigration, instead of the blind zeal of a flagitious superstition."

"We have perused with some attention," says the Editor of the *Calcutta John Bull*, Nov. 1825, "an article in the last 'Friend of India,' entitled 'Reflections on the incidents which occurred this year at the Ruth Jattra of Juggernaut in Orissa.' The subject is unquestionably of the first moment, inasmuch as the alleviation of human misery, and the preservation of human life, must be objects of the highest importance to every Christian and humane Government. The writer in the 'Friend of India,' adverting to the fact, that the *tax humanely imposed by Government to discourage the practice has become the very means of perpetuating it*, and been even converted, by those who have a selfish purpose to answer in keeping it up, into a proof that the Christian Government of India recognises the *divinity of Juggernaut, and believes in the virtue of a pilgrimage to his shrine as expiating sin*: he proposes (and we certainly concur with him), to *abolish the tax*, and leave the Hindoos free to go or not, as they please, on this pilgrimage. Nothing, we are persuaded, would tend more effectually to lessen the resort of pilgrims, to this celebrated seat of superstition, than the *total indifference of Government to the practice*. The tax imposed upon pilgrims, when found, as we believe it is, ineffectual as a check upon the practice, ought without delay to be abrogated. It has been imposed in ignorance of the native character; but now a better knowledge of this character is acquired,—the natives themselves are undoubtedly beginning to be *influenced in their notions as to the value of their religious acts by their intercourse with Europeans*—it is time to change the system, and, at least, to try the effects of one directly opposed to the present, so far as levying a tax is concerned. The good people at home do not do justice to the Government of this country in the object they have in view by this tax. They maintain that it is a desire of revenue which has imposed it; and certainly, where the fact of its efficiency for that purpose is proved, this representation acquires strength by the continuance of the impost."*

"We hesitate not," says the Editor of the *Columbian Press Gazette*, "to declare our concurrence in the sentiments expressed in the Bull, on the subject of the pilgrimage to Juggernaut. There can be no reason to doubt that the tax levied to promote the convenience of the pilgrimage, and to increase the revenue at the same time, is calculated to create an impression among the natives, that the *British Government countenances and believes in the efficacy of such pilgrimages*. The best method of proving that we are not actuated by a motive so unworthy is *to repeal it at once*. It certainly has not been effectual in diminishing the number of pilgrims; and, if we are rightly informed, it was never intended to produce such effects; being chiefly levied in the first instance to provide comforts for the pilgrims, and thereby (though humanely aimed at the diminution of human suffering), directly tending to *encourage the superstitious practices which caused it*."

* Asi. Jour., Feb. 1827, p. 270.

The *Bengal Weekly Messenger* about the same date, contains the following paragraph:—"We believe now, though we hear it for the first time, that the English Government maintains, *by rewarding*, a set of men called pilgrim hunters, trained by the various functionaries of the temple, to traverse the whole country, for the purpose of inducing the wretched inhabitants to undertake the pilgrimage, for what is confessedly not intended to form an item of our revenue, and almost the whole of which is expended *under British auspices*, in adorning and maintaining the Idol and its numerous establishment; thereby preserving a last refuge for that religion, which, in all other parts of our Indian territory, we are encouraging every proper endeavour to eradicate! We feel fully persuaded, that *entire neglect of Juggernaut, on our part, would in a moderate time be followed by equal indifference on the part of the worshippers*: on this principle, we conceive many places of ancient superstitious reputation have now fallen into decay, though once, perhaps, as great in sanctity as the Pagoda of Juggernaut. Let the tax then be abolished; desuetude will be the consequence at last, although the succeeding year or two may produce a greater concourse of people. Let us not assist to keep up the mystery and priestcraft of the worship; let us not, by our authority, help to maintain the splendour of the Idol, nor his reputation of that abstergent holiness which is believed to wash away the sins of those who approach its residence, and the result will be found to answer the expectations which are so reasonably cherished."

The following extract from the *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, in Aug. 1829, is interesting.—"Were the Government to withhold its support and superintendence from the Idol's establishment, this would greatly tend to lessen the evil. Were these withheld the cars would no longer be decorated with English broad cloths; the pilgrim hunters would cease to be paid for enticing the people from their homes; consequently few pilgrims would come; the different servants and officers would manifest less regularity, while the food and general provision of the idols would be prepared with an economy that would contribute to the general decline in their interest: disorder and dishonesty would immediately succeed through every part of the system, which would soon work its own decline. A Punda said, that before the Company took the care of the Idol's establishment, he had not the glory I now saw, for that then the people said, 'There is no road; no shelter; there were robbers abroad, and how could they go so far?' and thus saying, they stayed at home. But that now the thieves were taken; good roads made; sheltering places built; and Juggernaut otherwise supported; the people had no excuse, and no fear, and therefore they came. These are facts which cannot but be known to many, acquainted with the Pooree affairs, and will be readily acknowledged by every intelligent native."

The late Rev. T. Thomason, of Calcutta, in a letter to the Author, in Aug. 1824, writes:—"The sad subject of the tax on pilgrims has been again and again brought forward. Before Mr. Harington was out of Council the subject was fully discussed; minutes were written, opinions collected, and the whole is gone for the decision of the Court of Directors. Doubtless this and other abominations will give way at length; but politicians may protract their continuance for a season." In another letter, dated Calcutta, March 1825, he says, "Every thing has been done here in the matter of the *Juggernaut abomination, and of the burning of Widows.*

For this also we must wait. Having done all, we can only look to Him who can give prosperity."

"Every man who can afford it," says the late Dr. Buchanan, "is obliged to pay a tribute to the English Government, for *leave to worship the Idol* (Juggernaut). It will give me sincere pleasure if the further investigation of this subject shall tend, in any degree, to soften the shameful impression which the above statement must make on the public mind. What can be compared to the disgrace of regulating, by Christian law, the bloody and obscene rites of Juggernaut? The honour of our nation is certainly involved in this matter. But there is no room for the language of crimination or reproach; it is the sin of ignorance. These facts are not generally known, because there has been no official inquiry. In regard to the *Idol Tax*, the principle of the enormity, it is said, has never been fully explained to the Government at home. The Honourable the Court of Directors will feel as indignant, on a full development of the fact, as any public body of the nation."* In a letter addressed to the Hon. Court, respecting Juggernaut, May 1813, he declares, "A writer may be able, by the power of high embellishment, by noticing indifferent circumstances, and entirely suppressing others, to represent the Idol Juggernaut as one of the 'gay and elegant deities of Greece and Rome'; but the substance of the facts, as stated by others, will remain the same. It will still continue true, that Juggernaut is a fountain of vice and misery to millions of mankind; that the sanguinary and obscene character of the worship is in the highest degree revolting, and that *it will be a most happy event, when our Christian nation shall dissolve its connection with that polluted place.*"†

The Editor of the *Missionary Register*, Feb. 1828, referring to the permission of Suttees, and to the Pilgrim Tax, justly remarks,—"There are two topics of a very distressing nature, because they are putting to hazard the fidelity of this country, in the discharge of that high trust which has been committed to it, in its delegated stewardship of India. The Pilgrim Tax, levied by the Indian Government, on idolaters going on pilgrimage to supposed sacred places, whatever were its design, has had the acknowledged effect of sanctioning and legalizing this destructive and wicked superstition." Adverting to the Author's pamphlet on Pilgrim Tax in India, it is

* *The Eras of Light*, 1810, pp. 41—44. This expectation was not realized on the full discussion of the subject in the India House, in Sep. 1830. See *Asi. Jour.*, Oct. 1830.

† Buchanan's *Apol. for Christianity in India*, p. 42.

observed—"The author has collected abundant testimony to the duty, facilities, and advantages, of the entire and immediate abandonment of this pernicious system."

The following remarks on "*Revenue from Hindoo Temples*," by a public officer of high rank in India, appear very judicious:—

"As the greater proportion of the pilgrims, who present the offerings which constitute the revenue of Government, are the inhabitants of the Hon. Company's Territories, it becomes necessary to consider the effect of the payment of the tax. It will not, I conceive, require much argument to prove, that the amount of collections drawn from them is most injurious to the general resources of the Government, more particularly with regard to the gifts made by landholders, from the richest zemindar to the poorest ryot. The offerings at the Pagoda tend to diminish their power of paying their rents, and that even to a much greater extent than if they were to pay a similar sum by a tax in any other mode; for the time and labour consumed in the journey, the extravagance and waste while the pilgrims remain, the actual detriment their cultivation and stock must suffer in consequence of their absence, are all to be considered; and this injury to their individual, and thus to the Government's interests, is entirely the effect of their being induced, by their prejudices, to proceed to so great a distance, to make an offering, that is, literally, *to pay an additional tax to Government above their assessments*; whereas, if no facility for so senseless a proceeding were offered them, there is a reason to believe that they would, with the sum expended in offerings, be either discharging their rents with greater exactness, or adding to their capital. I would submit that, *it would appear clearly to be most consistent with the best interests of Government, to discourage the influx of their landholders as pilgrims to _____.*

"The remaining portion of the Company's subjects who visit the _____, and add to the revenues of Government by their contributions, are the merchants, manufacturers, and artificers, with probably a small number of the idle part of the population. It is a well-established fact that, in the years of plentiful crops, the Government dues are collected with the least facility, in consequence of the difficulty the ryots experience in disposing of their grain; it is plain they cannot sell to each other, as all have grain to dispose of—it follows, the consumers and purchasers are the mercantile and manufacturing classes. As the quantity they can afford to buy, or the price they can afford to give, must of necessity depend on the earnings of their labour, should this class of persons be induced, by any facility not now possessed, to come in greater numbers to _____, the loss of the state must be very considerable; for they cannot follow their professions on their journey, but must be wasting their time and means: the value of the employment of their labour must be lost to themselves and to the Government. To put this in a clear light, suppose for a moment the circumstance of a whole manufacturing and mercantile population of the district of _____, leaving their employments and undertaking a pilgrimage to _____: we should at once see the bad effects of such a measure;—they would lose all their time and labour, thus greatly decreasing individual wealth; and the ryots would be suffering severely, there being no market for their grain. I do not imagine any person would think of encouraging such a movement of the population, and yet exactly the same effects follow in proportion from the absence of one or ten inhabitants of that country, or of any other of the Hon. Company's Provinces on pilgrimage, as in the case of the absence of

the whole body. It is just as much the best policy of Government to discourage the pilgrimage in one or ten, as it would be their best policy on the suppression of the movement of the whole mercantile and manufacturing population.”*

“It was not attempted to be denied,” says J. Poynder, Esq., “that the British Government not merely tolerates so much idolatry and crime, but derives an immense revenue from this polluted source. The Gentleman who noticed external amendments (removing indecent emblems from the car, and the wall that surrounds the temple) has thought proper to produce only as much of the appalling account given by Colonel Phipps, as was necessary to his own object;—but he has passed over every thing in that relation which proves the idolatry of Juggernaut to be most destructive to the Indian population, in its consequences upon human life, and most disgraceful to the British Government, in its continuance as a source of revenue. The public statement, given by the Colonel,† affords abundant proof that *the continuance of this national opprobrium is referrible to the Board of Control for India, rather than to the Court of Directors of the East India Company.*”‡ The author would particularly recommend the Speech of this Gentleman, on the subject of British Connection with Idolatry in India, delivered at a Quarterly Court of Proprietors, Sep. 1830. (Hatchard). It is an able Pamphlet.§

H. S. G. Tucker, Esq., in his “Review of the Financial Situation of the East India Company, in 1824,” disapproves of the tax levied on the pilgrims resorting to Juggernaut and other holy places: “he thinks *it does not harmonize with a great and liberal Government.*”||

G. Udny, Esq., Member of Council in Calcutta, in 1806, entered a protest against some parts of the Pilgrim Tax System. He suggested,—“If the revenue of the temple were insufficient for its support, a tax should be levied to meet the deficiency; but that Government should have no direct concern with what related to the maintenance of the temple, or the payment of the officers.” The reason assigned was, “The making provision by law for such purpose, it appears

* Asi. Jour., May 1822, p. 439. See some interesting remarks on this subject in the Ori. Her., vol. ii. p. 71. Also Asi. Jour., March 1831, pp. 204—215. † Miss. Reg., Dec. 1824.

‡ Speech on Human Sacrifices in India, March 1827. (Hatchard.) § For the just views of Mr. Trant, an Indian Proprietor, upon this subject, see Asi. Jour., Oct. 1830, pp. 111, 112.

|| Asi. Jour., June 1825.

to me, *would operate to sanction, and tend to perpetuate a system of gross idolatry, which Government is neither bound, nor does it seem becoming in it, to do.** How much better, that Britain should have no connection with the temples of India, either in acquiring wealth from them, or in supporting or superintending their establishments!

"It is evidently indecorous, if not inconsistent," says the late J. H. Harington, Esq., *"that the Government of a nation professing Christianity should participate in the offerings of heathen superstition and idolatry."*† In correspondence with the writer, in 1824, he stated the same opinion:—"I think, myself, a Christian Government ought not to derive a revenue from the allowance of this sin." And in a letter from the same Gentleman in June, 1825, (which contained the substance of the communication to J. Blunt, Esq., Commissioner of Orissa, relative to the relief of the pilgrims at the Car Festival,) he observed, "The Court of Directors have recognised the Tax at Juggernaut, as a fund applicable to local purposes, not as a part of the general revenue of the State; and that *scarcely any purpose could be even worthy of Government, except that of mitigating the mischiefs which this miserable superstition occasions.*" Let the British withdraw from the temple of Juggernaut all possible connection, the *eclat* of the pilgrimage will gradually cease, and its miseries disappear.

"We think," say the Board of Revenue in Calcutta, Sep. 1806, "the interference of the public officers, in superintending the general concerns of a Hindoo temple, so far from being calculated to promote economy in the expenses, to increase the reputation and prosperity of the temple, or to augment the public revenue, is likely to be attended with contrary effects. We would recommend the whole of the internal economy and management of the temple to be left entirely to the Hindoo priesthood; and that the interference of Government be confined to the levy of a duty from pilgrims, in like manner as is done at Gya and Allahabad. From the pilgrims resorting to Gya, Government derives *an annual revenue of about 150,000 rupees*; no interference whatever is had by the officers of Government with the priests of the temple. With reference to the *substantial benefits arising to Government from the tax upon pilgrims resorting to Gya*, and, on the other hand, to the inconsiderable receipts by Government from the temple of Juggernaut since it has been under the British Government,

* Par. Papers, May 1813, p. 41.

† Harington's Analysis, vol. iii. p. 226.

we consider ourselves fully justified, in recommending that the rules respecting the concerns of Juggernaut's temple, should be brought as near as possible to those at Gya.”*

In the correspondence of the Hon. Court of Directors with the Right Hon. the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, in 1809, sentiments are expressed opposed to a considerable part of the present System at Juggernaut. “According to the Hindoo laws, it may have been allowable for a Hindoo Government to interfere in the appointment of ministers of that temple, and the management of its affairs; but for our Government *to elect its priests and officers, to assume a control over the official conduct of those persons, to take the direction of its funds and the charge of preparing its annual car*, was, in the opinion of the Court, to furnish to the ill-intentioned pretexts for alarming the scrupulosity and superstition of the Hindoos in respect to their religion. The Court thinking the interference of our Government in these matters generally improper, *on the principles of the Hindoos and on our own*, and especially improper at such a time; judged it right, for the prevention of such interference in future, to express their disapprobation of it. The acts of interference disapproved by the Court were specified to be, ‘electing the priests of the temple, controlling its ministers and officers, taking the management of its funds, or any other proceeding which would not leave the Hindoos in perfect possession of their religious immunities.’ The Court beg leave respectfully to state, that *they still deem it their duty to propose the prohibition of these things*; and if there be any points relating to the religious establishments of the Hindoos beyond the ‘care of a police, the administration of justice, and the collection of a tax requisite for the attainment of these ends,’ it would be proper to specify it to the Government, instead of leaving a universal interference in all matters without exception open to them, on the ground of securing the public tranquillity; because it is to be presumed, there must be some point at which the interference of a Government not Hindoo, in the religious concerns of a people so remarkably separated and scrupulous in matters of that kind, must stop. The Court intend to provide for the maintenance of the public tranquillity; and humbly hope they have done so, by leaving to the magistrate ‘the care of the police, and the administration of justice:’ and they beg leave to offer it as their opinion, that

* Par. Papers relative to Juggernaut, May 1813. Extract of a Letter to Sir G. H. Barlow, Bart..

instead of interfering by a direct exercise of the authority of Government in such matters as—*the contests between different priests and different sects about the expenditure and provision of its funds, the possession and pre-eminence of particular images*, with other questions of that nature which have already arisen, and are always likely to arise in the internal administration of the temple: * it will be better to refer all such questions to the judicial determination of our established Courts, which being done, the interference of the Government for the public peace can only be necessary should the parties proceed to acts of open hostility against each other.”†

This chapter may be closed by quoting the sentiments of the Right Hon. the Board of Commissioners in 1808, in the correspondence already adverted to: they appear in strict consonance with the object here advocated. “It is undoubtedly desirable to avoid as much as possible the exercise of any control over the management and concerns of the temple; *as our interference in such matters cannot but be, at all times, disagreeable to the feelings and prejudices of the Hindoos; and may occasionally furnish ground of jealousy and misrepresentation, in regard to our intentions respecting their religion.* The revenue which may be raised, from any source of that nature, can never be an object compared with the high importance of consulting, on all occasions, the religious opinions and civil usages of the natives.”

* “In proof, that an undue interference with idolatry has thus been exercised, I observe (says Mr. Poynder), that from pages 44 to 56 of the Par. Papers of 1813, a long correspondence occurs, in which the Indian Government is appealed to,—*whether a certain Idol should have a throne allotted to him, or be worshipped in an outer court*, which ends in a formal decision of our *Christian* Government in favour of the *external* worship.”—Debate on Idolatry in India, Asi. Jour., Oct. 1830, p. 97. Par. Papers, 1813, pp. 19, 45, 56.

† Par. Papers, May 1813. Extract of a Letter from W. Ramsay, Esq., Sec. to the Hon. Court of Directors, to G. Halford, Esq., Sec. to the Right Hon. the Board of Commissioners for India, Feb. 1809.

CHAP. V.

*Objections to the repeal of the Pilgrim Tax System obviated
—concluding appeal.*

The anomalous nature of the system under consideration has attracted the attention of many highly respectable Gentlemen, both in England and India. It may be presumed, that various objections to its abolition must exist among those, who possess the power of performing this important service for the interests of humanity and religion in Hindostan; the following are the principal:—

The Right Hon. the Board of Commissioners, in the paragraph last quoted, propose a common objection to the repeal of the Pilgrim Tax:—“Both the taxes above mentioned (those levied at Juggernaut and Allahabad), having been established during the *Nawaub and Mahratta Governments*, *there does not appear to be any substantial objection to the continuance of those duties, under proper rules for their collection.*”

In obviating this objection, the Author is happy in being able to use the language of the Hon. Court of Directors, to the Right Hon. the Board of Commissioners, in their correspondence relative to British superintendence of the temple of Juggernaut. “It is not our opinion, whatever the example of preceding Governments may have been, that the British Government ought to tax the Hindoos purely on a religious account; for instance, to make them pay merely for access to any of their places of devotion. We approve of the suggestion of the Board of Revenue, in June 1806, to confine the interference of Government at Juggernaut, to the levy of a duty on pilgrims, in like manner as is done at Gya and Allahabad; but the quantum of the tax ought to be fully sufficient to defray the expense incurred by Government for the establishment which it shall maintain at Juggernaut. With regard to imposing a tax upon the Hindoos for admission to a religious privilege, when the imposers believed, as the Hindoo Government did, that the privilege was a real good, it was, on their principles, for them *to put a price upon it*; but, *where the Government know the supposed privilege to be a delusion, the Court must question the propriety of its continuing the practice, though it may be ancient*; that reason not having been deemed by our Government, in other instances, sufficient to sanction customs repugnant to the principles of justice.

And, with respect to disbursing out of the Public Treasury any thing towards the support of religious establishments, Hindoo or Mahomedan, beyond what their own endowments furnish, the Court cannot but deem the principle objectionable, and the practice to be preferred, which has lately been adopted by the Madras Government, who have determined not to receive into their hands the funds belonging to such institutions, nor to be concerned in the expenditure of them.* This reasoning appears very conclusive; and, when it is known that the Hindoos argue the dignity and even the divinity of Juggernaut, from the attention of the British Government to his establishment, does not the impropriety of a Christian Government collecting a tax on the worshippers of a block of wood, irresistibly strike every intelligent and ingenuous mind?

The following incident shews that some of the Hindoos consider the establishment of the Pilgrim Tax by the British, and its consequent support of Juggernaut, as a proof of the Idol's interposition. The author's pundit related to him, that "Juggernaut appeared in a dream to the General Sahab, as he lay upon his couch, and said to him, 'Why have you not given me my *konor* (food), as I used to have? If you do not give it, I will punish you.' The General was afraid, and gave orders that Juggernaut should have food set before him as formerly."

Another objection to the repeal of this system is, *its supposed protection of the pilgrims from oppression*. This was Mr. Udny's reason for adopting some kind of police establishment at Juggernaut's temple; as this Gentleman expressed it, "to secure the pilgrims against every thing of a vexatious nature from the extortion and oppression of the officers of the temple." But is it possible to prevent the priests of idolatrous establishments making a gain of their office? The present premium to the pilgrim hunters, being secured by Government, is claimed to its full amount; and, in addition to it, other demands are made upon the worshippers in the temple, and at various places in the town:—"all the resources of superstition and priestcraft are brought into active operation; and every offering, from a sweetmeat to a lack of rupees, is grasped by the officiating Brahmuns with the most importunate rapacity.†" At Juggernaut, the last act of worship (without which the whole pilgrimage is void) is performed under a tree

* Par. Papers, May 1813, p. 17.

† See Ham. Hind., vol. ii. pp. 53, 647.

in the enclosure of the temple ; and, before the pilgrims are allowed to do this, certain sums are exacted from them according to the cupidity of the priests. Promissory notes are given at Gya, and pilgrims in general evidently lie at the mercy of their religious guides.

An extract from a communication of a correspondent in Orissa, at Ganjam, in 1826, shews that no system can be adopted to protect Hindoo pilgrims from oppression :—“ Talking about Juggernaut, a man from the country asked the question so common in another place :—‘ *Why the Company had any thing to do with Juggernaut, if his worship was wrong?* ’ And I said, as I always do on such occasions, that the Company did wrong. One of them told me that he had been to Juggernaut a few days ago ; that his personal expenses on the road were two rupees. The tax was two rupees, six annas ; two rupees went for food for the blocks (idols) ; three rupees were taken by the pundits, besides two pice here and two pice there in different parts of the temple. A man in another place told me that he did not pay the tax [pretending to be very poor] ; and that his last journey cost him about five rupees : *the expenses he said differed according to people's circumstances* ; for the same journey would cost some *forty rupees*. I inquired how the pundits knew what to expect, and he replied, some of them would come and stay *two or three months* in such a place as Ganjam, by which means they become acquainted with their circumstances.”

The following facts may afford a specimen of the conduct of the immediate attendants of idols. “ Krishna Vusoo gave to the temple of Juggernaut (near Serampore) an immense car, which could not cost less than 4 or 5000 rupees. He also added an allowance of six rupees a day for the expenses of the worship of this idol. Gourn Mullick, a goldsmith of Calcutta (who gave the interest of his mother's weight in gold to different temples !) added six rupees more to the daily offerings of this temple. These two benefactors, perceiving that the *Brahmuns of the temple, instead of expending these sums in the offerings to the god and in alms to strangers, applied the greater part of it to their private use, reduced the six rupees, to one rupee four annas a day.* To extort more money from the donors, the Brahmuns at two succeeding festivals prevented the car proceeding to an adjoining temple, in which the donors were interested, pretending that the god was angry with them for their parsimony and would not go.”*

* Ward's View of the Hindoos. Vol. i. Intro. p. 40.

The late Bishop Heber, visiting some temples of Seeb, gave a rupee to two Brahmuns who had shown them to him, and observes ;—“ I thought one rupee was enough between them, and told the priests that they were to divide it. No sooner, however, had it touched the threshold, than the two old men began scrambling for it in a most indecorous manner; abusing each other, spitting, stamping, clapping their hands, and doing every thing but striking; the one insisting that it belonged to him whose threshold it had touched; the other urging the known intentions of the donor. I tried to pacify them, but found it of no use, and left them in the midst of the fray.”*

A Calcutta Paper, in Oct. 1822, contained the following relation :—“ *Robbery at Juggernaut*. Juggernaut has been in great commotion, and I suspect some of the followers of Juggernaut will be staggered in their faith. This morning, when the pundas went in to visit the idols, they found all the silver ornaments gone, to the amount of 5000 rupees. They say none of the doors had been forced. All the inside doors are locked, and the keys lodged with the head punda and several chokedars in the compound: the outside doors are also locked, and the keys lodged with the punda; and a sepoy sentry at each outside, as they are not allowed to go in dressed in their uniforms, or have any charge of what is inside. The Rajah and Collector’s officers have had a meeting, and confined upwards of twenty attendants of the idol. On asking the sepoys what they thought of it, they laughing replied, ‘ Thakoor must have robbed himself (that is allowed some one), as he would have struck a person blind, who offered to take away his ornaments, or his sister’s, or his brother’s !’ It is a most curious circumstance; for no one goes in but accompanied by pundas, and all the sepoys seem to say some of them must be the rogues. The Jacks do not seem to have much veneration for Juggernaut, as they seem to joke at the idea of his being robbed.”†

A third objection to taking off the tax, and a vindication of its propriety, is (to use Mr. Harington’s words in his “Analysis,”)—“ The Court of Directors (in a letter dated Oct. 1814) intimate that *they do not consider the tax on pilgrims a source of revenue, but merely as a fund for keeping the temple in repair*. The Vice President in Council, adverting to the probability of the net receipts exceeding the amount

* Jour., vol. i. p. 94.
has seen the thief in the jail at Cuttack.

† Asi. Jour., July 1823. The author

required for the repairs of the edifice, directed that the surplus should be applied,—*to the repairs of the temple and other local purposes; the completion and repair of a public road from the vicinity of Calcutta to Juggernaut Pooree, commenced on a donation for this purpose by the late Rajah Sookmoy Roy; and to any other purpose connected with the temple of Juggernaut.*”

To this statement Colonel Phipps adverts in his account of Juggernaut.—“In the year 1814, the Court of Directors declared, that ‘they did not consider the tax on pilgrims as a source of revenue.’ There is, however, some inconsistency in this: for what purpose is this tax levied?* Is it intended as a fund to encourage idolatry? The truth is, a small part, *one fourth, or one third, is appropriated to purchase holy food*, and to defray the other expenses of the temple, but the remainder goes into the treasury. It is sometimes said that the surplus is employed for making a new road in the District. But nothing can be more self-evident than the fact, that the Government must consider a good military road, connecting the Madras Provinces with those of Bengal, as a measure of primary importance, which could not fail to be attended to, if there had not been a temple at Juggernaut Pooree. In 1810 Raja Sookmoy Roy offered to contribute 150,000 rupees towards making a good road to Juggernaut, to be designated by his name. This very liberal offer was accepted, and the road is now constructing; but this contribution would have been a sufficient inducement to undertake any public road, much more, one so much wanted, if the Pilgrim Tax had never been thought of.” The proceeds of the tax at Gya and Allahabad are, with some small deductions, put into the public treasury. The gross collections at Gya in 1815—16 were 229,805 rupees, deductions, 46,929, *net receipts* 182,876 rupees. At Allahabad, the same year, the gross collections were 79,779 rupees; deduct charges and commission, 6726; *net receipts* 73,053 rupees. It is hoped, that when the

* The Par. Papers, respecting Juggernaut, May 1813, shew that *gain was a principal object of establishing the Pilgrim Tax*. The regulations were altered occasionally for the purpose, (pp. 48, 51, &c). Satisfaction is expressed at the increase of pilgrims, and produce of tax levied. To make but one extract, “The Governor General in Council has observed with satisfaction the increase of revenue, stated to have been obtained at the present Jattra.” Aug. 1809. (See pages 66, 68, 74, 81.) Strenuous efforts are made to prevent pilgrims avoiding the tax. An expenditure of 10,000 rupees was authorized in 1812, for the construction of a wall, “for the purpose of preventing the pilgrims from forcing their way to the temple.” p. 20. See also pp. 39, 53, 73.—AUTH.

injurious tendency of this system, in perpetuating superstition and misery is known, it will be promptly abolished.

Another objection to the repeal of the Tax is, that *the collection of it cannot be considered an encouragement of Idolatry, but must be calculated to decrease the number of Pilgrims.* This objection is ably met by J. Poynder, Esq., in an excellent article on "Idolatry and Pilgrim Tax," in reply to Dr. Short's vindication of the system.—"But Dr. S—, it appears, has yet to learn, 'how taxation can be encouragement of the thing taxed.' This is easily understood when it is considered, that the taxation imposed at the heathen temples is—a species of privilege, which varies in its amount, not only according to the quality of the worshipper, but to the greater or less benefit supposed to be received by him. Thus for a shorter portion of time, passed at Allahabad, &c., where less advantage is supposed to accrue to the worshipper, less money is paid; while for a larger number of ablutions, and for visits to stations of more eminent sanctity, or for attendance on particular ceremonies, higher fees are charged, as the price of the larger indulgence that is conceded. The effect of all this, on the mind of the ignorant devotee, is a conviction, that the spiritual advantage is secured in direct proportion to the amount of his money payment; and that the higher the tax he can raise, the more must his soul be benefited. The ascending scale of prices that is fixed by the Christian Collector's authority, sets *an imaginary value on the article* supplied by him, to the less guilty heathen, which, by exciting a more earnest competition for what can be had for money, increases, immensely, the number of idolatrous worshippers. Thus the Company is made to sanction the most dangerous delusion of heathenism, namely,—that the divine favour may be purchased by money, and professing Christians become the direct encouragers of the grossest heathenism, with all its inseparable concomitants of vice and profligacy. And is this the way by which Dr. Short, from 'his long acquaintance with the natives,' proposes to 'upset idolatry altogether?'"* This reasoning is confirmed by the facts of the case.

The most common and plausible objection to the repeal of this system is, *the supposed increase of pilgrims that would result from it.*

Dr. Buchanan, in his letter to the Hon. Court respecting Juggernaut, 1813, in reply to C. Buller, Esq., M.P., observes,

* Asi. Jour., April 1831, p. 319.

“ Mr. Buller would maintain the proposition, that the imposition of the tax diminishes the number of pilgrims; but the events of the last year render this proposition very questionable. Mr. B. would place the policy of the tax on a *new ground*, namely, ‘the diminution of the number of pilgrims, and the consequent prevention of famine and death.’ Unhappily for this argument, it is a well-known fact that, while the temple was under the native dominion, when *the tax on admission was higher than it is now*, and when a discipline was observed among the people, which we should not think right to exert, the concourse of pilgrims was yet immense; in peaceable times incredibly great; and the consequent evils were in the necessary proportions.”*

“ It has been thought by some,” says Colonel Phipps, “ that the tax levied on pilgrims would deter many from undertaking such a perilous journey; but it is perhaps inherent in any plan to obtain a revenue, from such a source, that steps will be gradually taken to render the tax more productive; and, however it may be disguised, it is obvious that this can only be done by increasing the number of pilgrims, or, in other words, by encouraging the superstition so as to render it more popular.” In 1804 and 1805 the English Government levied no tax, the priests made every exertion to profit by this unexpected state of affairs, and the attendance of pilgrims was very great; the loss of lives, it is said, was very considerable, and there can be little doubt that something like a famine must have prevailed. On these circumstances the Colonel justly remarks,—“This amazing number of pilgrims evidently arose from circumstances not likely to occur again; and it is probable that, if Government had persevered in avoiding all interference, *the novelty and great attraction would soon have worn off*, especially if the pilgrims had been protected from the rapacity of the priests; the trade of pilgrim hunters would have been unprofitable, and no man would have felt any inclination, to employ hundreds of agents to entice Hindoos to undertake such pilgrimages.”†

A missionary in Orissa writes, in May, 1827:—“The sound of the hammer and axe about the car wood excited my indignation, particularly as the workmen are paid by our government, and professed Christians are their superintendents and exhort them to make haste (*juldee kurro*).—Called upon Mr. H—; he intended to exert himself to abolish the Tax, but the perusal

* Buchanan’s Apology for Christianity in India, p. 35.

† Mis. Reg., 1824, p. 578—581. See also Ham. Hind., vol. i. p. 28.

of correspondence, &c., of the Court of Directors, determined him otherwise; and it seems—*we must still go on, providing food, clothes, cars, missionaries, servants and Christian superintendence, for the detestable idol!!* From some conversation with a long resident in Pooree, and a very creditable native, I ascertained that, within his knowledge, the population has increased more than two-fold! I asked him the occasion of this increase; he answered,—*under our administration Juggernaut had become popular, and so more people had taken up their residence there!* He moreover added, **AS OUR CREDIT SOUNDED THROUGH THE FOUR QUARTERS FOR KEEPING JUGGERNAUT, IT WOULD BE A PITY NOW TO DESTROY ALL THIS GLORY BY LEAVING HIM TO HIMSELF!** He concluded his speech by exhorting me to *regard their books, and become one with them!***

The decay of idolatry, consequent upon the progress of Christianity in the south of India, is very evident. A Missionary in that part of India writes, in July 1825,— “There is now a great idolatrous feast at Tinnevelley. This day the car of the idol was to be drawn through several streets of the town. *The Collector had refused to allow the Peons to force the people to come and draw the car as formerly.* When they were sent into the villages to bring the people together, they used to take bribes from many who did not wish to draw the car; this year, this source of income was cut off: and the people were far from coming voluntarily. Some rich natives, the principal patrons of these feasts, from whom they derive emoluments, induced those people who were dependent upon them to come; but as they were not sufficient to move the car, two Modeliars and a principal Gooroo seized the rope with a loud hurrah, which induced many to imitate their example. The ceremony was not begun at daybreak as usual; but soon after midnight; and they drew the car so quickly, that, instead of spending in this toil, a day or a day and a half, as in former years, they finished it by sunrise! It being known that the Collector had taken the above step, considerably fewer people came from the

* A Bengalee Paper called *Chundrika*, in Nov. 1829, thus lauds the British Government.—“The Government has removed all inconvenience from pilgrims visiting our holy places, and the temples of our gods; and *has made great exertions to establish on an excellent system the worship of the gods* in those places. In constructing new streets for the beauty of this city, they have not destroyed the temples that stood in the way, or projected from the sides, but have rather given the road a crooked turn.” Asi. Jour., April 1830, p. 208.

country to attend the feast than at any former period ; and the patrons of idolatry, instead of *forcing the carpenters and others to do the work gratis, were obliged to pay them this year, more than their usual day's hire.* Some endeavoured to hide their disappointment, and to remove the dishonour thrown upon their god, by saying, *the idol had shewn its power by finishing its tour this year in a few hours, which had formerly taken a day or more!* Many said, before the drawing of the car, if the god would not move it without human help, they would not acknowledge him any more as a divinity."* "The Brahmuns (says Bishop Heber), *being limited to voluntary votaries, have now very hard work to speed the ponderous wheels of Balee and Siva through the deep lanes of this fertile country.* This is, however, still the most favoured land of Brahmunism, and the temples are larger than any which I have seen in Northern India."[†]

The probable increase of pilgrims, on the repeal of the present system, would be temporary. Let the premium for collecting them be discontinued, and their number would certainly decrease. This is Mr. Harington's opinion respecting the travelling priests of Gya, of whom he says, speaking of the pilgrims, "*Who but for them would probably never have visited Gya.*" This position—the natural influence of certain or uncertain gain inducing the pundits to seek pilgrims or not, is so evident, that it is presumed, it must have been overlooked in the supposition, that the repeal of the Pilgrim Tax would increase the horrors of pilgrimage. The existence of the premium for collecting pilgrims appears to be but little known, and it is presumed that, as soon as its injurious tendency is recognised, it will be discontinued. Supposing the number of pilgrims to be increased at Juggernaut, Gya, Allahabad, &c., on the British retiring from these idolatrous establishments, (a very improbable circumstance, when so much of their present *eclat* would vanish,) the poverty and misery of the people would not be so great; the tax tends to beggar them, and sickness and death follow hard upon the heels of poverty. It is easy to confer this boon relative to the temples in India—"Let them alone;" yet it is very important. Idolatry cannot stand opposed by the progress of science and true religion, and shall Britain defile her hand by supporting its tottering ark? "Will ye plead for Baal? will ye save him? If he be a god, let him plead for himself?" Jud. vi. 31.

* Miss. Reg. Nov. 1827, p. 559, see p. 564. See also Bap. Miscellany, Jan. 1829. † Trichinopoly, April 1826. Asi. Jour., April 1827, p. 488.

In this concluding appeal, the author feels tremulously alive to its issue. So deeply is he convinced, from ocular demonstration at the temple of Juggernaut, of the evils of the Pilgrim Tax System, that might be the unknown, yet honoured means of its abolition, he should rejoice on that account alone, to the latest period of his life, that he had been to India. How shall this service for the interests of humanity and Christianity be accomplished? Could it be obtained prostrate at the feet of the executive body of the Hon. East India Company, it should soon be done. But as Zeno said to Crates, 'there is no retaining a philosopher but by his ears.' Statesmen and Legislators must be convinced of the propriety of measures, strenuously urged for their adoption. This has been attempted in a temperate and respectful manner. Let the prominent features of the system under consideration be calmly considered, and the successful issue of this appeal appears certain.

The miseries of superstition apparent in the pilgrimages of India are most appalling. Probably half a million of people annually visit Juggernaut, Gya, and Allahabad (and in some years a much greater number); but how many hundreds, not to say thousands, of these unhappy people never survive the horrors of pilgrimage! The Author has seen the pilgrims of Juggernaut lie upon the sands of the river at Cuttack, a prey to dogs and birds. Like a pestilential stream the pilgrims carry disease, especially the cholera morbus, through the province of Orissa; and thus misery and death mark their course.* Can it be for the gain of this unhallowed system that it is continued? "We are fully convinced," says the Editor of the "Friend of India," "when all the effects arising from the close contact with this abominable idolatry, into which a misguided humanity has led the British nation, are thoroughly weighed; no one who reflects, that the surplus of the tax from year to year applied to the completion of the great road in Orissa, (the only public object to which this surplus is appropriated,) on the yearly average, *can scarcely double in the number of rupees it contains, that of our Hindoo fellow-subjects who perish annually in the course of the journey*, can

* "The population of Ramaad (about 120 miles from Cape Comorin) was, in 1812, 13,481, of which number 2307 died of a fever between Dec. 1812 and Feb. 1813. This great mortality was by some attributed to *an infectious fever introduced by the pilgrims of Ramisseram*: by others to the remote and immediate effects of scarcity or rather famine." Hamilton's Hind., vol. ii. p. 475. Pilgrimages are a curse to a country.

refrain from wishing, that Britain were completely disengaged from this scene of idolatry, deception, and death."

Let the character of this system be considered. Hamilton, in his account of Travancore, states, among the items of revenue, *a tax on Christian festivals.** How do Christians approve of a Hindoo Rajah taxing their "solemn assemblies?" Can it be the love of wealth that perpetuates this system in India? The Calcutta John Bull spurns such an idea:—"We cannot for a moment imagine, as the India Gazette appears to do, that the practice is kept up at Juggernaut, merely because it is a source of revenue to Government. *It is much too scanty to be worth the establishment necessary for the collection of tax on pilgrims;* and, were it ever so prolific, we do not believe that, on this consideration alone, such an office as Collector of the Pilgrim Tax would be one month in the Catalogue of Civil appointments. On this point we think two opinions cannot be entertained; for surely, in a Christian Government, having the means and satisfied of the policy, of drawing its revenue, *from no source that would perpetuate the horrors and cruelties of superstition*, the tax now collected at Juggernaut would not continue another day." (Oct. 20th, 1825). Why is this system continued? At Juggernaut it is stated to be, *to keep the temple in repair and make a good road to it.* But this lies open to opprobrium. Why tax is levied at Gya and Allahabad is not stated in Mr. Harington's "Analysis," except it be that it was practised by the preceding Government. But can Britain in this manner follow the steps of the Mahrattas and Mahomedans with consistency? The most common reason for the Pilgrim Tax is, its supposed discouragement of pilgrimages. But, "On the very face of the subject, it might have been seen that, unless such a tax by its weight amounted to *an entire prohibition*, it must operate, as all opposition to religious opinions has done, *to bring its object into more extended notice.* That this would be the case was the natural consequence. Among the Hindoos, the British nation necessarily sustains a far higher character for knowledge than the Mahomedan dynasty. Hence the moment *they* thought this imaginary benefit worth taxing, it acquired a value in the eyes of the Hindoos, which it never possessed before."†

The conduct of the British Government in India towards Christianity has been censurable. "There are now," says

* Vol. ii. p. 310.

† Friend of India, Oct. 1825, p. 278.

the late Bishop Heber, "in the south of India about 200 Protestant congregations, the numbers of which have been vaguely stated at 40,000. I doubt whether they reach 15,000, but even this, all things considered, is a great number. The Roman Catholics are considerably more numerous, but belong to a lower cast of Indians, and, in point of knowledge and morality, are said to be extremely inferior. This inferiority, as injuring the general character of the religion, is alleged to have occasioned the very unfavourable view, with which all Native Christians have been regarded in the Madras Government. If they have not actually been persecuted, they have been 'disqualified,' *totidem verbis*, from holding any place or appointment, whether civil or military, under the Company's Government; and that in districts where, *while the Native Princes remained in power, Christians were employed without scruple*. Nor is this the worst; many peasants have been beaten by authority of the English magistrate—for refusing, on a religious account, to assist in drawing the chariots of the idols on festival days!! It is only the present Collector of Tanjore, who has withheld the assistance of the secular arm from the Brahmins on this occasion!" In the last letter which the Bishop wrote to his wife, he says, "Will it be believed that, while the Rajah kept his dominions (Tanjore), Christians were eligible to all the different offices of state—*while now there is an order of Government against their being admitted to any employment!** Surely we are, in matters of religion, the most lukewarm and cowardly people on the face of the earth!† I mean to make this, and some other things which I have seen, a matter of formal representation, to all the three Governments of India, and to the Board of Control."‡ This hostility to Christianity, and the countenance and direct support of idolatry, not to say amassing wealth from it, at Juggernaut, Gya, Allahabad, are very inconsistent in a Christian Government. The God of nations abhors idolatry, and

* "The Zillah Judges shall recommend to the Provincial Courts the persons whom they may deem fit for the office of District Moonsif; but no person shall be authorized to officiate as District Moonsif, without the previous sanction of the Provincial Court, nor unless he be of the Hindoo or Mahomedan persuasion." Reg. of Madras Government.

† The Author is happy to learn that measures are now in progress for abolishing this anomalous system in the Bengal Presidency, and he trusts that it will be speedily discontinued in every part of British India. For the late Sir T. Munro's opinion of its pernicious influence, see Asi. Jour., Feb. 1830, p. 139.

‡ Journ., vol. ii. pp. 462—465.

He has said—“*If ye walk contrary to me, I will walk contrary to you.*”

British connection with idolatrous establishments in India must tend to perpetuate them. Is it desirable to see India, for generations to come,—“bowing before her idols—trembling at the phantoms of her own imagination, and in the undisturbed possession of a religion of ‘pollution and blood?’”* But shall Britain be seen supporting the Hindoo temples; having presented *Sirkaree Bhoge*, or Government offering, to Juggernaut; giving a premium to pilgrim hunters; selling licences to enter the temple of Juggernaut, and amassing wealth, cursed with the blood of the deluded pilgrims? Forbid it Heaven! Yet at this day the sun in India beholds this incongruous, inhuman, and unchristian procedure. These things should be known and felt. And can they be known without being abolished?

The impropriety of this system has of late excited much attention. The Marquis Wellesley, it is well known, would not consent to the taxation of Juggernaut’s temple. In the succeeding administration, Mr. Udny, as has been seen, objected to perpetuating this system of gross idolatry by legislative enactments. Dr. Buchanan, who visited the temple of Juggernaut in 1806, spoke in very strong terms of the anti-christian nature of this system. Before the author was compelled, by indisposition, to leave India in Nov. 1825, the subject had excited much attention: and in a letter received from the late Rev. T. Thomason, in 1827, he says, “Nothing was done in the matter of Juggernaut when I left Calcutta. Certain discussions took place in Council, which terminated in no particular result: nothing was published, and the written documents could only be seen, by calling at the India House and obtaining the perusal of them from the Secretary.” This subject has been very ably discussed by J. Poynder, Esq., and some other Proprietors, at a Quar. Court, in Sep. 1830. The following was the resolution submitted:—“That this Court taking into consideration the direct encouragement afforded to Idolatry, and also to the licentiousness and bloodshed connected with idolatrous observances, by the collection of tribute from the worshippers, and pilgrims at the temples of Juggernaut, Gya, Allahabad, and elsewhere, both for the repair of those temples, and the maintenance of their priests and attendants—recommends to the Hon. Court of Directors, to

* Grimshawe’s Appeal on behalf of Hindoo Widows, p. 27.

take such measures as may have the effect of immediately directing the attention of the India Government to this subject, and of eventually removing such a reproach from a Christian Empire.* It is with regret we add, this important motion was lost by a small majority:

The measure here advocated is of a popular nature. "In wiping away for ever this foul reproach from the British name, there is every thing encouraging relative to the natives. *Nothing could be more popular among them, than the removal of this unproductive tax on their sacred places.* While they submit to it, they by no means approve of it. Let the tax be abolished and this scene of delusion left to its own authors for support; and, while the British name in India is for ever freed from one of its deepest stains, *this mass of idolatry and deceit will in time sink with its own weight!* We are well aware, that nothing delays this step so much as the humane but groundless fear, that this would increase the evil by causing a greater influx of pilgrims. This fear is without foundation. The influx might be greater the first year or two, but, in the present state of increasing light, this influx could not long continue. There can be no doubt that the removal of this tax would raise the British name among the natives of India. And that a measure which will remove a load of reproach unmerited, only because it was unforeseen, and give such general satisfaction to our Hindoo fellow-subjects, will not ultimately be adopted, with regret that it was not done sooner, we cannot bring ourselves to believe."†

The following letter from a Hindoo to a missionary in Orissa appears replete with important sentiments and deserving attention.—

A letter from Sundra das Bargee, to Christians in general.

"O ye favoured people, who are blessed with the Divine Spirit, ye have existed 1800 years, and what have ye done for this dark world? I am a Hindoo Boistub, poor and destitute, but ask of you neither land, nor elephants, nor horses, nor money, nor palanqueens, nor doolies: but I ask, what can be done to learn the people to obey the laws of God? O holy people, this I ask!

"Pooree is the heaven of the Hindoos; yet there the practices of mankind are, adultery, theft, lies, murder of the innocent, whoremongery, eating fish with MAHA PRESAUN, disobedience and abuse of parents, defiling of mothers, defiling of sisters, defiling of daughters! Such is the religion of Juggernaut! For these crimes, the people are visited with rheumatisms,

* See Asi. Jour., Oct. 1830, pp. 87—118; and Bap. Magazine, Mar. 1832.

† Friend of India, Oct. 1825, pp. 278, 284.

swelling of the legs, leprosy, scrofulas, grievous sores, and acute pains, blindness, lameness, and such like! Such are the servants of Juggernaut!

“ And now, holy people, hear the names of the gods of this people—gods which the people, when they have eaten, rize and worship—these are gold, silver, brass, cedar, stone, wood, trees, fire, water, &c.; these be the names of their gods, and these be their servants. To serve these gods, they burden themselves with expensive ceremonies and costly rites; they afflict their bodies and their souls with pilgrimages and many cruelties. The Brahmuns no longer observe the *Vades*, nor the devotees keep mercy. O ye Christian Rulers, ye feed the rich, the proud, and the great; while the poor and destitute are dying in want! O good fathers! good children! good people! hear the cries of the poor, O good people!

“ The thief is judged, the murderer is judged, the perjured is judged, and all the wicked are punished according to their crimes. A large army is kept in obedience to your orders; *but why are not the people made to obey the laws of God?* Ye are the seed of the good, ye keep God’s word; cause the subject to keep it. The Mahrattas were robbers, but they relieved the distressed. Europeans are faithful rulers, but in their Government falsehood abounds. Children, Fathers! the fate of all in the four quarters is in your hands! O good people! the subject has become wicked, having fallen into error, and in consequence get not food nor raiment.

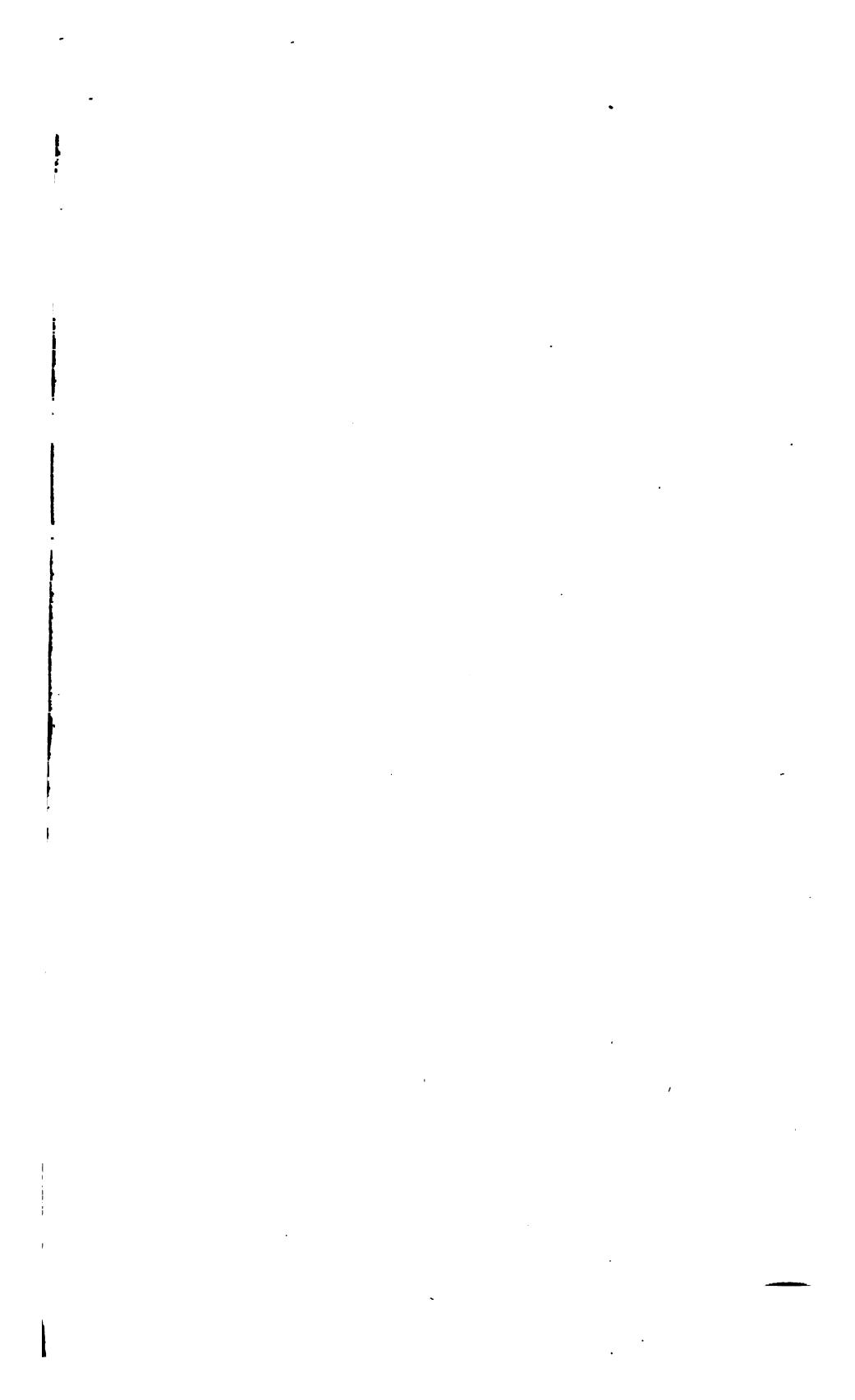
“ Rulers are the example of the people. O good people teach them God’s commandments by your example. If ye will do this, then it will be well; if ye will not, then ye are stones to them. What more shall I write? Do as ye will, still religion is true, religion is true, religion is true!” *Cuttack, Nov. 1827.*

The Author has conversed with many upon the subject of this book; and the circumstance of Britain supporting the superstition of Juggernaut, paying a premium to the collectors of pilgrims, and amassing wealth from idolatry, to use the expressive language of Scripture, has made “the ears of every one that heareth it to tingle.”* What he has seen and heard, he feels it an imperious duty to make known. May the subject excite that attention which it so justly demands, among

* The horrors of idolatry at the temple of Juggernaut are thus described by a friend of the Author.—“The shades of evening are now prevailing; the sun is sinking in the western waters and leaving me in darkness. A feeling of deep horror, which I cannot suppress, steals across my mind, and irresistibly drives me away. The jackals are leaving their jungles and repairing hither for their nightly repast—I hear them cry at a distance. The eagles are flitting to the neighbouring tree for the night, filled with the flesh of man. The din of idol pooja assails my ears from every direction, and the work of blasphemy commences. Farewell, ye mangled corpses! ye silent monitors! ye have read me admonitions I shall not forget. But, ere I retire, I breathe a wish for my country—*under whose auspices such a system is tolerated and supported. By your sad fate, my fellow-creatures, may she be warned, led to repentance, and wash herself from your blood; and may her future conduct regarding idolatry here, prove her sincerity.*”—Lacey’s *Reflections at the temple of Juggernaut*, in 1825, p. 36. (Wightman, London).

those who hold in their hands the destinies of the millions of India ! Let Britain stand at a distance from idolatry ; let her "shake her hands from holding of bribes," the gains of idols ; let her facilitate the progress of Christianity in the East, till, "the Idols He shall utterly abolish," and "there shall be one Lord and his name one." "Thus India emancipated, through our instrumentality, from the yoke of a cruel superstition, and admitted to a fellowship in the peace and hopes of the Gospel, will recognise in Britain, no longer a conqueror, to whom she is bound by the terror of our arms, but a benefactor, indissolubly endeared by the triumphs of our mercy."*

* Grimshawe's Appeal on behalf of Hindoo Widows, 1825, p. 28.





EXPOSURE OF THE SICK ON THE BANKS OF THE GANGES.

BOOK III.

GHAUT MURDERS.

CHAP. I.

Origin—nature—atrocity—and appalling scenes connected with the practice of exposing the sick on the banks of the Ganges.

THE exposure of the sick on the banks of the Ganges has been called Ghaut Murders. The term *ghaut* signifies 'a wharf, a landing-place, a ferry, a quay, a flight of steps to a river ;' and at these places the acts of cruelty to the sick, described in this book, are generally perpetrated.* The *origin of this practice* is probably to be traced to the absurd notion, that the river Ganges is a goddess, and that to die in sight of it is beneficial. A Correspondent, who has resided several years in India, writes upon this subject:—"The origin of this practice is involved in great obscurity ; but one or all of the following reasons may be assigned for its continuance. The veneration paid to the rivers. The rivers of India, like the Euphrates and the Nile, annually overflow their banks. The inundation continues for a considerable time, and covers the country ; and its benefits are very numerous ; the fields are covered with verdure, the soil is enriched, and vegetation proceeds with rapidity. Hence has arisen that idolatrous worship which has been paid to them ; indeed the most extravagant and puerile rites are performed in the sultry plains of India, in honour of rivers ; and the advantages supposed to arise from them are equally absurd. He that bathes in the morning, in the months of Magha, Voishakha, and Karteka, destroys the greatest sins. He who at the

* See an interesting article, entitled, *The Ghaut*, in Ackerman's "Forget me not." 1830, pp. 381—397.

conjunctions of Naryunee bathes in silence, in the Koorootaya river, raises thirty millions of his ancestors to eternal bliss. The wish to get rid of a burden is another reason. There is no public provision made for the old or infirm. All who are past labour become dependent upon their relatives; and the consideration of the expense may possibly make them wish to rid themselves of an encumbrance: especially when it can be done in a way, which, instead of appearing dishonourable or any proof of want of affection, is rather considered an act of kindness. It may also be encouraged by the doctrine of fate, which has generally prevailed in the heathen world. Their gods, the general dispensations of Providence, and their private affairs, are all considered under the control of the iron hand of necessity or gloomy fate; which, while it showers down upon earth calamities in abundance, cuts off every hope and effort for the attainment of deliverance. Believing that every person's *kopol* (fate) is fixed by an unchangeable decree, they avoid using those means, which a Being of infinite goodness has put into our hands for the recovery of the afflicted."

The nature of this practice will appear in the descriptions given of it by different writers, and eyewitnesses. "The Bengalee Hindoos," says Hamilton, "have generally a great terror of the dead, and will seldom venture to inhabit a hut or a house where a person has died. This seems connected with their custom of exposing the sick to perish on the banks of rivers; which tends to aggravate the last pangs of nature, and sometimes not only accelerates death, but exhausts that strength which might probably have enabled nature to overcome the disease. The practice also furnishes an opportunity of perpetrating other horrid crimes."*

The late Rev. W. Ward, in his "*View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos*," observes,— "Thousands, yea millions, of people, are annually drawn from their houses and peaceful labours, several times in the year, to visit different holy places, at great expense of time and money, spent in making offerings to the goddess (Gunga). Expensive journeys are undertaken by multitudes to obtain the water of this river, or to carry the sick, the dying, the dead, or the bones of the dead, to its banks.† *What the sick and dying suffer, by being exposed to all kinds of*

* Description of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 111.

† And yet "the broad stream sweeps by them, guiltless of their impiety, and unconscious of their homage." (Heber's Journ., vol. ii. p. 297.) AUTH.

*weather, in the open air on the banks of the river, and in being choked by the sacred waters in their last moments, is beyond expression.** "A few years since a Rajah, living about 100 miles from Calcutta, sent for an English physician from that city. By the time he arrived, his relations had brought the sick Rajah to the river-side, and in a short period would have killed him. The physician reproved them for their want of feeling, and ordered his patient to be carried home, where, in a few days, he recovered. Before the physician took his leave, he made the Rajah promise to give him the earliest information, if he should be sick again. Soon after, the disease having returned, he sent for his old friend; but, *before he could arrive, his relations had despatched him with the mud and water of the sacred stream!* The want of compassion among the Hindoos towards the poor, the sick, and the dying, is so notorious, that European travellers are frequently filled with horror at the proofs of their inhumanity, merely as they pass along the roads or navigate the rivers in this country."[†]

Dr. Johnes, in his Pamphlet entitled, "*Facts and Opinions relative to the Burning of Widows, and other destructive Customs in British India,*" refers to the practice of "*Exposing the Sick and Aged.*"[‡] "The Hindoo character is, in many essential points, defective, and led by deep-rooted prejudices, and barbarous customs, to the commission of crimes, *which ought not to be sanctioned by any moral or religious code.* How often is the aged Hindoo parent deemed an encumbrance by his family; and, *carried a living victim, devoted to die on the margin of the Ganges, or some other holy stream: his own children fill his mouth and nostrils with mud; and cutting off every prospect of recovery, leave the author of their being, to be carried away by the stream as food for alligators and vultures!* Although sanctioned by the Brahmuns, and perhaps sometimes voluntary on the part of the aged victim, no religion should tolerate such a sacrifice. That it is not always voluntary we have many undeniable proofs. The fatal consequence of not submitting to this *viaticum*, or of eluding its effect, by returning to his family in case of a rescue or recovery, is so provided for, by the brahminical laws, that death is far more desirable than the continuance of life on such terms. Many instances might be produced to confirm this assertion: I shall recite what Captain Williamson, in his '*East India Vade Mecum,*' from more experience than

* Vol. i. p. 277.

† Vol. iii. p. 295.

‡ pp. 78—80.

myself, has recorded on this subject.—‘Many Hindoos in their old age, or when seriously ill, are removed to the banks of the Ganges, whose waters are held sacred: and, when about to resign their breath, are taken to the edge of the river on their beds; where a Brahmun attends to perform religious ceremonies. *No doubt many, who might recover, are thus consigned to a premature death.* The damp borders of the stream, with a burning sun, rarely fail, however favourable the season may be, to put a speedy termination to the sick person’s sufferings; but it has often happened, that the attendants become tired by the delay the poor wretch makes in shaking off his mortal coil, and, perhaps with the humane intention of finishing his pain, either place the bed at low water mark, if the spot be within flow of the tide, or smear the dying man with the slime of the holy waters, and fill his mouth with the mud. When a person has been taken to the side of the Ganges, or other substituted waters, under the supposition that he is dying, *he is, in the eye of the Hindoo law, dead*; his property passes to his heir, according to his bequest; and, *in the event of recovery, the poor fellow becomes an outcast.* Even his own children will not eat with him, nor afford him the least accommodation; if, by chance, they come in contact, ablution must follow. The wretched survivor from that time is held in abhorrence, and has no other resort, but to associate himself in a village inhabited by persons under similar circumstances. There are but few such receptacles; the largest is on the banks of the Simla, which passes near Sooksaugur, about forty miles north of Calcutta.’”*

The late Rev. D. Brown, of Calcutta, speaking of sick persons who are left on the banks of the Ganges, says,—“They are swept away by the returning tide. Some, however, escape; and, as they can never be received again by their families, they associate with those who, like them, have escaped the jaws of death. There are two villages not far up the river Hooghly inhabited solely by these wretched fugitives. A gentleman told me, as he passed a place called Culna, a little above Calcutta, that he saw some Brahmuns pushing a youth, of about eighteen years of age, into the water; and, as they were performing their work of suffocation with mud, he called on them to desist. They answered calmly; ‘*It is our custom. It is our custom. He cannot live; he cannot live; our god says he must die.*’”†

* Oriental Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 220, 221.

† Miss. Mag., vol. i. p. 117.

The Rev. H. Townley, in his "*Address to the Society of Friends on behalf of the Heathen*," refers to this custom, and shews its unsatisfactory nature to support the mind of a Hindoo in the prospect of a future state. "I have conversed with a dying Hindoo on the banks of the Ganges, and the substance of his confession was—'I have no hope of heaven, from the circumstance of my dying near the sacred Ganges; nor do I anticipate future happiness from the worship of the gods. I know of no mode whereby I can be saved; and I believe, that after death, I shall be cast into hell, as the punishment of my many sins!'" To the same effect is the following pathetic passage from the late Rev. W. Ward.—"Look at the heathen by the side of the Ganges, calling upon their dying relations to repeat the names of Narayun, of Gunga, of Ram, and of a whole rabble of gods; pouring the water of this river down the throat of the dying, exposing them, in the agonies of death, to the chilling damps by night, and to the scorching beams of the sun by day; and listen to the cries of the dying—'Tell me not of works of merit, I have been committing nothing but sin. And now, where am I going?—What is there beyond this wretched existence? Am I going into some reptile or some animal body; or shall I at once plunge into some dreadful place of torment? I see the messengers of Yuma coming to seize me. Oh! save me—save me! O mother Gunga, give me a place near to thee! O! Ram! O! Narayun! O my Gooroo (his spiritual guide), how dark and heavy the cloud which envelopes me—is there no certainty, no ray of light from any of the shastras to guide and comfort me in my departure? Must I take the irrecoverable plunge to be seen no more?' And, when they have seen and heard all this, let them look at the death of Krishna, the Christian, consoled by the addresses of his Christian brethren, by the hymns which they sing, by the words of the everlasting Gospel which they repeat; let them listen to the pleasant words which proceed from his dying lips: 'My Saviour has sent his messenger for me, and I wish to go to him.' and then let them say, whether the Gospel be a boon worth giving to the heathen."

The Rev. W. Yates, in his "*Memoir of the late Rev. J. Chamberlain, Missionary in India*," thus describes what he witnessed on the Ganges.—"At the Ghaut, or landing-place, are great numbers of persons bathing and performing their morning ceremonies; and among them, a poor woman laid on a low bed, raised only a few inches above the ground, in dying circumstances, left exposed to the blazing sun, totally

unheeded by all around her, with a young man, her son, sitting behind her waiting, to appearance destitute of all anxiety, to see her breathe her last." In the same Memoir an account is given of the death of a native Christian, and the conduct of his heathen friends. "We were informed that the relations of Seboo Roy, had made a great shradda for him, and buried him in the Hindoo manner; but I informed them he had believed in the Saviour, and that, when I last saw him, he said,—'They may persecute and reproach us, but we will rather lose our lives than forsake our Lord Jesus.' In the evening, on our return to Cutwa, we were accompanied by four persons who attended upon the instructions of Seboo Roy, and who related to us the following particulars:—'Soon after his return from Cutwa, he was taken ill of a cold and retching, and died on the second or third day. He requested that they would take him to Cutwa, saying, *'If I do not go thither, I shall never be well.'* But his brother's son would not regard what he said. *When they took him to carry him to Gunga, he said to them; 'It is all to no purpose. I am perfectly sensible; why will you take me thither?'* He requested to be buried; but they would not grant his request. They took him away and burned his corpse. After they had taken him out of his house he said nothing to any one. Those, who used to meet with him on Sabbath days, went to see him a few times during his illness, and he exhorted them not to forsake the assembling of themselves together, nor to cease publishing the glories of our Saviour. 'I am going,' said he, 'but we shall soon see each other again;' and, with such sayings as these, encouraged and comforted them. Seboo Roy used to speak very favourably of his wife; and, when he died, she did not beat her forehead and cry aloud, as is the custom in this country upon such occasions. Being asked why she did not, she answered, 'What use is that? I sit and think of what he said to me!'

The Rev. S. Sutton, late of Moorshedabad, in a letter to the Author upon the subject of this book, observes, "The following are a few well-authenticated facts to establish what I have advanced.—The late Mr. Ward of Serampore, recorded the following case in his diary in 1813. 'On March 18th, at nine o'clock in the morning, a sick man by the name of Beekenaut was brought by his relatives to the river side, and was laid on the wet sand in expectation of soon expiring. In this situation he remained, exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, till about four P. M., when he was immersed up to the breast in the river; and in this position one of his relatives

vociferated in his ears, 'Hurree! Ram! Krishna! Ram!' After some time, finding that death was not so near as they had anticipated, he was again replaced on the wet bank. The next morning the same ceremony was commenced of immersing and repeating the names of their deities, until five o'clock P. M., when the man expired, *literally murdered by his own relations.* In the second volume of 'the Friend of India,' it is remarked, that one very notorious trait in the character of the natives of India, is their want of humane feelings towards the *brute creation, their own countrymen in distress, and even towards their sick relatives.* 'That this is really the case, needs no proof. The cruel manner in which they often treat the patient bullock, which they use as a beast of burden—suffering their cows, notwithstanding the veneration they pretend for this animal, often to perish in the winter for want of food, furnish a sufficient proof of their feeling for the *brute creation.* Their inhumanity towards *their own countrymen* is sufficiently evinced by their suffering one of them, in a state of want and disease, cruelly to perish before their eyes, if he should not happen to be one of their relatives or friends, or at least of their own division of cast; and, above all, by their seeing a boat full of their countrymen, who perhaps a few hours before had been bowing before the same log of wood as themselves, sinking before their eyes without making the least effort to save them! But their unfeeling conduct towards their sick and dying relatives is sometimes shocking in the extreme. Of this an instance occurred some years ago in a village near Serampore. An aged father was brought by his children to the river side to die. After having been there for some time, contrary to their expectations, he recovered and went home again; but his unfeeling children, instead of rejoicing that he was spared to them a little longer, so tormented him by their jeers and scoffs, because he did not die when carried to the river side for that purpose, that, weary of his life, the old man at length put a period to his existence, by hanging himself on a tree near the public road!'

"To the above statements, I will now add my own testimony. I lived upon the banks of the Ganges for *six years.* During the whole of that period, scarcely a day passed without some circumstance occurring, which strikingly reminded me of the language of the Psalmist; 'The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.' I have seen some held up in the river by two persons, while a third has been pouring water down the throat, until life has become extinct.

I have seen others in the act of dying, laid upon the wet bank, with their feet in the water ; and I have observed others, who have been suffered to lie upon mats at a little distance from the river, *for several days before they have expired* ; but during this time no means have been employed for their recovery. It is a very rare occurrence, for any sick person to be brought back to his home, after he has once been carried from it to die."

"One evening," says the Widow of a Missionary, "as I was walking with my husband by the river side, we saw two respectable natives carrying a woman in their arms. We asked them what they were going to do with her? They very coolly answered, 'We are going to put her into the water that her soul may go to heaven, for she is our mother!' I asked them if she was ill? They said, 'She is not very ill; but she is old, and has no teeth, and what is the use of her living?' I felt a great deal on hearing this, and said, 'What! have you no compassion on your mother? will you drown her because she is old?' The woman instantly fixed her eyes on me, and said, 'What sort of a woman are you?' I told her I was an English woman, and wished to prevent her children from drowning her; and, if they did, I would acquaint the Governor with it, and have them hanged. They said, 'Never mind,' and proceeded towards the river. Mr. R. then ran down the bank, and, taking hold of the woman, insisted upon their taking her home. They did so: but they brought her again the next evening, and Mr. F. Carey saw them throw her into the water, without performing the usual ceremony of giving her water in the name of their gods.

"A man who worked in the Paper-Mill at Serampore was bitten by a snake. His companions immediately took him to the river to throw him in, without knowing whether it was a poisonous snake that had bitten him or not. When Mr. R. and Mr. F. Carey got to them, they found the poor creature between two men; one had hold of his shoulders, the other of his legs, and they were about to throw him into the river. Mr. Carey said, he thought the man was not dead, and made them put him down. Medicine was sent for and a spoonful given to him. He had no sooner taken it than he spoke and said, 'It is very strong. I will sooner die than take any more!' Mr. C. well understood the nature of the bite, and said it would be necessary to repeat the medicine every twenty minutes all night. Mr. R. asked those around him, if any one would stay with the poor man all night. They all answered, 'No; we cannot lose our sleep. It would be much better for him

to die, than for us to be deprived of a night's sleep!" My husband stayed all night, and the poor man continued to get better. In the morning he was so far recovered as to be able to walk home. The next day he came to our house, and fell down at my husband's feet, and said, 'I am come to worship you, Sahab, for saving my life; and I will work for you as long as I live!' He proved a faithful creature; and was working on the Mission Premises when I left Serampore (in 1820). He attended preaching in Bengalee very regularly.

"The Mission House at Serampore has been, and still is, a refuge to the Natives. There they are protected from the Brahmuns at their swinging feasts—comforted when in trouble—have medicine administered when they are sick;—they are relieved in distress—they are instructed how they can be saved without cutting themselves with knives, or running spits through their tongues, and other cruelties that their Gooroos require. Not only in the Mission House have they found protection, but in the houses of our Native Christians. I have witnessed the death of two, who died under the roof of a Native brother at Serampore, where they had taken shelter from the jackals and birds of prey; being cast out by their relatives when ill, forsaken by their companions in idolatry, and left to perish. One of them was an old woman covered with wounds. She had but little clothing, so that the birds had eaten nearly all the flesh off her back as she crawled along: but she soon died. Mr. R. had a coffin made, and with his own hands put her in, for he could get no one to assist him. Our Native brother and sister had fed and taken care of her while alive; but they were too much afraid of the disease to touch her when she was dead. The other was a young woman who worked in the Paper-Mill. She was left a widow when only ten years of age, and at this early period became depraved. Her body was so maimed as almost to lose the appearance of a human being; but in this miserable condition she was spared eight months. She died praising God for his goodness to her, in sparing her so long to enjoy the privilege of worshipping the true God."*

The following extract of a letter from the same individual, dated Salisbury, May, 1828, is painfully interesting:—

"While I am writing, I am feeling all the horrors I formerly felt respecting the sick in India. I once witnessed one of the scenes in all its aggravations. The sick person was a young woman who was not willing to go to the river. As they approached the Ghaut her screams were intolerable;

* Youth's Mag. 1823, pp. 292—304.

crying, '*Ame moray jay na!*' (I am not dying!); but the men who had taken her were firm to their purpose, and would not listen to any thing that was said to them. They laughed at my entreaties; turned a deaf ear to my threats; and rushed forward into the water with their victim. Whether they were relations or not I could not ascertain. The poor creature had often said, '*I am not dying!*' but now she found herself in dying circumstances; a few cups of water poured down her throat, in the name of their gods, stopped her breath. I inquired, whether it was a common case, to take them to the river against their will. They said, 'Yes; or else a great many would disgrace their families by dying in their houses.' Many are carried thither at their own request; but in this case, the conduct of the relatives was extremely cruel. Sometimes they leave them to perish by the river. I found a poor old man one morning by the river side, who had been left there all night. Those who had taken him, had rubbed his body with mud, and had left him quite naked, exposed to the ants; so that he was completely covered with insects! When I saw him move his head, I went to him; but, Oh! the horror that thrilled through me, to see a fellow-creature in his dying moments, thus cruelly tormented with insects. I ran for assistance, but the Natives refused to do any thing for him, unless I would allow them to put him a little nearer the water; saying, he was too far off for the tide to reach him. I said, 'perhaps he may get better if he be cleaned and taken care of.' They shook their heads, and said, '*He was put there to die, and die he must!*' My husband soon came with some wine for him; we put a little of it into his mouth, which he swallowed, and said it was very good. I then thought he would revive. But he had lain all night on the damp ground, and it was now eleven o'clock and the sun shining on him very hot; it had dried the mud that was on his body, which fatigued him very much. When we endeavoured to move him, he said he was very faint, and wished to remain where he was for a few minutes. Alas! it was but a few minutes indeed! for he soon expired. I could mention many more facts of horror, but I forbear."

The existence of this custom and the inhumanities connected with it, were very fully discussed, in the public papers in Calcutta, before the Author left India in Nov. 1825; a few brief extracts may be interesting. In the Bengal Hurkaru it is observed, "During the prevalence of Cholera, one of the symptoms of which is a sudden prostration of strength, leaving the pulse scarcely perceptible and the patient in an apparently lifeless state, it must frequently happen, that individuals are carried down to the river in this condition and murdered under the pretext that they are already in a dying state; when, if they had been properly treated, they might have been restored to health. We have heard, that these unhappy victims of a demoralizing superstition are sometimes carried down expressing reluctance by every means in their power." (Aug. 1825.)

The following letter, extracted from the Columbian Press Gazette, is given entire.

"I was informed a few days ago, that numbers of sick Natives were daily brought to the Kidderpore Ghaut, to perform the last ceremony of dipping

them in the stream, and forcing the mud and water of the Ganges into their mouths. Curiosity led me to see this, as well as to try, if I could be of service in persuading any to desist from this horrid act. On my arrival at the spot to which I was directed, I saw three individuals, two old men and a boy of about thirteen or fourteen years of age. The old people were in a hopeless state, the boy however looked very well; but as he was lying on the *marshy ground on a bare mat*, not five yards from the water, and his body uncovered, his case seemed dangerous. I went to him, felt his pulse, and perceived it beat well. I remonstrated with those around him, for having brought the boy to such a place, and then leaving him in that condition. I inquired if a doctor had attended him. I was informed that the doctor attached to the Tannah was sent for, who gave him some English medicine, and promised to be back again very soon. Shortly after this the inhuman man (a Brahmun) appeared, but would give no medicine; saying, '*I have given once, for which I have not been paid; and I WILL NOT administer any more until paid for!*' I was struck with amazement, but all persuasions and promises were of no avail. Humanity led me to suggest that, if the boy were taken to his house and kept warm, I would pay any charge the doctor might make. This was not acceded to: and as it seemed useless to do any thing further, so long as the boy remained in that damp place, exposed to the weather, I thought proper to go away. The doctor was still there; but whether he gave him any medicine after I left the place I cannot say. On inquiry the following morning, I was informed the boy died about midnight. Can you inform me if the doctors attached to the Tannahs are paid by Government? This information from you, or any of the readers of your valuable Gazette, will much oblige

C.

Tolly's Nullah, Sep. 22, 1825.

"We are unable to satisfy our Correspondent on this point."—ED.

Would not this affair in Britain be justly looked upon as murder? "Ought not inquisition to be made for blood" thus shed in British India? Does not humanity, even of the humane, in India, want elevating, which could leave a youth thus to perish without using compulsory measures to have him taken care of?*

"In my way down from the Upper Provinces," says a correspondent in the same Paper, "my budgerow stopped at Gliaut on the Hooghly river, in the vicinity of Moorshedabad. The crowd, which was collected on the spot, excited my curiosity to know what occasioned it. I went to the place, and witnessed one of the most inhuman scenes that can be imagined. A poor helpless creature was stretched on a cot, the lower part of his body being immersed in water. In this posture, *he was imploring his murderers in the most pitiful manner to let him go, declaring that he was yet far from death!* To hear his supplications, and observe the forlorn expression of his countenance, were enough to strike any heart with horror and pity. But these cruel wretches that were about him, unmindful of his entreaties, kept crying,

* See Bap. Mag., Sep. 1826.

'Hurree bol! Hurree bol!' and continued filling his mouth with water, till at length the poor creature became exhausted; his voice, which was at first loud, gradually sunk, and he fell an unwilling victim to superstition." (Aug. 1825.)

"We had not proceeded far," says the Widow of a Missionary, who died at Digah, writing on the Ganges, Dec. 1826, "when we saw on a sand-bed a poor man and woman sitting by the water. The woman was busied in laving her dying son with mud and water, who was old and strong enough to be heard to say,—'I will not die! I will not die!' To which she was heard to reply frequently, 'To die by Gunga is blessed, my son!' She at length stifled him; when the father assisted in pushing him into the river."

A Bengalee Newspaper, the Kowmoody, Aug., 1825, contains the following testimony to the existence of these atrocities:—"With a view to check the progress of the Cholera Morbus, the Government have, with their usual benevolence towards the natives, been pleased to appoint a native doctor to every Tannah, to afford medical assistance to the poor patients in the neighbourhood. We are happy to learn that a young man having been attacked with the Cholera, and his relations despairing of his life, took him to the river side, when suddenly his breath stopped, and he appeared to be dead; his relations prepared a funeral pile, but to their great surprise they perceived him move, and approaching him, though with a degree of fear,* had recourse to some medicines, which restored him to life, and he returned home to the great joy of his whole family."

"A respectable man of Sulkea, (says another Bengalee Paper, the *Somachar Durpun*, about the same date,) having been attacked with the Cholera, was taken to the river side; and on his becoming senseless, though not cold, every one thought he was dead; and, having prepared a pile, put him upon it and set it on fire. The poor creature, by imbibing a certain degree of heat, came to himself and rose up. *One of his relations who was close by, beat him on the head with a bamboo, and killed him on the burning pile.* This circumstance is not groundless; we have obtained the account from a

* "If a Hindoo, after having been taken to the river, and supposed to be dead, moves himself, or attempts to get up, (as is frequently the case,) his relations believe that some evil spirit possesses the body; and instantly beat it down with a hatchet, spade, or some iron weapon which they find close by; thus killing the poor creature who might have survived. Such is the cruel reign of superstition among this simple race of people." (NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR.)

European gentleman, who was an eyewitness of it. The perpetrator of this murder (says the Hindoo Translator), though it was prejudice that prompted him to act as he did, no doubt conceived with respect to the supposed dead man, what we have already stated. Such absurd notions of evil spirits or supernatural beings, are not handed to us by our ancestors, nor can we find any trace of them in our shastras, and hence we are at a loss to conceive, how such groundless ideas could ever take root in the minds of modern Hindoos."

A correspondent in the World Paper, July 1829, thus describes the exposure of the sick, and what he terms,—*the wholesale Murders so frequently exhibited in Bengal.*—

"I witnessed an instance where a diseased mother was exposed, with one infant at the breast, and another about two years of age, with no visible disease. We had landed to dig a grave and bury an officer, who died in the night, and when I returned to the ship, I could not eat my dinner in consequence of the loathsome sight, of *two babes writhing about their mother, expiring of the Cholera Morbus.* Going next day to examine if the jackals had torn up the officer's grave, I observed *the elder babe dead, the younger crawling about it, and the mother had been devoured!* Being anxious to know the fate of the surviving infant, I went next day, and found it had crawled under the bottom of a boat, and the dead child had disappeared: next morning the other had been devoured also. This was at Diamond Harbour, where, the population not being great, we might have saved one of the children, but feared to try; as I had been in great danger from the natives at Calcutta, a short time previously, by attempting to carry off one in a boat, who was laid on the beach with a number of other human sacrifices. This was an interesting young woman, who happened to lay near the boat I was getting in; she seemed to be overjoyed when I raised her up, and looked equally dejected when I was obliged to drop her and hasten into the boat, to avoid the stones which were thrown at me. Those I have seen exposed were laid on their backs; as if the cruelty of the system could not be complete, unless the poor unhappy creatures, who escaped the wild beasts in the night, were to die mad, with brain fever or apoplexy, through the face being exposed to the blazing sun during a tropical day, which, I believe, would cause the death of any man, even in sound health."

The appalling scenes presented to the humane, even in Calcutta, are such as shew the character of the Hindoo and Mussulman, and the necessity that the mild dictates of Christianity should be propagated among the people. "It redounds little to the credit of the Magistrates," says the Hurkaru, "or to their subordinates, that the Ghauts present spectacles disgusting to every feeling mind. It not unfrequently happens that *twenty dead bodies*, (and as many *living ones*,) are brought to one Ghaut to be burnt.* This Ghaut

* "The funerals of the Hindoos contribute to render them unfeeling; the wood which is to burn the body is sometimes brought and *laid in the presence of the dying man*, who is thus treated like an English criminal,

will admit of four or five only being consumed at one time. The rest are, of necessity, suffered to putrefy until an opportunity is afforded their relations to burn them; while the groans of the dying, who are lying close by, are calculated at once to excite both pity and horror. Sometimes also the relations are so poor, that they cannot procure money sufficient to burn the body, in which case they leave it at the Ghaut, and beg for the necessary pittance to purchase the wood; and two days probably elapse before any charitable individuals are found to aid them! But why confine these remarks to Ghauts only? Turn towards the city; there we shall behold circumstances which excite our pity and our indignation. Several bodies of poor men are seen lying in the streets. A poor man, who was struck by the sun, fell down on the Circular Road and expired. His body was suffered to lie a whole day, while the effigies of Hussan and Hussein were exhibited by the Mussulmans; and the body must have been trampled on by the crowd, which generally assemble on such occasions." (Sep. 1, 1825.)

"We are led to understand (says the India Gazette) that the sickness among the natives has somewhat abated. Dead bodies, in rather considerable numbers, may still be seen afloat, and even in Tolly's Nullah we have seen several. Indeed one remained two days near Allipore Bridge, and would, we suppose, have remained there to this hour, had it not been carried away by a rising of the water. It is quite horrible, close to a city like Calcutta, to see human carcasses floating about, or lying at length on the bank, a prey to dogs or carrion birds. The sight is degrading and brutalizing. It is no less so, to see the *Dooms carrying the dead in a state the next to nudity, slung upon bamboos, and thus casting them into the river*; making a nuisance of the stream! It would be a most desirable thing, if such a scandalous mode of disposing of the dead could be obviated; for scandalous such spectacles certainly are, to the eyes of Christians, in a city subject to Christian Laws and Government. The expense could not be very great of providing a stock of mango coffins in different quarters of the town, to be available for the purpose of the Dooms; who ought also to be made to attach weights to the dead bodies they cast into the river. This would not prevent their being carried to the ocean, though it would keep them from floating on the surface of the water:

when his coffin is carried with him to the place of execution." Ward's View, vol. iii. Intro. p. 22. AUTH.

perhaps, if the matter were properly represented to Government, such a suggestion would meet consideration."* (Aug. 1825.)

From these various facts and observations, some idea may be formed of the nature of the practice of exposing the sick and the dead in British India, and the brutalizing and demoralizing influence of it upon the population. Does not the voice of humanity demand attention to these atrocities? Where are the tender sympathies of nature? Let Britain display her true character in India—let her abolish every species of human sacrifices, and raise the tone of humane and moral feeling in society.

CHAP. II.

Extent of the prevalence of this inhuman practice.

On this subject it is impossible to speak with precision. The Author hesitates to give an opinion; but it is presumed, there can be no impropriety in presenting the statements of those, who, from their residence in the vicinity of the Ganges, may be supposed best qualified to form some idea of the prevalence of this unnatural and destructive custom. "The immersion," says Dr. Buchanan, "of half the body of a person, supposed to be dying, in the water of the Ganges, must often occasion premature death. It is optional; not commanded. Though very common on the banks of the Ganges, it is reprobated in many places at a distance from it."† The Author never saw this practice during his residence in Orissa. It is hoped that attention will be awakened to this subject, and more correct information respecting it obtained.

* "One of the first specimens of the manners of the country (says the late Bishop Heber), which have fallen under our notice, has been a human corpse, slowly floating past, according to the well-known custom of the Hindoos." (Jour. vol. i. p. 2.) "The practice of throwing dead bodies into the river is, in many places, a dreadful nuisance; as in case a body should float to the side of the river, and remain there, it will continue to infect the whole neighbourhood, till the vultures, dogs, jackals, and other animals have devoured it. The throwing of dead bodies and other filth into the river makes the Ganges, in the neighbourhood of large towns, resemble a common sewer. Still the natives drink it with the greatest appetite, bathe in it every day, to cleanse their bodies and their souls, and carry it to an immense distance, as the greatest imaginable treasure!" Ward's View of the Hindoos, vol. iii. p. 276. † Mem. Eccl. Esta. for British India, p. 94.

Some traces of this custom are found in *Nepaul*.—“The large valley of Nepaul is somewhat of a circular form, and is watered by the numerous streams contributary to the Bogmutty, which flow from the surrounding hills towards the centre, and unite a little way south of the capital (Catmandoo). In the valley there are two hills, one named Lambhunath is venerated by the Buddhists; the other is greatly reverenced by the Brahminical followers of the Vedas, as having been the residence of Siva and his wife, to each of whom a temple is still dedicated. These temples are frequented by great numbers of pilgrims, who, by visiting all the fanes, hope to escape degradation below the scale of man in any future metempsychosis. The hill in a large proportion of its circumference is washed by the Bogmutty, *which is here so holy a river, that all the Hindoos of Nepaul wish to expire with their feet immersed in its stream, and after death to be burned on its banks.*”*

“Every Hindoo,” says the Rev. W. Ward, in his *Farewell Letters*, “in the hour of death, is hurried to the side of the Ganges, or some other sacred river, if near enough; where he is laid, in the agonies of death, exposed to the burning sun by day, and to the dews and cold of the night. The water of the river is poured plentifully down him if he can swallow it; and his breast, forehead, and arms, are besmeared with the mud of the river; for the very mud of the Ganges is supposed to have some purifying properties. Just before the soul quits the body, he is laid on the earth, and immersed to the middle in the stream; while his relations stand around him, tormenting him in his last moments with superstitious rites, and increasing a hundred fold, the pains of dying. *Very often, where recovery might be reasonably expected, these barbarities bring on premature death. It is pretty certain that, in using these rites, many private murders are perpetrated.*” In a calculation, made by the same author, of the number of Hindoos who perish annually, the victims of superstition, he estimates, that there are 500 sick persons whose death is hastened on the banks of the Ganges; and adds, “a gentleman, whose opinion is of great weight, says,—‘I believe this estimate is far below the truth.’” Of various kinds of Hindoo cruelties it is remarked,—“There are a number of actions performed by Hindoos supposed to be meritorious in their nature, but which, in the opinion of a Christian, deserve punishment even in this life. The Hindoo widow burning with the dead body of her husband, is promised a residence in heaven during

* Hamilton’s Hind., vol. ii. p. 675.

the reign of fourteen Indras ; yet no Christian doubts whether these are real murders or not. *The death of vast multitudes of Hindoos is procured, or hastened, annually, by immersing a part of the body, in a state of dangerous weakness, in the Ganges, and by pouring large quantities of water into the mouth of the dying person : yet the Hindoos think it a work of great merit.* Many persons voluntarily renounce life in the Ganges, under the hope of obtaining immediate entrance into heaven, and yet a jury of Englishmen would pronounce it self-murder. Infatuated mothers devote their children to this sacred river, not doubting but that they are sending them to heaven ; yet we feel certain that every such infant is murdered.* Ought not Britain to exert her influence and abolish all these murderous practices ? Is not this one great design of Providence in her supremacy over the millions of India ? What a blessing would Christianity be to Hindostan !

A late resident in India observes, "With regard to the extent of the practice, every conjecture must be very uncertain. There are no registers of births and burials to which we can have recourse ; and consequently, we have no data upon which we can form any accurate calculation. The river Ganges rises in the mountains of Himmaleh ; whence it flows in the direction of Hurdwar. From this place it gushes through an opening in the mountains, and entering Hindostan, flows 1200 miles with a smooth navigable stream to the Bay of Bengal. In its course through these plains it receives eleven rivers, some of which are larger, and none smaller than the Thames. Through the whole course of the Ganges, and many of the tributary streams, the custom of exposing the sick prevails. Nor is it confined to those who dwell near its banks : some are brought from a great distance, that they may die near Gunga. If we consider the denseness of the population, and the number of villages, towns, and cities, near which this river flows, it is easy to conceive that the loss of human life, occasioned by this custom, is of awful extent. Nor indeed have I heard of any Hindoos remonstrating against it, except Bruja Mohun, who wrote an excellent Tract on the present state of Polytheism in India. When this respectable and enlightened man was seized with the Cholera Morbus, his relatives wished to hurry him away to the river, but he refused and insisted on being left in his house."

The late Bishop Heber, when at Benares, stated,—"Fuel is extremely dear, and to this circumstance is imputed the

* Ward's View of the Hindoos, vol. ii. pp. 127, 138, 173.

number of bodies thrown into the river without burning. Suttees are less numerous in Benares than in many parts of India, but self-immolation by drowning is very common. Every year, many scores of pilgrims from all parts of India come hither, expressly to end their days and secure their salvation. They purchase two large kedgeree pots, between which they tie themselves; and, when empty, these support their weight in the water. Thus equipped they paddle into the stream, then fill the pots with the water which surrounds them, and thus sink into eternity! Government have sometimes attempted to prevent this practice, but with no other effect than driving the voluntary victims a little further down the river; nor indeed, when a man has come several hundred miles to die, is it likely that a police officer can prevent him? Instruction seems the only way in which these poor people can be improved, and that I trust they will by degrees obtain from us.* (Sep. 1824.) The success of the British magistrate at Allahabad, in suppressing this practice, shews that this and similar cruel customs in India, may be abolished by the paternal power of Britain.

The late Rev. D. Brown bears his testimony to the appalling extent of this practice:—"The Brahmuns can, as may serve their interest, devote any sick branch of a family to death: and *incredible numbers are destroyed by this superstition.*"† "It is my deliberate opinion," says the Rev. S. Sutton, late of Moorshedabad, "that, yearly, *thousands* of persons would recover from their diseases, if this absurd custom were abolished."

"The exposure of the sick and dying by the sides of the Ganges, and other sacred rivers, has been practised from time immemorial, and is extended to all the Hindoos residing near the rivers. At the hour of death, these poor creatures are brought from home, and exposed to the scorching heat of a vertical sun, even in the very agonies of death; or to the heavy dews and cold of the night. The body of the sufferer is besmeared with the mud of the river, and a large quantity of water is poured down him, if he can be made to swallow it. *Hereby the most horrible cruelties are practised on the person of the dying, in the hour when suffering humanity, in every civilized country, receives the most soothing and unwearyed attentions; and hundreds are hurried into a premature grave.*"‡

* Journ., vol. i. p. 295.

† Miss. Mag. vol. i. p. 117.

‡ Remarks on the Immolations of India. (Parbury.) p. 6.

"I was much interested," says a correspondent in the Columbian Press Gazette, "with the perusal of your remarks on the practice of suffocating invalid Hindoos with *Gunga-jol*, or water of the Ganges. I have looked upon this horrid custom for years, in the light in which you represent it; and in many instances, I consider it *absolute murder*. *It is far more prevalent than the burning of widows*. Among the higher class of Hindoos, hardly any one is allowed to depart this life in peace at home, but is taken to the banks of the river, and there offered up a sacrifice to Brahminical superstition. This indeed is such a crying and prevalent evil, among Hindoos, that it certainly deserves the serious consideration of those in authority."—Aug. 1825.

Another correspondent states,—“The perusal of a Paper called ‘*Brahminical Cruelties*,’ and your observations upon it, induce me again, to say something in defence of the cause of humanity, which you have advocated. I entirely concur with you in opinion, that the ‘John Bull,’ when speaking upon this subject, must have confined his view to the Bankshall and Chundpaul Ghauts, as the scenes of the barbarous acts; and am surprised, he should be so ignorant, of what is passing a little beyond Calcutta and its immediate environs. *I can confidently assert, that such murderous acts, as the one I described in your last number, are of almost daily occurrence in the Province of Bengal.* Perhaps few of your readers are acquainted with a village called *Chakdah*: it is situated on the banks of the Hooghly, near Sooksaugur, a little above Bandel. When any of the unfortunate individuals, who are carried to the river to receive the ‘*Gunga Lakh*,’ survive the dreadful treatment of their murderers, by the physical strength of their constitution, or other causes, they are generally expelled from their cast, torn from their relations and sent to inhabit this village. After they are taken out of the house to undergo this inhuman rite, they are reckoned unholy and unfit for association. There they intermarry, and I suppose live as comfortably, as any of the low cast Hindoos. I do not think that this village is inhabited by any but these people and their children. Those who wish to have a correct idea of Brahminical cruelties, in this respect, may pay a visit to Chakdah, and there learn, from the inhabitants, the extent of tortures that each of them has suffered.”

The author of a very interesting little work, entitled, “*The Friends; a true Tale of woe and joy from the East*,” published in 1830, bears his testimony to the extensive prevalence of the practice. “A very distressing annoyance to foreigners

travelling on the Ganges, is the number of persons that are to be seen dying along its sides. In Bengal, no sooner is a man thought to be near his end, than he is hurried away to the edge of the holy stream, that he may breathe his last beside its waters. Many of these are not actually dying; but as the loss of cast is attendant upon their recovery after this step has been taken, their friends keep them exposed to the scorching sun of the day, and the killing damps of the night; and often are they seen putting them up to the chin in the water, pouring it into their mouths, and even choking them with mud and sand. *These are spectacles to be seen not once a year, but they are the every day,—nay, the hourly scenes, of the lower Provinces of Hindostan.**

The following letter from a gentleman, in a Calcutta Paper, affords a specimen of *the want of humanity and attention to the sick, so prevalent among the Hindoos* :—

“ I am a Mofussilite, and, in the absence of better society, I love to make companionship with a few faithful dogs, which have served me well, ever since they had the happiness of having me for a master. The evening before last, having mounted my horse and whistled them about me, I started with the intention of running a fox if I could find one. I had scarcely proceeded a hundred yards from my house, when my horse started at something rolled up in a mat, lying under a tree by the side of the road. As there were numbers of people passing, who took no notice of it, I thought it could be nothing of consequence enough to require me to dismount, so I passed on; and, after having had my ride, and killed a jackal, I returned home. About ten o'clock next morning, my bearer informed me that a traveller, oppressed with age, and wearied with his journey, was lying under a tree a short distance off, and was just about to die: ‘and,’ added he in a tone of the most perfect unconcern, ‘he has been lying there for several days, without any thing to eat or drink, so he cannot live more than a day!’ Having put on my clothes as hastily as I could, I repaired to the spot, and to my astonishment found, that what I had taken for a bundle of wood or grass was nothing less than a man. At first sight it appeared to me that he was totally stiff and dead; but, on turning him round, I found that life was not extinct, and that possibly something might yet be done to recal the parting spirit. I accordingly had him borne to my house, and with considerable difficulty I forced some medicine down his throat; by degrees he recovered so far as to make known to me that, having gone on a pilgrimage to the temple of Juggernaut, he was returning to his home at Moorshedabad, when he was seized with an illness which day by day increased: that, his money being spent, he had been eleven days without tasting food; and that, not being able to advance farther than the place in which I found him, he had been left there by his friend. (Mark the word, Mr. Editor). As to not having eaten any thing for eleven days, his emaciated state bore full testimony to the truth of his story; for I never could have believed it possible, without actually seeing it, that the human frame could be wasted to such a degree, and still have life in it.

* “The Friends,” p. 121.

"What a strange idea these people must have of religion, and what it requires! In this case, two persons set out together from Moorshedabad to Juggernaut. The one is seventy years of age, the other a young man in full health. On their way back the old man fell sick; and, although his friend has been making this pilgrimage for the sake of his salvation, and trying to make his peace with his gods, yet he hesitates not to leave his sick companion to die as he may, and become food for dogs; and, when he returns to Moorshedabad, he, no doubt, thinks that he has washed away all the sins of his former life, by the merit of a pilgrimage to a shrine polluted with human blood! It is a comfort indeed to think, that we profess a faith which points out a very different conduct on such an occasion. It is ours to act the part of the good Samaritan, and pour oil and wine into the wounds of the distressed, whether Christian, Jew, Pagan, or Mussulman; and I trust there are but few of my readers, who would have passed by on the other side, without heeding the miserable skeleton who now lies at my door. The Hindoos have a definition of the word 'neighbour,' but it is widely different from that given by the Author of our faith. They have no such precept as, 'do unto others as you would be done by.' The fate of the poor wretch I hope to serve is the fate of thousands. Immense numbers of those who leave their houses in these pilgrimages, leave them never to return. Hundreds die by the way, and some are crushed to death by the ponderous car of Juggernaut.

"This is the religion of those who have been so often called the *mild Hindoos*: this is the religion of a people, who shudder at the idea of killing a cow, but subject it to the greatest tortures when alive. This is part of a system which condemns the unhappy widow to be burned in the embrace of the putrid corpse of her husband—which has found a merit in exposing a new-born child to the jaws of a voracious shark, or a greedy alligator—and which thrusts an iron hook into the back of its poor deluded votaries, and swings them in the air, with savage satisfaction to the spectators! It is melancholy to think, that one hundred millions bend the knee to innumerable gods, whose chief delight they conceive to consist, in witnessing the agonies of a human being, expiring under tortures with a view to conciliate their favour! Give them education sufficient to see the errors of their religion and the presumption of their priests, and then some bold spirits must break through those fetters which have bound them for centuries. W.

July 5, 1825.

The Periodical accounts of the Baptist Mission contain affecting statements of Hindoo cruelty. A passage or two only are given. "Do not send men of compassion here, (said the late Dr. Thomas,) for you will soon break their hearts. Do send men full of compassion here, where many perish with cold, many for lack of bread, and millions for lack of knowledge. In England the poor receive the benefit of the Gospel, in being fed and clothed, by those who know not by what they are moved. When the Gospel is generally acknowledged in a land, it puts some to fear and others to shame; so that, to relieve their own 'smart,' they provide for the poor. But here, (O miserable sight!) I have found the path-way stopped up by sick and wounded people, perishing with hunger; and that in a populous neighbourhood, where

numbers pass by; some singing, others talking, but none shewing mercy; as though they were dying weeds, and not dying men.”*

Diego de Lonta, an early Portuguese writer, during his residence at Goa, speaks of hospitals for animals in India; but asserts the inhumanity of the Hindoos.—“One means of making atonement for their sins is by forming hospitals for birds. We have seen a remarkable one in the fortress of Cambayette, in which were very comfortable places provided for the birds which sheltered there, and persons were employed to take care of such as were sick. The revenues are derived from public alms. One hospital has persons in pay, whose duty it is to walk the streets and fields to search for sick or infirm birds, and bring them to the hospital. They have also places for sick and aged beasts, where they are lodged and attended; people are kept to go in search of old buffaloes, horses, or mules, wounded or infirm; which are conveyed to the hospital and cured. If they see a lame *man* on the ground, they will not lend a hand to lift him up; but let him be trampled upon by men and beasts, because they say he is reduced to this state by his sins. They buy birds merely to let them loose; but would not contribute to release a man from prison, even if it were their own father.”†

These statements forcibly remind the humane and pious of the declaration of Scripture,—“Their sorrows shall be multiplied that hasten after another *god*: their drink offerings of blood will I not offer, nor take up their names into my lips.” What a blessing would Christianity prove to the myriads of India, thus “seeking death in the error of their way.” The dictate of the Gospel, which it is the imperative duty of Britain to give to the East, is “Do thyself no harm.” May its blessings extend as ‘far as winds can waft and billows roll.’

* Vol. i. p. 284.

† Asi. Jour., March 1827. See Heber’s account of a similar institution at *Broach*. Jour., vol. ii. p. 171.

CHAP. III.

The impossibility of detecting murder with the permission of this custom—palliation of it absurd—the propriety of adopting measures for the suppression of its atrocities—utility of attending to the sick—confirmation of the statements—concluding remarks.

These appalling facts are submitted to the attention of the humane in Britain and India. That such atrocious acts, under the semblance of religion, are perpetrated, is beyond a doubt; but ought such infractions of the inviolable principles of justice and humanity to be tolerated? The celebrated historian, Rollin, severely censures the conduct of Xerxes, in giving up his brother's wife to the revenge of his own, and says,—“He was guilty of the weakest and most cruel piece of compliance; *making the inviolable obligations of justice and humanity give way to the arbitrary laws of a custom.*” It is written, “Righteousness exalteth a nation.” “Mercy and truth preserve the king, and his throne is upholden by mercy.” It is not necessary for the preservation of the British power in India, that these cruelties should be permitted. The God of nations, is “a God of truth, and without iniquity, just and right is he;” and He will “make inquisition for blood.” Can it be doubted whether Britain possesses the power to issue a proclamation, declaring that whoever is accessory to the death of an individual by Infanticide, the Exposure of the sick, or any other inhuman custom, is a murderer, and as such amenable to the laws? In India ‘our will is our law.’ How great is the responsibility of the British Government!

“Hear it, ye Senates—hear this truth sublime;
He who allows of murder, shares the crime.”

The impossibility of detecting murder, with the permission of this custom, is apparent from the following facts.

The late Rev. W. Ward thus describes the circumstances of a heathen dying by the Ganges.—“Just before or after being immersed, they spread the mud of the river on the breast, &c., of the dying man, and with one of their fingers write on this mud the name of some deity; they also pour water down his throat, shout the name of different deities in his ears, and, by this anxiety after his future happiness, hurry him into eternity; and, in many cases, it is to be feared, prevent recovery where it might reasonably be expected.

Some persons who are carried down to the river side revive, and return home again; but scarcely any instances are known of persons surviving after the half immersion in water. *In cases of sudden and alarming sickness, many are actually murdered by these violent means of sending men to Gunga.*" "Private murder is practised to a dreadful extent among the Hindoos; and is exceedingly facilitated, and detection prevented, by the practice of hurrying sick persons to the banks of the river, and burning them as soon as dead. Many anecdotes on this subject might be given."*

Dr. Johns, in his pamphlet before referred to, speaks of *a man drowned in sport*. "Some years ago as Shivu Shiromee (the Brahmun who related the fact to the Rev. W. Ward,) was returning from bathing, with Kashenaut, another Brahmun, they saw a poor old man sitting on the bank of the river, and asked him what he was doing there? He replied that he was destitute of friends, and was about to renounce life in the Ganges. Kashenaut urged him not to delay then, if he was come to die. But the man seemed to hesitate, and replied that it was very cold. The Brahmun (hinting to his companion, that he wished to see the sport before he returned home!) reproached the poor trembling wretch for his cowardice, and, seizing his hand, dragged him to the edge of the bank; where he made him sit down, rubbed over him the purifying clay of the river, and ordered him to repeat the proper incantations. While he was, with his eyes closed, repeating these forms, he slipped down and sunk into the water, which was very deep, and perished."† Was not this murder?

In the *Circular Letters* of the Missionaries at Serampore, accounts are given of the drowning of two lepers; at Futwa and Alumgung. "On hearing the people belonging to the boat say that a man was going to be drowned at Futwa, I looked out, and saw the poor creature, without fingers or toes, but in other respects apparently healthy. He was eating very heartily, and surrounded by several people, who appeared to have conducted him to the spot. The bank being high, I could not get out of the boat, till we got to a considerable distance from the place where the man sat. As I was running towards the spot, I heard the people on the top of the boat call out, '*He is drowned! he is drowned!*' His attendants, who appeared to be his relatives, had assisted him down the bank of the river; but whether they pushed him in, or

* View of the Hindoos, vol. iii. pp. 269. 291.
Opinions relative to the Burning of Hindoo Widows, 1816, p. 70.

† Facts and

whether he got into the water of his own accord, I cannot tell; but the bank was so steep at the place that he could not possibly get out again. He made great efforts to reach the side, but had he been a good swimmer he could not have got out, the stream was so rapid. I saw him struggle much, before he sunk to rise no more. I endeavoured to impress on the people who attended him, the heinousness of the crime they had perpetrated; but they smiled at my concern, and said they had only complied with the wishes of the deceased, who had neither hands nor feet." (Nov. 1812).*

"A Hindoo, of the writer cast," says the Rev. J. Moore, "informed me he saw a Hindoo carpenter drowned, because he had the leprosy. He was carried from one of the Ghauts at Alumgung in a boat, in the presence of a large assembly of people, and, when in deep water, put overboard. Two large earthen pots, one filled with sand, the other with barley, were fastened to his shoulders. The man sunk, but after some time floated on the water. The people in the boat rowed after him and took him up, but made sure work of it the second time." (Oct. 1818).

"The Cama Morun, or voluntary death, is when a person, who is in distress or disgrace, or believes it meritorious to die in the Ganges, forms the resolution of parting with life in the sacred stream. Some of them abstain from food that they may expire in the holy place; but the greater number drown themselves in the presence of the surrounding multitude. Their children and other relations generally attend them. *It is no uncommon thing for a father to be pushed again into the river by his sons, if he attempt to swim back to land!*"† Are not these acts of murder? Must not India be greatly defiled with blood?

The Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru, in Aug. 1825, very judiciously and forcibly observes, on this subject,—

"We will make a remark or two on a topic that has been brought to public notice in the Columbian Press Gazette, and which has been attempted to be palliated on the ground of its being a Hindoo rite. It would be idle to waste words to prove, that if it could be clearly made out in evidence that a sick man was put to death by his relations, by Brahmuns, or by any body

* The Rev. H. Townley, recently related the following anecdote, illustrative of the Hindoo character.—"A Hindoo once said to me, 'Why are you so very earnest to save others? What is it to you if they should be lost?' I said to him, 'If you should see a poor fellow-creature sinking beneath the waves of the Ganges, and your boat was passing by him, would you not be glad to put out your hand that you might save him?' 'No,' he replied, 'I should look to myself.' Christianity reprobates the inquiry,—'Am I my brother's keeper?'" † Burder's Miss. Anec. p. 37.

else, when carried down to the river, or by any other means, and whether against the prayers of the sick man or not, at least within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, it would be murder; just as the performance of a Suttee would be murder. *The pretence, that the Hindoo religion authorized such practices, would be equally unavailable in one case as in the other.* The fact, that death is anticipated by violent means may be denied, and we certainly are in possession of no other proof than common report; but, *if such facts do exist, we do not conceive that the presence of Police Peons is any protection at all against abuse; certainly not if they are Hindoos.* We should be glad to know, by what authority it is that dying persons are exposed by the river side; and would thank any of our readers, learned in the languages and customs of the Hindoos, to give us precise information; for without violence, and without the use of suffocation, *the mere exposure on a muddy bank, under a burning sun, of a person dangerously ill, cannot be considered by any reasonable man, but as an act approaching very near to murder, under whatever pretext it is done.*

“There is a kind of fanaticism prevalent among Europeans in India, which is a melancholy proof of the force of habit, and of the puerile tendency to extremes that disgraces even intelligent men, who adopt theories that their self-love becomes interested to support. We allude not to the fanaticism in the dogmas of Christianity, but a fanaticism that is ready to go all lengths in palliation and support of the most revolting doctrines of Hindoo superstition. This turn of mind, of which we have perceived many traces in the writings of Europeans who have been in India, naturally arises from a wish to dignify those things which have been the subject of their studies and investigation; and might be excused or pitied did it not lead to laxity of moral reasoning, and to sneers at real religion. *Their religion is one monstrous tissue of absurdity and cruelty—absurd in doctrine, cruel in practice; which no ingenuity in allegory, and no sophistry, can make reconcileable with common sense and humanity!* Prudence may induce us to tolerate, prudence may induce us to be silent, but it is too much to speak of such a system with respect. Such conduct cannot but excite indignation.

“There may be purposes to be served, and vanities to be gratified;—the Philologist, who has mastered the difficulties of Sanscrit, and explored with tedious care the occult meaning of Hindoo Mythology, may gratify the pride of a futile labour by a preposterous estimation of the value of his attainments:—the cold Politician, who looks only to the preservation of power, may be tremblingly anxious to prevent all alarm, and to throw discredit upon all attempts at conversion:—and the concealed Unbeliever in Christianity may be delighted in an opportunity of instituting presumptuous and impious comparisons; or insinuating that, when once the order of nature is quitted, there is no rule of judgment, and one mystery and one miracle is *prima facie* as probable as another. But every candid believer, every friend to morals, to human nature, and to happiness, ought severely to examine his own mind, and deeply pause, before he is led away by literary zeal and vanity, by political interest and prejudice, or by polemical hate, to step forward, the concealed or the avowed defender of *a system that is degrading to man, and has entailed slavery, wickedness, and misery upon millions of millions of men.*”

The inhumanity of the Native police shews the difficulty of allowing this custom to continue, consistently with the principles of justice and the well-being of society. On this subject it is remarked, in one of the Calcutta Papers;—“In

order to prevent the continuance of these inhuman practices, we deemed it right to call attention to them, and to suggest the necessity of adopting some regulations, making it incumbent on the Brabhmins to have the authority of a Native Doctor, at least for pronouncing a fellow-creature so far past the hope of recovery as to justify, according to their own laws and customs, the administration of the inhuman ceremony adverted to. But we are told there is no necessity for this; and why? because the John Bull is persuaded that the cruel practices of Hindoism are, in many instances, exaggerated, therefore prevention and inquiry are unnecessary! We are told that Police Peons are stationed at the Ghauts to prevent such murderous scenes as are said to occur. These, it must be admitted by all who know their character, are bad securities against the perpetration of inhumanity: fellows who look on with the utmost indifference at any scene of cruelty, whether it be a widow burning, a man drowning, or a poor diseased creature suffocated by a Brabhmun. As for their reporting to a Coroner any thing of the kind, even if they did so (which we believe they would not), he has no control beyond the *Mahratta ditch*; nor indeed have the Police Peons above referred to, for they are under the jurisdiction of the Zillah magistrates. We hope the Zillah magistrates will deem it their duty to institute some inquiry into this matter; for humanity loudly demands it."

Palliation of the nature of this rite appears absurd. A correspondent, in one of the Indian papers, proves that no dependance can be placed on the unprincipled Native officers. "The idea of chokedars interfering in this business appears ridiculous to those who are at all acquainted with the nature of the country. I have frequently passed a dozen villages and Ghauts without seeing or hearing of a single chokedar. How are these people to inform the Coroner, or any body else, of what is passing in these places, when they themselves are often ignorant of it? Unless there be, a particular and strict injunction laid upon them by the higher powers, (which I do not suppose is the case,) it is absurd to suppose they would interfere."

The Calcutta John Bull in Aug. 1825, attempted to palliate these evils.—"We feel at all times a satisfaction in being enabled to vindicate the Native, and particularly the Brahminical character, from the charges so often thrown upon it, as disfigured by all that is dishonest, selfish, and cruel; but we withhold not our assent to the assertion, that there is much to lament over, after all that has been exaggerated has been

reduced within the fair proportions of truth. We leave to the indiscriminate admirer of all that is Hindoo, to speak his praises of a faith, which is a disgrace to human reason, and a lamentable instance of human folly; and to arrogate to its priests, virtues altogether incompatible with the doctrines and duties which, as ministers of this religion, they must teach and practise. But it is possible to err on the other side: and when the Brahmuns were represented as in the actual commission of murder, and that, as we are led to understand, within the very jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, we found that inquiry into the subject was due, if not to them, at least to the character of British justice itself. The fact of a person being stationed at the Ghauts within the jurisdiction, whose business it is, among other duties, to prevent the rites of Hindoo sepulture being given to any one bearing the marks of a violent death, until due investigation should be made, certainly seems to us altogether irreconcilable with the alleged occurrence of Brahmuns, causing the death of Natives brought to the river side to expire, before the disease was far from having overcome the vital energies.

"It is a question, not unaccompanied with difficulty, to say the precise moment at which death has assuredly made good his position, if we may so speak. And admitting that, in cases where this is clear, the practice referred to is not to be interfered with, as arising out of the religion of the Natives, some caution we think is requisite in affixing the stigma of murder to the acts of the Brahmuns. *We readily admit, that a practice, which on many accounts we should rejoice to see abolished, may be, and no doubt is, perverted to the most inhuman purposes.* The remark that, in the cases of Natives being seized with the Cholera Morbus, there is an imminent risk that before the constitution can rally, the cruel rites of Hinduism may have extinguished the only chance of life remaining, is highly deserving notice. It points to circumstances demanding a more than ordinary vigilance on the part of those whose duty it may be to prevent the violation of the laws, as they provide for the last rites that are to be performed by a dying Hindoo; and, if those officers are not clothed with sufficient authority to act in such cases, every humane and Christian motive concurs in demanding that they should."

To this it is replied, by the Editor of the India Gazette,— "The existence of the inhuman practice complained of is no longer denied: but the writer evidently labours under a very important mistake on the subject. He seems to think that

the only danger of murder resulting from it is, that the Brahmuns may administer this inhuman rite to those who are not actually dead, owing to the difficulty, where great and sudden prostration of strength is a symptom of the disease, of ascertaining the precise moment, when death 'has assuredly made good his position.' From this it would appear, that the writer imagines that the Brahmuns never administer this barbarous ceremony until their victim is pronounced dead, or until they actually think him so: but the fact is, that it is by no means necessary that the poor creature should be dead, nor do they wait for this. The moment he is pronounced in a dangerous state by a Native Doctor, or even by themselves; he is hurried to the river, and subjected to a treatment, enough in itself, even in a disorder by no means dangerous, to bring on immediate death, as it no doubt often does. Was he aware, that, *many who have endured these brutal ceremonies, on the plea that they were dying, have recovered? that their recovery entails disgrace on them? and that whole villages of these degraded Hindoos exist within a day's journey of us?* We confess with shame, that we were ignorant of the fact; but it speaks volumes, as to the necessity of some regulation, to prevent the unhappy victims of a dreadful disease from being, under false pretexts that they are in a state in which Hindoo superstition enjoins it, subjected to the cruelties we have denounced."

"Since our last," says another public Journal in Calcutta, "the John Bull has put forth the following notice respecting the Ghaut Murders as denounced by us:—'A Correspondent has pointed out to us, that the person (not properly speaking a Police Peon,) stationed at the Ghauts, whose business is to superintend the burning, &c., of bodies, always prevents those that are brought from being disposed of according to the Hindoo customs, should any marks of violence appear on them, until the same is duly reported to the proper authorities; with whose duties, it would be obviously incompatible, to permit the alleged murderous practices of the Brahmuns.' The absurdity of regarding any regulations like the above, as a security against the cruelties we have stated, must be sufficiently apparent to any one at all acquainted with the subject. If marks of violence appear, then it seems the circumstance is reported to the proper authorities, by the Peons (not Police) of the Ghauts; but whoever heard of marks of violence being produced by suffocating a sick man with mud and water; and exposing him, while under the influence of a dangerous disease, to the heat of the sun and the vicissitudes

of the weather, both before and after the administration of these destructive ceremonies? It is in this manner that the murders alluded to are perpetrated, and the fact has indeed been partly acknowledged to us by a Hindoo, and defended. He denied that any but OLD MEN were RELUCTANT VICTIMS of these cruelties; but with respect to them he said,— *however they might implore to be saved, or allowed to die at home, they were not listened to, but forced to the water side, to receive what is, with the Hindoos, deemed more important than the extreme unction of the Romish Church.* But we disbelieve this; for we have since been informed by a friend, who witnessed a circumstance of this kind, that *old or young, willing or unwilling, are equally subjected to this inhuman mode of terminating their existence.* It is said that the Native Doctor, employed by the family, first pronounces the sick individual incurable; but it is needless to say, that this is no sufficient security against the perpetration of these murderous rites, in cases where, but for them, the patient might recover. If it would not be going further than the Government might feel justifiable, *it would be a wise and humane regulation, to prohibit the administration of Gunga jal (Ganges water) until the patient has actually expired.* In order not to shock the prejudices of the Hindoos, with respect to its importance as to future beatitude, that they should die by the water side; it might still be permitted to carry the sick who are dangerously ill down to the river side, provided they kept them there under shelter, and not exposed as they are now, without covering, to the noonday sun or a tropical shower; enough of themselves to produce a fatal termination of any disease, without the other barbarous aids." There appears, by the past experience of the regulation and consequent legalization of Suttees in India, no intermediate measure really beneficial to society, between entire neglect of the practice and its abolition as murder. The dead body might be brought to the river, but if the sick lie at the mercy of Native Doctors, Darogahs, Peons, &c., there can be no security that they will not be murdered by this cruel rite. The prohibition of the exposure of the sick appears the dictate of justice and humanity.

The propriety of adopting measures for the melioration, and even for the suppression of the evils of this practice, has engaged the public attention. The opinion of the Editors of the India Gazette and the Calcutta John Bull has been given; the Bengal Hurkaru in Aug. 1825, contains the following judicious remarks:—" *Ghaut Murders.*—From all that

we can learn on the distressing subject, the Cholera rages among the natives with unabated fury. It appears, from an expression in the John Bull, that regular reports are received from the different Ghauts (where, we presume, the bodies of the dead are consumed) of the extent of the mortality. If this be the case, we wish at the same time, that reports could be furnished of the number of sick brought down to these Ghauts, to be murdered by those legalized butchers of their fellow creatures, the Brahmuns, under the pretence that they are past all hope of recovery. In this state, we understand, many are brought to the river side, and their existence quickly put an end to by the administration of what is called *Gunga jal*! Some means might be taken, to ascertain the fact that the unhappy beings put out of the world, in a manner so revolting to humanity, are actually *in articulo mortis* when brought down to be submitted to this last inhuman ceremony: for unless they are, we understand, those engaged in putting a period to their existence would be liable to the penalty attaching to the crime of MURDER.

"In cases where the miserable victim is capable of shewing any reluctance, and evinces it, interference to prevent it would surely be more than justifiable,—*it becomes a sacred duty, the neglect of which would not be cruel merely but criminal*. But how is this to be discerned? or who is to look after it? The people in authority about the Ghauts, which are the scenes of such sacrifices, the chokedars, &c., are generally, we believe, Hindoos, and by no means likely to discharge this duty faithfully, even if it be enjoined on them, which we greatly doubt. *Who then is to perform it?* This is a question which we presume the Zillah Magistrates can best answer; humanity loudly demands that the matter should be investigated; and we hope it will attract their attention. Where are all the Native Doctors, about whom we heard so much in former days, when the Cholera prevailed? Many of these, we suppose, are Mussulmans, and, as they have no prejudice in favour of the inhuman practice we have adverted to, they might be very properly employed to prevent it, where interference is deemed justifiable. We imagine there could be no impediment of an order to this effect:—That before any unfortunate being should be dragged to the Ghaut, to be suffocated by the Brahmuns, it should be incumbent on them to have the authority of the Native Doctor. We hope this subject will receive the consideration it merits. We may be wrong in supposing there is a remedy for the evil, but we have felt it our duty to endeavour to bring the subject forward, in

order that some means may be speedily devised, to check the perpetration of these legalized MURDERS, if the entire prevention of them should be deemed impossible."

"The exposure of the sick by the side of the Ganges surely requires a regulation securing greater comforts to these dying persons. Such a regulation might easily be framed, as would gradually put a stop to these dreadful cruelties inflicted on persons in the agonies of death, and preventing the recovery of others suffering under temporary maladies. Highly honourable as is the determination of Government not to interpose in the religion of their Indian subjects,—*yet cruelties and murders, not authorized by the Hindoo laws, have surely no claim to toleration.*"*

To legalize a cruel practice, pregnant with murder, is a highly exceptionable policy. The concession here made is very important, viz. "*The chokedars, &c., are generally Hindoos, and by no means likely to discharge this duty faithfully, even if it be enjoined on them.*" The preservation of life is the imperious duty of a well regulated Government;† and this cannot be accomplished with the permission of the practice. Hundreds and thousands have been murdered by the permission of Suttees. The perpetrators of this practice are guilty of murder, and the custom should be humanely and promptly abolished.

The propriety and utility of medical attention to the sick, in the circumstances here contemplated, are deserving of particular regard.

"The number of people in Calcutta, who fell victims to the Cholera in the course of this week, (says the Editor of the Somachar Durpun, Sep. 3, 1825,) has been estimated at an average of *four hundred a day*. Many, we believe, attacked with a slight sickness, give themselves up to death, through fear; the more so when they are taken to the river, which makes them despair of life, and thus is their end hastened. We have known, that those who immediately after the attack of the disease applied to European Doctors have been re-

* Remarks on the Immolations of India, p. 23. (Parbury).

† "When the Russian Government conveyed to Japan, a number of its mariners who had been shipwrecked on the Russian coast, the Japanese Government thanked them; but observed, at the same time, that *they might either leave them or take them back as they might think fit.* These are the sentiments of an ignorant and barbarous policy, though they have sometimes been mistaken for greatness of mind. But no sentiment is great that is not humane; and no nation is civilized whose government is not solicitous for the safety of the citizens." Ori. Herald. Vol. ii. p. 194.

covered by their medical assistance ; it is indeed a matter of great pity, that persons should not apply for medicine till it is too late. This disorder has also prevailed at Serampore and its neighbouring villages, but not with much violence. Those patients to whom we have given medicine in the early stage of the disease have recovered ; and we are happy to say that, by *our appointing a Physician, and rendering medical assistance, many lives have been saved.* Two days since, a patient of the Boistub cast was found lying helpless on Joogul Uddies Ghaut at Serampore, and we immediately sent our doctor to afford him relief ; and on his giving the poor man some medicine, he recovered on the third day."

The following circumstance demonstrates the good effects of the friendly interference of Europeans in India, in preventing Hindoo cruelty to the sick :—“A bearer who had lived for a long time in a family was taken ill, and was on the point of being carried to the banks of the river, for the purpose of being given over to the care of the Ganges to be conveyed to heaven. Before he was taken away, he requested to be allowed to speak to his old mistress ; and, on being taken to her, he begged her to interfere to procure for him a respite of three days. On her speaking, some remarks were made by his friends, as *to the expense which would be incurred, if they were to comply with this request !* His mistress promised to pay all the expense that might be incurred ; and the result was, that the man, who was so near death five or six years ago, is now alive in Calcutta in the execution of his business.”*

A missionary writes on the Ganges :—

“Two or three days ago, I witnessed a scene more shocking than any I ever saw in this place. A poor weaver was brought, and cast into the river, with a pan full of water tied round his waist to make him sink ; but the stream was shallow, and he was taken out, *after being in the water a day and a night.* Hearing of the circumstance, I went to him, and found the poor man only affected with rheumatic pains. I had him brought to my house, and hope he will be restored to health. What adds to the horror of this narration, is, that the perpetrators of this intended murder were the mother and brother of the unhappy Hindoo !”

The following letter from a native was addressed to the late Rev. W. Bampton, at Juggernaut, and shews the acceptable-

* Beng. Hurk., Aug. 1823. Asi. Journ., March 1824.

ness of kind attention to the Hindoos in sickness. The original now lies before the Author:—

“Most worth

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you that I am Sick by the fever this for cannot stand nor walk neither Rise from slip, but pass yesterday at Evening here did you order if will you go to-morrow then I will give you some physic, and I cannot go for my misfortune and did not Cure, therefore I pray before you I am very poor man and orphan So Gracious Grant me grace to aboid from this fever and always to be nourished as any Room. I am Sir your Most obedient humble Servant Fukeerchunder Doss.”

“It is pleasant to my feelings,” says a late resident in India, in a letter dated Salisbury, May, 1828, “that I have ever been made the instrument of delivering any of the Hindoos from such horrid deaths. It used to cost me about three rupees a month for medicine. I always found them willing to take it; and in many instances they came to our house for it, so that my husband has been called up twice in a night, to administer medicine to the sick. When we have gone out an hour in the morning, we have frequently found three or four in the verandah waiting our return; but these natives had been accustomed to receive medicine from the Mission family. The Mission House at Serampore has always been, and still is, an asylum for the sick and distressed. Mrs. M—— is quite a nursing mother to the natives. When I left India, our brethren had a fine boy under their care, that was found by the river side, left there to perish, but was taken up by a Christian woman, and put into the Bengalee school. He has since been educated in the college, and is now preaching the gospel to his countrymen. I wish I had property, I would establish a Humane Society for the sick in India, and again administer medicine to them myself. I hope I shall meet many of them in a better world, where medicine will not be needed. My heart’s desire and prayer to God for them is that they may be saved.”*

The following is from a Native Paper in Calcutta, the *Chundrika*.—

“The city of Calcutta is gradually increasing in size, by which its residents and visitors are subjected to a proportionate degree of convenience and comfort. The comforts have been increased by new roads and tanks; by the Strand ghauts; by the facilities for burning the dead; by contrivances to allay the dust; by the appointment of the Police Committee, and of Native juries. These are the acts of Government; but the remedies against

* See also G. B. Repos. Ap. 1829, p. 157.

disease remain without improvement. The Native Hospital, and that at Guranhatta, possess no conveniences suited to the prejudices of the Natives. The Native Hospital is at the Chandnee-choke, in the European part of the town, and its arrangements prevent men of cast and respectability, from availing themselves of it; its benefits are therefore confined to bheestees (water carriers) and musalchees (flambeau carriers) of Gentlemen, and to those who are brought thither by the police. Every one knows that this city contains thousands of poor strangers, of all ranks, without wealth, connexion, or friends, who when afflicted with disease, fly from the city, and receiving medicine, and the prescribed regimen elsewhere, recover: but *some die on the road, and many perish for want of two pice worth of medicine.* Those who live from hand to mouth cannot obtain proper food or medicine, and for them there is no relief. Those who have no attendance, and no means of obtaining medicine, perish of course by hundreds in the city. We hear that the governors of the Hindoo College, propose to establish an Hospital in its vicinity, the expense of which, will be partly defrayed from the funds received for the instruction of students. English medicines will be obtained from the Company's Dispensary, and other medicines will be prepared on the spot. The rich, the liberal, the compassionate in this city, will be able to raise something by way of subscription for it. Should the plan be carried into effect, the control of the Institution will be divided between English and Native Gentlemen, and the medical students of the College will perform its duties, under the instruction of skilful physicians. Hindoo and Brahmun attendants will be appointed, whereby, men of rank and respectability will be enabled to resort to it for medicine, and proper food, and thus save their lives. The practice of English Physicians, which is now held in such high repute, will thus be imparted to students and widely diffused over the country."*

These statements admit of abundant confirmation.

Colonel Dow, in his "*History of Hindostan*," has a section entitled, "A Plan for restoring Bengal to its former prosperity;" in which he says,—"All religions must be tolerated in Bengal, except in the practice of *some inhuman customs, which the Mahomedans have already in a great measure destroyed.* We must not permit young widows in their virtuous enthusiasm to throw themselves on the funeral pile of their dead husbands; nor the sick and aged to be drowned when their friends despair of their lives. These are particular usages, established by time into a law, which our humanity must destroy. Let no women burn themselves with their husbands, or dying persons be exposed by their friends. To leave the Natives to their own laws, would be to consign them to anarchy and confusion."†

"The removal," says the late Rev. W. Ward, "of the dying to the banks of the Ganges,—the voluntary immolations at places the resort of pilgrims,—and the burning of widows alive, entail so much misery on the Hindoos, that *every humane heart is rent in pieces, whenever these horrid practices*

* Asi. Journ., May 1830, p. 10.

† Vol. iii. pp. 128—143.

are brought into public notice. The great success which has attended the benevolent exertions of Government, in certain cases, encourages us to hope that the hand of mercy will, sooner or later, heal the wounds of a country, bleeding at every pore from the fangs of superstition. These cruelties can have so little sanction from any form of religion, are so abhorrent to every humane feeling, and have in some instances been prevented with so much ease, that one can scarcely forbear wishing, that *more may be done to prevent such plain violations of the duties men owe to themselves and to society.*"*

The Rev. J. H. Hough, Chaplain on the Madras Establishment, in his "*Reply to the Abbe Dubois,*" demonstrates the facility of the suppression of Hindoo cruelties:—"I maintain that the abolition of every practice that outrages the feelings and sympathies of human nature, and of which British law would take cognizance, would tend to confirm our political power in the East. It might alienate the minds of the interested few who profit by these immolations; but it would conciliate the bulk of the Natives, and attach them more cordially to our Government. Remove every barbarous superstition that paralyses the affections of the soul, and you will instantly perceive the feelings of humanity begin to revive. Each cord entwined about the heart will soon vibrate to the sounds of parental, filial, and fraternal love; and even the Hindoo, no longer a misanthrope, or deaf and blind to the claims of society, shall own and rejoice in the relative ties by which man is bound to man. The gratitude with which the Rajpoot mothers presented at the feet of Colonel Walker the children preserved through his humane perseverance; the conduct of the widow, rescued from the funeral pile at Chicacole, towards her benefactress, and the subsequent behaviour of her relatives, are alone sufficient to vindicate the Hindoos' claims to the feelings of humanity, and to shew that these anticipations will, in all human probability, be realized, when the obstructions that now prevent the exercise of those feelings shall be done away."[†]

"As to the practicability of suppressing this wretched practice," says the Rev. S. Sutton, late Missionary in Bengal, "I am scarcely capable of giving an opinion. Every Indian custom appears so gigantic in its nature, and is so firmly imbedded in the affections of the people, that human means appear but little in opposing it. Two measures may be

* *View of the Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 284.

† *Hough's Reply to the Abbe Dubois*, p. 282.

pointed out which are certainly lawful in themselves, and which can be immediately put into execution without the aid of the civil power. The first is, small pamphlets might be written on the subject, in English and the native languages, and these should be extensively circulated among Europeans and Hindoos; by this means a spirit of inquiry will probably arise, and it will become a matter of public discussion. The second measure is the one you have alluded to, namely, *a Humane Society*. I have known many cases where individual benevolence has been extended towards lepers, and others, who have been left to perish; but, if *a general Society could be formed, for this object, in the metropolis of British India, it would soon extend its ramifications to all parts of the empire, and, the victims snatched from the jaws of destruction by its influence would richly repay its labours.*"

The Editor of the Christian Observer remarks, respecting the sanguinary rites of the Hindoo, "They are of a nature too criminal to be permitted under any regular government. It is impossible to regard, without horror, the murders and atrocities which are openly practised in India under the name of religion. These are practices which come under the designation of enormous crimes, and ought not to exist under a British Government, and which it might be proved, that Government have it in their power easily and safely to suppress."^{*}

The late C. Grant, Esq., in a letter written Sep. 1811, has thus expressed himself on this subject; "I would not be understood to imply, that the British Government has done all that it might and ought to do, in relation to the horrid superstition (the worship of Juggernaut) in question. *I conceive that, as a Government, we might and should forbid all immolation of human victims, or sacrifice in any mode of human life; and that without using compulsion, or violating the toleration allowed to the Hindoos.* It might do far more than it has yet done for the safe and gradual introduction and diffusion of Gospel light in India—the only effectual cure for all the deplorable evils of idolatry and immorality which exist there. It has long been an interesting subject to me, and I regret I have not been able to render more service to a cause which, well understood, ought to be supported by the Politician and the Christian, since it is recommended by the soundest dictates of policy, as well as by the infinitely higher considerations of true religion."[†]

* Mar. 1813. † Review of Pilgrim Tax in India, Bap. Mag., April 1828.

The late Hon. J. H. Harrington, Member of Council, Calcutta, in a highly interesting document relative to the Suttee, justly observes ; " As far as the New Regulation (enforced at Saugur by a military guard) opposed an established usage, originating in superstition, it may be considered a precedent for prohibiting and punishing other inhuman practices of a superstitious nature. As I have never heard of any resistance being offered, or objection made to the execution of the penal law above mentioned, I cannot but think it affords some ground of presumption, that other superstitious and inhuman practices, such particularly as the Suttee sacrifice, though sanctioned in a certain degree by the shastra and by popular opinion, might be suppressed by a legislative enactment with equal safety and success."*

Lord Teignmouth, in his interesting pamphlet before quoted, proves the humane and beneficial influence of the British Government in India, in abolishing various customs opposed to sound reason and the true interests of the people.† " Usages originating in Hindoo superstition, and customs of immemorial prescription, have been discountenanced by the British administration in Bengal ; whilst the laws of the Mahomedans,‡ which derive their authority from the Koran, have been modified or altered in various instances. In trial for murder, the Mahomedan law officers are required to deliver their opinions, according to the doctrines of certain learned expositors of the law named in the regulations ; but, as these expositors admit many distinctions as to the mode of committing murder, the British Government has enacted, (Reg. 9, A. D. 1793, S. 75,) that no regard shall be paid to these distinctions ; but the intention of the criminal, and not the manner or instrument of perpetration, shall constitute the rule for determining the punishment. The Mahomedan law considers, *the religious persuasion of witnesses as a bar to the conviction or condemnation of a prisoner*, or, in other words, rejects the testimony of Hindoos. The British Government has most justly abrogated a distinction calculated to defeat the ends of public justice. A person deliberately

* See Par. Papers, on the Suttee, July 1825, vol. v. pp. 8—18.

† pp. 23—38.

‡ The late Sir Thomas Munro, very forcibly observed ;—" No modification can make the Mahomedan criminal law good for any thing ; it ought to be abolished, and our own substituted. For whom is this law preserved ? There is not one Mahomedan for twenty Hindoos ; nor was the law ever administered worse than among that small portion." Asi. Jour., March 1830, p. 232. AUTH.

intending to murder one individual, and accidentally killing another, is not, by the Mahomedan law, held liable to the punishment of murder. The Regulations, in opposition to this rule, declare the homicide under such circumstances murder, and the punishment death. A murderer, though fully convicted, might escape the punishment due to his crime, by *obtaining pardon of, or from a compromise with, such heirs of the deceased as were entitled to demand retaliation.* According to an exposition of the Mahomedan law, a father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, wilfully murdering their child or grandchild, or any person of whom their child or grandchild may be heirs, cannot suffer death by the law of *Kissaas** (Retaliation); nor can such a sentence be passed against a master for the murder of his slave, appropriated by his owners to the service of the public, nor against a person wilfully killing another at the desire of the party slain, &c. The Governor in Council has declared to all Hindostan, 'the law of retaliation, in these and similar instances, repugnant to the principles of public justice.'"

The influence of the British magistrate in India, in suppressing Hindoo cruelties, is very strikingly displayed in the abolition of self-murder at Allahabad.† The Asiatic Journal for August, 1827, contains the following statement:—"A horrid form of self-murder has happily been put down by a Regulation of the Government, and the wise and firm application of it, by the present truly worthy judge and magistrate of Allahabad, Mr. Colvin, who said, he had not suffered any one to drown himself at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna. He has declared that, if any one aids another, either with a boat, or assists in tying on the earthen pots, or helps the individual to throw himself into the river, the person or persons so acting shall be regarded as accessory to the murder and dealt with accordingly. An instance of this self-drowning, Mr. C. said, had not occurred since he had had the government of Allahabad; nor will he suffer these or any other cruelties, which he has power to prevent. We rejoice to state

* The Mahomedan law considers the act as a private injury; not a public wrong.

† The nature of the rite is thus described:—"Two Mahratta women had travelled to Allahabad from a great distance, to devote themselves to the Ganges. In vain did the missionary attempt to convince them of the delusion and wickedness of their purpose. After worshipping the river, these women entered a boat, with three others of the same cast; they most unfeelingly tied two earthen jars, filled with water, round the waist of each to make them sink, and saw them perish in the stream!" (Miss. Papers, 1823.)

that this is the judgment of all the judges and magistrates with whom we have had intercourse, in the different Districts; this, in connexion with the fact, that the shackles of cast, and Brahminical domination, are much and obviously weakening, is a subject of sincere congratulation to the friends of humanity and piety."

Let Britain pursue the work of meliorating the state of society in India, until every custom opposed to the principles of humanity and justice shall be abolished. In what is here stated much has been done for the real welfare of India. 'O si sic omnia!'

But to turn from India: it is highly gratifying to see the subject of the abolition of human sacrifices in Hindostan, exciting that attention among the members of the Hon. East India Company, which its importance demands. The following is an extract from "The Speech of J. Poynder, Esq., at a General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock, March, 1827," in defence of a Resolution to the following effect;—
"That this Court, taking into consideration the continuance of human sacrifices in India, is of opinion that, in the case of all rites or ceremonies involving the destruction of life, it is the duty of a paternal Government to interpose for their prevention; and therefore recommends to the Honourable Court of Directors, to transmit such Instructions to India, as that Court may deem most expedient for accomplishing this object, consistently with all practicable attention to the feelings of the Natives." This Resolution was carried by a decided majority, only *five* Proprietors (four of whom were Directors), dividing against it. "The object of the motion (said the eloquent Gentleman) now before the Court, is,—To throw the ample shield of British protection, quite as much over every deluded victim who may cast away life as a voluntary sacrifice, as over those who may be sacrificed by force or fraud. Wherever innocuous ceremonies terminate, and blood becomes necessary to the propitiation of 'them that are no gods,' the motion I have the honour to submit will come into action; its broad principle being that, 'IN THE CASE OF ALL RITES INVOLVING THE DESTRUCTION OF LIFE, it is the duty of a paternal Government to interfere for their prevention; ' precisely, as it is the duty of a parent to save a *foolish* as well as a *wise* child from death, whenever it is in his power. God, in his Providence, having armed the British Government, with the *power of saving life in India*; the point for which I contend is, that the Government has a better right to exercise that power, than the victim of superstition

has to resist it; and that it is a greater duty in the Government to preserve its own subjects from destruction, than to suffer them to perish. I contend that the wretched victim of a sanguinary delusion has no more right over his own life, on the score of religion, than he has a right over the lives of his fellow-creatures, upon no better pretext. And that, therefore, the Government which consents to look on, while these deeds of darkness are doing, is in the eye of God and man, a partaker of the guilt of blood." In accordance with these sentiments, the abolition of Ghaut murders is the paramount duty of Britain. The language of the Almighty to Cain is worthy the attention of all Legislators :—" And the **LORD** said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? and he said, I know not: *Am I my brother's keeper?* And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground." Gen. iv. 9, 10.

The numerous facts laid before the reader, demonstrate that the practice of exposing the sick by the Ganges, is of that inhuman and murderous nature which demands the attention of the Legislature. The engraving (placed at the beginning of this book), taken from a Drawing by a Native Artist, shews a few of the superstitious practices connected with the Ganges. Some persons are bathing in its supposed sacred stream; others are procuring and carrying away its water for holy purposes. But **DEATH** is the chief subject of the Engraving, which displays some of the miserable delusions, under which the millions of our Hindoo fellow-subjects leave the world. The man on the couch has been brought down to breathe his last on the borders of the river, while a Brahmun is offering him its waters: the women are probably the wives of the dying man come to witness this scene. On the right hand is a Temple, before the door of which, another miserable man has been laid, there to breathe out his soul in the presence of his **Idol**.

Even the light of nature is opposed to the practice of human sacrifices, and hence the abolition of them by certain civilized States before the Christian era. The Romans, prior to the establishment of Christianity, exerted their influence to abolish human sacrifices; and Britain is indebted to them, as the precursors of that civilization, consequent upon the propagation of the Gospel in this country. And shall not Christian Britain emulate the humane example of Pagan Rome? Shall Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse,* nearly 500 years before

* Rollin's Ancient History, vol. i. p. 10.

Christ, stipulate with the Carthaginians, as an article of peace, to abolish human sacrifices; and shall not Britain—

“Whom grateful Afric worships; and whose name
Poor crouching Asia dreads,”

through every part of Hindostan, proclaim deliverance to them who are “drawn unto death, and ready to be slain ?” Reason, consistency, and the experience of past ages, require this service for the common interests of humanity. The blood of Infanticides—of Ghaut murders—of Pilgrims led by British connection with idolatry to its shrines, have long cried to Britain; and “their cries have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.” Britain, awake! “Put on judgment as a robe and a diadem.” “Do justly and love mercy.” “Let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.”

The suppression of these cruelties is demanded of Britain. They outrage ‘the inviolable obligations of justice and humanity.’* Locke, in his “*Letters on Toleration*,” clearly defines the religious observances, with which the civil magistrates can and cannot interfere.—“The magistrate ought not to forbid the preaching or professing of speculative opinions in any church, because they have no relation to the civil rites of the subject; for it does not belong to the magistrate, to make use of his sword in punishing every thing indifferently, which he takes to be a sin against God. His post is only to take care that the Commonwealth receive no prejudice, and that there be no injury done to any man in life and state. You will say, ‘If some congregations have a mind to sacrifice infants, or practise any other such heinous enormities, is the magistrate obliged to tolerate them, because they are committed in a religious assembly ?’ No. These things are not lawful in the ordinary course of life, nor in any private house, and therefore neither are they so in the worship of God.”†

* Bruja Mohun, a Bengalee, in his “*Strictures on the present System of Hindoo Polytheism*,” has the following just remarks:—“With the view of obtaining Gunga, you, at midnight, in the month of January, dip your aged and afflicted parents in the river and *thereby murder them*. The weather is then so cold, and the wind so bleak, that were you to submerge a healthful youth into the river, his death would be no matter of surprise. You drink the water of a peculiar spot, and anoint your body with dirt and mud brought from particular places, and esteem these acts holy—we do not. To burn defenceless women, *murder an aged father and mother by immersing them in water*, you esteem holy;—we esteem these deeds unholy.” (Friend of India, Dec. 1820, pp. 267, 290.)

† Locke’s Works, vol. ii. pp. 368—370. See Par. Papers on Hindoo Immolations, July 1825, vol. iv. p. 21.

The abolition of human sacrifices of every kind would raise the tone of humane and intellectual feeling in India, and attach her to Britain, 'as a benefactor indissolubly endeared by the triumphs of our mercy.'

And shall British India lie at the mercy of the hydra of idolatry; to whom thousands are annually sacrificed on its sanguinary altars? Shall no cry of "Murder! murder!"—no cry of "Mercy! mercy!" be heard? Oh yes! a cry is heard—it increases—it is understood—and the inhabitants of Britain, aided by other Christian countries, are seen rising to rescue the victims of superstition, and direct them to the cross of Christ! Christianity is the only adequate remedy for the miseries of India, and of the world. Let the messengers of mercy, bearing "Glad tidings of great joy to all people," be despatched to every part of India, and of the East; and let these efforts be accompanied with fervent prayer for the effusion of the Spirit of God, and his "way shall be known upon earth, his saving health among all nations." How numerous the blessings which follow in the train of Christianity! Behold the Hindoo "a new creature in Christ Jesus."

"On Guilt's dark brow her glittering cross appears,
His sullied cheek is wash'd with pious tears;
And Ganges, hallow'd still for holier ends,
Death stream no more, his wave baptismal lends."*

To adopt the language of the late C. Grant, Esq., referring to the other European nations who have held possessions in the East;—"It remains for us to shew how we shall be distinguished from these nations† in the history of mankind; whether conquest shall have been in our hands the means, not merely of displaying a Government unequalled in India for administrative justice, kindness, and moderation; not merely of increasing the security of the subject, and the prosperity of the country, but of advancing social happiness—of meliorating the moral state of men,—and of extending a superior light, farther than the Roman eagle ever flew. In success lies our safety, not our danger. Our danger must lie in pursuing, from ungenerous ends, a course contracted and illiberal;—but in following an opposite course—in communicating light, knowledge, and improvement, we shall obey the dictates of duty, of philanthropy, and of policy. We shall take the most rational means to remove inherent, great disorders—to attach the Hindoo people to ourselves—to en-

* Wringham's Poem on the Restoration of learning in the East, 1805.

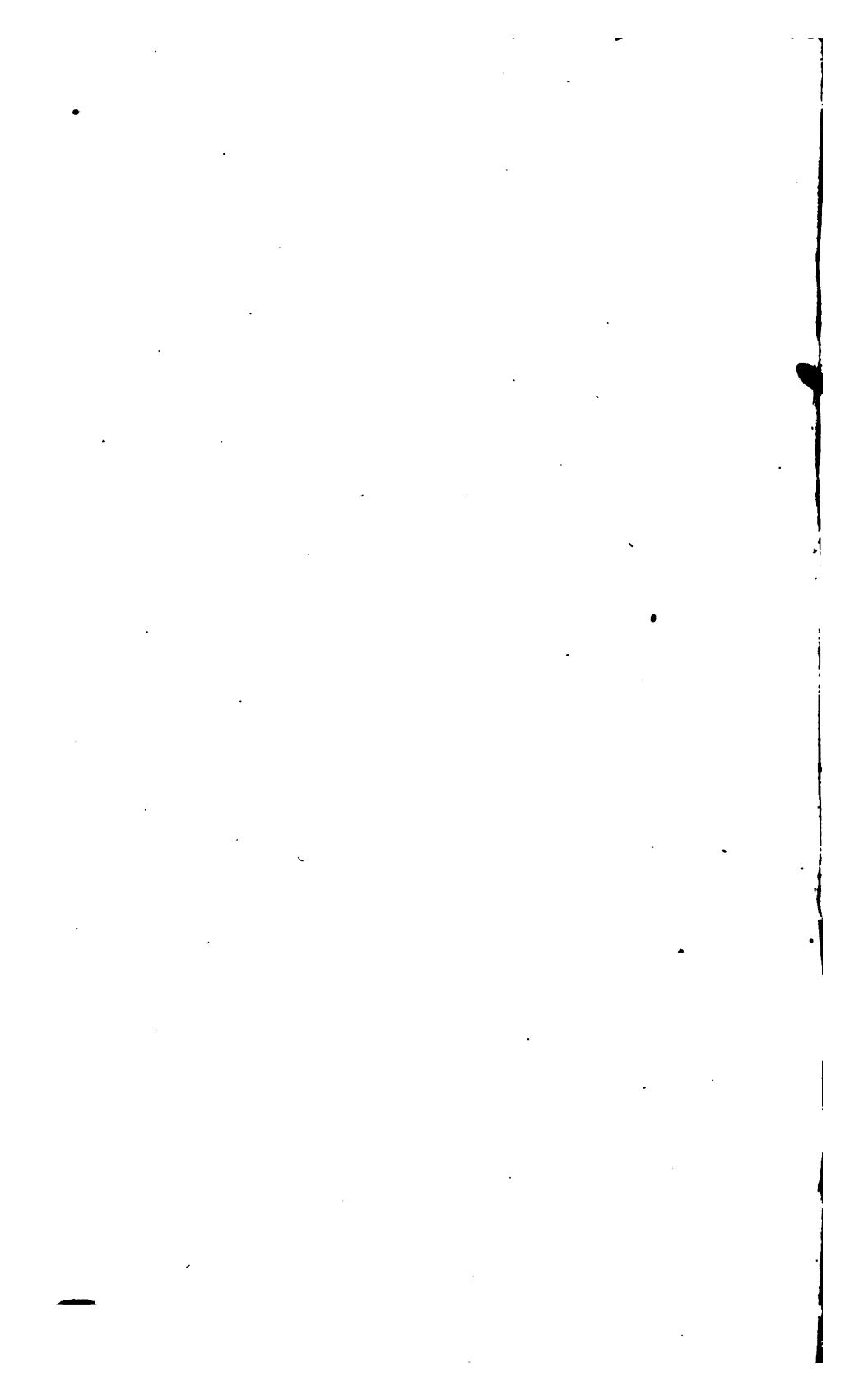
† Portuguese, French, and Dutch, in India.



BURNING A HINDOO WIDOW.

BURYING ALIVE A HINDOO WIDOW.





BOOK IV.

S U T T E E S.

CHAP. I.

Introductory remarks—origin—nature—number—cause of former prevalence in Bengal—and atrocity of Suttees.

THE abolition of the cruel custom of Suttee, or the burning and burying alive of Hindoo widows, by the British Government in India, is an event which confers the highest honour upon the country and the age which gave it birth. The first Regulation relative to this humane and magnanimous object, was issued by Lord William Bentinck, Governor General of India, Dec. 4, 1829; a similar Regulation was adopted by the Madras Government, Feb. 2, 1830; and before the close of the year, the Bombay Government followed the same example. The philanthropist will eagerly inquire, ‘Has this practice ceased in every part of the Presidencies of British India,—in the tributary, allied, and independent States of Hindostan,—and in all the eastern Islands? Does this hydra of superstition still revel upon human blood?’ Next in order, to placing upon historic record, the nature and extent of the Suttee, and the success of the measures adopted for its suppression in India, it will be the object of this book, to shew the present state of this practice, and the propriety and facility of prosecuting its annihilation wherever it exists.

Suttee* is the name given in India to a woman who immolates herself on the funeral pile of her husband, or is buried alive with his body, and denotes that the female is considered faithful to him, even unto death; the term is also applied to the rite itself. Diodorus Siculus, who twice refers to the practice of Suttee, in the 103rd and 106th Olympiad, B. C.

* “*Suttee.* From *sut*, good, chaste, pure, &c.,—a woman who burns herself on her husband’s funeral pile, that being thought an irrefragable proof of her chastity.” Dr. Carey’s Beng. Dict.

327 and 314 years, supposes the practice to have originated in the unfaithfulness of the women to their husbands, and their taking them off by mixing deadly plants with their food. "This wicked practice," says he, "increasing, and many falling victims to it, and the punishment of the guilty not serving to deter others from the commission of the crime, a law was passed, that wives should be burned with their deceased husbands, except such as were pregnant and had children; and that any individual who refused to comply with this law should be compelled to remain a widow, and be for ever excluded from all rights and privileges, as guilty of impiety. This measure being adopted, it followed that the abominable disposition to which the wives were addicted was converted into an opposite feeling. For, in order to avoid that climax of disgrace, every wife being obliged to die, they not only took all possible care of their husband's safety, but emulated each other in promoting his glory and renown."* Strabo is of the same opinion.† Mandello, a German, who witnessed a Suttee at Cambay, in 1638, accounts for the rise of this singular custom in the same manner.‡

"The origin of the custom," says an intelligent Magistrate in India, "will most probably be found in the voluntary sacrifice of a widow, inconsolable for the loss of her husband, and who resolved to accompany him on the funeral pile; not with any idea that such an act could be acceptable to the gods, or any way beneficial for herself in a future existence; but solely because her affection to the deceased made her regard life as a burden no longer to be borne. The example of this heroine, if it remained the only incentive to Suttee, would have been rarely followed; but it of course excited admiration as a novelty; and in a short time the Brahmuns began to perceive, that, if properly managed, Suttee might be made a productive source of emolument;§ and the most esteemed

* Lib. xix. c. 32, 33. † Geogr. lib. xv. See Asi. Jour., May 1827.

‡ Asi. Jour., Jan. 1823. A practice resembling the Suttee exists among the Yarribanians, in Africa, and its origin is very similarly accounted for. Ecc. Rev., May 1832, p. 378.

§ The expense of the Suttee witnessed by the author at Cuttack, in Aug. 1824, was, according to the pundit, as follows:—"Ghee, three rupees; cloth, one rupee; the woman's new cloth, two rupees and a half; wood three rupees; Adawlut pundit, three rupees; the woman gave one rupee for some purpose; rice, one anna; hemp, four annas; haldee, one anna; mateeanlet, chundun, doop, cocoa nut, one anna one pice; carrier, five annas; musicians, half a rupee; paring nails, four annas; cutting wood, three annas; total, fifteen rupees, five annas, three pice. Intended shradda (funeral feast), fifteen or twenty rupees."

authors of the age were induced to recommend it as a most meritorious act, productive of good effects to the soul of the widow and her husband, and to those of the surviving members of their families : they also prescribed forms and ceremonies, in which the attendance of Brahmuns was of course indispensable. Menu, and the most ancient and respectable writers, do not notice Suttee; it was therefore, in their time, either unknown or not approved.”*

Various detailed accounts of Suttees have been communicated to the public through the publications of Missionary Societies, the eight volumes of Parliamentary Papers on Hindoo Immolations, and the Newspapers and Periodicals of the Presidencies in India. A few instances only of the nature of this inhuman rite are here given.

The “Friend of India,” for Sep. 1824, published at Serampore, contains an account of a Suttee at Cuttack, in Orissa, which the Author and some of his friends witnessed.

“On August 19, 1824, this place was defiled with innocent blood. About twelve o’clock the Judge sent a note to the Mission House, informing us of the intended Suttee. The woman was a Telinga, the wife of a Brahman who had died that morning about daybreak. Her reply to the several questions proposed to her through the Telinga interpreter was, ‘What have I any more to do with the world? I must go to my husband.’ Support for life, and a conveyance to her own home, were offered, but they were rejected. From my pundit I have gathered some particulars which cast light upon this dreadful rite. He stated, that it is customary to lament the dead with crying and noise, but she did not; saying she was going to her husband. She said, she was a stranger and had nothing, and therefore desired the neighbours to provide what was necessary for a Suttee. She said also that she had been a Suttee in *three former births*, and must be so *four times more*, and then she should attain endless felicity. Those who should dare to prevent her, by confining her in a house or jail, their seed should die, and they should descend into hell. Some approved of this; others said, that as she had no son nor daughter therefore she wished to die. To this she replied, she had a brother and sister; and in her own country many friends, but she wished to go to her husband. From joog to joog (age to age), in this manner, with the same husband, she was to be born and die.

“About half-past three o’clock she proceeded to the pile. I was then too unwell to venture out. Mrs. P. saw her on the way and talked with her. About six o’clock in the evening I went to the spot, expecting the tragical business to be closed. I was, however, surprised to find nothing more done than the pile partly prepared. The Judge and three other gentlemen, with some of our English congregation, were present, and a great number of Natives. Frequent and persevering efforts were made by the above gentlemen to dissuade her from her purpose, assisted by the members of the Mission who were present. She was sitting near the pile, with the corpse of her husband covered with a cloth lying near her. I knew two

* Par. Papers on the Immolation of Hindoo Widows, 1821, vol. i. p. 231.

Telinga Brahmuns present, and, taking them, endeavoured to speak to the woman. I told her, I was a Padree; that God had sent me and others to teach the people the true Incarnation, Jesus Christ, who died for our sins: that if she would go with me to my house, she would be able to learn this knowledge; and that I would send her in a palkee to her own country: but if she now ate fire and died, how could she gain this knowledge, without which she could not be saved? I told her, thus to destroy herself was not God's will. I fear my translators were not faithful; but all the poor woman said was, 'Narayun, Narayun.' This she repeated with a stupidity of mind truly indescribable. Mr. B., one of the gentlemen present, was desirous to convince her, by some ordeal, that she could not burn; but the infatuated woman played with a piece of fire like a child, and when her hand was pressed upon a coal she shewed no resolution. He lifted up one of her eye-lids, and affirmed that she was *intoxicated!* This was stated to the Judge, and urged as a sufficient reason to forbid the horrid murder; but he thought it wanted evidence, and hesitated to use his authority to save her.

"The pile, which was slowly preparing, was about eight feet long, four feet wide, and about two feet high. At each corner was a piece of wood, which supported the roof; three sides of the pile were blocked up. Raw flax was laid on the wood, upon which the corpse was placed. Ghee was forbidden to be put on the pile by the Judge, that the woman might have the opportunity to escape, by feeling the effects of the fire gradually. As she had been touched by several persons after her bathing, she went to the river and bathed again. I saw her enter the pile as a person would get into bed, and lay herself down by the left side of her husband, and farthest from the entrance of the pile. The wood under the corpse, after a short time, burned fiercely; and it was horrible to see it consuming the head and elevated stiffened hand of the deceased, while the woman was scarcely touched by the devouring element. I stopped about a quarter of an hour hoping the unhappy sufferer might labour to escape; but, alas! no signs of it appeared; and, after viewing the burning of the dead and the living, till my feelings, and concern for my health, determined me to go away, I left the horrid circle and hastened home. All such outrages upon the principles of society are unnatural and inhuman, and, when said to be from religious motives, a species of insanity; and hence may properly be suppressed by the powerful voice of reason and authority."

The following description of a Suttee was communicated, from the temple of Juggernaut in Orissa, in July 1824, by the Author's colleague, the late Rev. W. Bampton:—

"The infatuated woman, whose death I witnessed, was the widow of a Brahmun, who had died in the morning. The man's age was about forty, and the woman's thirty-five. The place where the Suttee took place was called Swurgu Dwar, which signifies the gate of heaven; and when I reached it, I found the coolies employed in digging the hole, which was circular, about six feet deep; its diameter at bottom perhaps a little less than its depth, and at top twice as much. Soon after my arrival, about twelve persons came, each bringing a load of wood on his or her head. I charged them with being accessory to the crime about to be committed; the general reply was, they worked for money, and did this as they did other work, because they were paid for it. Carelessness or cheerfulness characterized all the Hindoos near or on the spot. The pit being finished, a quantity of water was mixed with cow-dung and sprinkled on the margin

about one-third of the way down; two ropes were also well wetted with the same mixture. Inquiring the use of two bamboos which lay near, I was told, *that they were to stir the fire and turn about the bodies!* The bits of wood prepared for the occasion were between twelve and eighteen inches long, and, on an average, five or six in circumference; a quantity of them were thrown into the pit, and a man at the bottom proceeded to set them up on their ends, two or three thick round the sides; upon this he placed a second tier; and on the second, a third; he also covered the bottom perhaps five or six inches thick, so that the pit was now two-thirds lined with wood. Soon after all was finished, the dead man was brought on a rough bier, which I suppose might have been made in less than a quarter of an hour. I soon saw the procession (if it may be called one), halting a few hundred yards before me: the crowd was kept off the woman by a square, made of four pieces of wood, five or six feet long. The rabble was preceded by some of their rude music. Unwilling to see her burn herself, my worthy companions, Lieut. W. and T. B. Esq., tried several times to prevent the horrid deed, and I lent my feeble assistance, but all to no purpose. They halted twenty or thirty yards from the flaming pit, where the last effort was made, and, that failing, her coadjutors gave her a lighted lamp, which I think she put into an earthen pot under her arm. In a little time all was confusion, and a scene, the most perfectly hellish was presented; a way was made for the woman to the pit, and its margin was left clear; she advanced to the edge facing her husband, and two or three times waved her right hand; she then hastily walked round the pit; having completed the circle, she again waved her hand as before, and then jumped into the fire * * * * *

"At this moment I believe the drums beat, and an infernal shout rent the air, but I can scarcely say I know;—all was confusion. A dense smoke issued from the pit, intermixed with partial bursts of flame, occasioned by quantities of powdered resin thrown into the pit by handfuls. In a little time the fire was allowed to clear itself, and we saw the wretched woman in the midst of it: I think her posture was that of sitting on her heels; she sometimes moved gently backward and forward, as if she bowed. The poor creature still kept an erect posture; but at length seemed partially to rise, and pitched forward with her head against the side of the pit. The motion of her head, in this position, indicated pain, and she continued to live two or three minutes longer. The gentlemen then went home, but I stayed a little longer and saw the bodies taken out; for, though the women are burnt in these pits, the bodies are taken out while they are distinguishable, and consumed in two different fires (at least this is the case here), and we are told it is done, that *the son may make sure of some fragments of both his parents to be thrown into the Ganges*. Now the ropes came into use; one was doubled and the middle thrown down to catch the man's chin, one or two bamboo levers were put under his head to raise it, and get the rope round his neck; the rope was then twisted in order to fasten it, and they began to draw, but they failed, for the rope slipped. Another man then attempted to fasten the rope; he succeeded, and they drew up the body, with the exception, I think, of the legs; but it was quite dark, and nothing could be seen but by the light of the fire. They then tried to raise the woman, but could not easily get the rope round her neck, so they put it on her arm, which projected in such a way as to favour their doing so; and, after twisting it well, they drew her nearly to the top of the pit: but they seemed afraid that they should lose her again, if they trusted entirely to her arm, so she was held just below the edge of the pit till another man put the other rope under her chin, and she was then drawn up! Some of

the people employed themselves in arranging the wood for the fires to consume the bodies, and I stayed perhaps ten minutes longer, finally leaving the bodies on the brink of the pit. Such are the facts, and I leave them to produce their proper effect."

The account of the Suttee represented in the engraving, is from the pen of the Rev. J. England, of Bangalore, under the Madras Presidency, in June 1826.

"I received a note from a gentleman that a *Suttee* was about to take place near his house. On hastening to the spot, I found the preparations considerably advanced, and a large concourse of spectators assembled. On my left stood the horrid pile; it was [an oblong bed of dry cow-dung cakes, about ten feet long, seven wide, and three high. At each corner of it, a rough stake, about eight feet in length, was driven into the ground, and about a foot from the top of these supporters was fastened, by cords, a frame of the same dimensions as the bed, and forming a canopy. This frame must have been of considerable weight; it was covered with very dry small faggots, which the officiating Brahmuns continued to throw upon it, till they rose two feet above the frame-work. On my right, sat the poor deluded widow, who was to be the victim of this heart-rending display of Hindoo *purity and gentleness*; she was attended by a dozen or more Brahmuns; her mother, sister, and *son* (an interesting boy about three years of age), and other relatives were also with her. *Her own infant, not twelve months old, was craftily kept from her by the Brahmuns.* She had already performed a number of preparatory ceremonies; one of which was washing herself in a strong decoction of saffron, which is supposed to have a purifying effect. It imparted to her a horrid ghastliness;—her eyes indicated a degree of melancholy wildness; an unnatural smile now and then played on her countenance: and every thing about her person and her conduct indicated that *narcotics* had been administered in no small quantities. Close by me stood the *Fousdar*, a native officer, who, besides regulating the police, is the chief military officer of the station. So heartily did he engage in this murderous work, that he gave the poor widow twenty pagodas (between six and seven pounds sterling), to confirm her resolution to be burned!"

"The Rev. Mr. Campbell addressed her in the Carnatic language, but the effect of his address was counteracted by the influence of the Brahmuns. The pile being completed, a quantity of straw was spread on the top. An increase of activity was soon visible among the men, whose '*feet are swift to shed blood*.' Muntrams having been repeated over the pile, and the woman and every thing being in readiness, the hurdle to which the corpse of the husband had been fastened was now raised by six of the officiating Brahmuns; the end of a cord about two yards long, attached at the other end to the head of the bier, was taken by the widow, and the whole moved slowly towards the pile. The corpse was laid on the right side, and four men furnished with sharp swords, one stationed at each corner, now drew them from their scabbards. The trembling, ghastly offering to the Moloch of Hindoism, then began her *seven circuits* round the fatal pile, and finally halted opposite to her husband's corpse, at the left side of it, where she was evidently greatly agitated. Five or six Brahmuns began to talk to her with much vehemence, till, in a paroxysm of desperation, assisted by the Brahmuns, the hapless widow ascended the bed of destruction. *Her mother and her sister* stood by, weeping and agonized; but all was in vain—the blood-thirsty men prevailed. The devoted woman then proceeded to disengage the rings from her fingers, wrists,

and ears ; her murderers stretching out their greedy hands to receive them : afterwards all her trinkets, &c., were distributed among the same relentless and rapacious priests. While in the act of taking a ring from her ear, her mother and sister, unable any longer to sustain the extremity of their anguish, went up to the side of the pile, and *entreated that the horrid purpose might be abandoned* ; but the woman fearing the encounter, without uttering a word, or even casting a *parting glance* at her supplicating parent and sister, threw herself down on the pile, and clasped the half-putrid corpse in her arms. Straw in abundance was heaped on the dead and the *living* ; gums, resin, and other inflammable substances were thrown upon the straw which covered the bodies, while muntrams were repeated at their head ; six or eight pieces of kindled cow-dung cake were introduced among the straw, at different parts of the pile ; ghee and inflammable materials were applied, and the whole blazed in as many places. The men with swords at each corner then hacked the cords, which supported the canopy of faggots—it fell and covered the lifeless corpse and the living woman ! A piercing sound caught my ear ; I listened a few seconds, and, notwithstanding the noise of the multitude, heard the shrieks of misery which issued from the burning pile. In an agony of feeling, we directed the attention of the Brahmuns to this ; and, *while so doing*, again—still louder and more piercing than before—the burning woman rent the air with her shrieks ! Several of the Brahmuns called out to the *half-consumed, still conscious and imploring widow, to comfort her* ! The pile was now enveloped in flames, and so intense was the heat, that, as by one consent, the Brahmuns and spectators retreated several paces ; they then sang a Sanscrit hymn ; the hymn ended, but not the shrieks and groans of the agonized sufferer ; *they still pierced our ears, and almost rent our hearts ! Scarcely conscious of what I did, I left this scene of fiendish barbarity.*"

The number of widows who have annually perished, the victims of this appalling superstition, has in former years been variously stated, and it appears (though doubtless undesignedly) exaggerated.* The following information may be relied on, being extracted from the official reports of the Magistrates in India, and printed in England by order of the House of Commons, from 1821 to 1830. It is probable, that Suttees have often been perpetrated, without being officially announced to the police ; and no correct idea can be formed, of the number that occur in the territories of tributary, allied, and independent Chiefs, whose subjects are not under the laws and regulations of the British Government.

The following facts shew that several widows have sometimes been burned with the body of their husband :—

"Goopeenaut, a Brahmun employed in the Serampore printing-office, in

* The first petition in Great Britain, against the practice of Suttee, was from Bedford, in April 1823. In the petition it is stated,—"From official returns it appears that the number immolated, in the Presidency of Calcutta alone, in 1817 and 1818, amounted to upwards of 1500 ; assuming this calculation to be a standard, whereby to judge of the extent of the practice throughout the whole of Hindostan, the total number may be computed at upwards of 20,000 in every year."

1799, saw *twenty-two females* burnt alive with the remains of Ununtu, a Brahmun of Bagnapore, near Nuddeya. This Kooleen Brahmun had more than *a hundred wives*. At the first kindling of the fire only three of these wives had arrived. *The fire was kept burning three days!* On the first day *three* were burnt, on the second and third days *nineteen* more. Some of these women were as much as forty years old, and others as young as sixteen. The first three had lived with the Brahmun, the others had seldom seen him. He married in one house four sisters; two of these were burnt.”*

“When Row Lacka, grandfather of the present chief of Cutch, died, *fifteen concubines* burned at his funeral pile, but not one of his wives performed the sacrifice.”†

In the District of Cuttack, Orissa, in one of the instances of Suttee during the year 1826, “no less than *three* widows of one man, the proprietor of a tributary mehal, sacrificed themselves with his corpse; the fourth and senior widow survives.”‡

Number of Suttees in the different Districts of the Bengal Presidency, from 1815 to 1826.

	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826
Calcutta Div.	244	280	428	533	388	337	364	300	309	348	368	279
Cuttack Ditto	9	9	14	11	33	33	28	28	31	25	30	45
Dacea Ditto	31	24	52	58	55	51	52	45	40	40	101	65
Moorshedabad	11	22	42	30	25	21	12	22	13	14	21	8
Patna Ditto	20	29	49	57	40	42	69	70	49	42	47	65
Bareilly Ditto	13	13	19	13	17	20	15	16	12	10	17	8
Benares Ditto	48	65	103	137	92	93	114	102	121	93	55	48
Total...	378	442	707	839	650	598	653	583	575	572	639	518

Total in the Presidency of Bengal in twelve years 7154

In eight years in the Madras Presidency 287

In nine years in the Bombay Presidency 248

There being no returns for Tanjore, from 1814 to 1819 inclusive
(17 being returned for 1820), lowest possible estimate for six years 40

In the Par. Papers, May 1827, no regular returns are given for
Madras. In the Southern Concan § (Bombay) in 1824, 27; in 1825, 32. Northern Concan in 1825, 1 Suttee 60

Total in twelve years, for the three Presidencies 7789||

As it may be interesting to see at one view the extent of the practice under the Bengal Presidency, where it chiefly prevailed; the following abstract is given from the Parliamentary Papers, March 1830:—

* Buch. Apol. for Christ. in India, pp. 14—16.

† Ham. Hind., vol. i. p. 638. † Par. Papers, 1830, vol. vii. pp. 139, 168.

§ “In the period of four years, 1824 to 1827 inclusive, the total number of Suttees in the returns is stated at 158,—114 of which number occurred in the *Southern Concan* alone, being about *twenty-eight* annually for that Province, and *thirty-nine* annually for the rest of the Bombay territories.”—Asi. Jour., Nov. 1830, p. 143. See Par. Papers, March 1830, p. 269.

|| Par. Papers, 6 vols. Poynder’s Speech, p. 4.

ABSTRACT STATEMENT

Of the number of Hindoo Women burnt or buried alive in the Zillah and City Courts, of the Bengal Presidency, during the year 1826.

ZILLAH AND CITY COURTS.		No. of Suttees	ZILLAH AND CITY COURTS.		No. of Suttees
Burdwan	.....	45	Behar	.....	3
Hooghly	.....	98	Monghyr	.....	..
Jessore	.....	3	City Patna	.....	4
Jungle Meauls	.....	11	Goruckpore	.....	22
Midnapore	.....	14	Ramghur	.....	3
Nugwan	.....	1	Sarun	.....	10
Nuddeah	.....	44	Shahabad	.....	22
Suburbs of Calcutta	.....	35	Tirhoot	.....	1
Twenty-four Per-gunnahs	.....	20	Monghyr	.....	..
Baraset	.....	8	Total	.....	65
Total	.....	279			
Cuttack	Division.	Cuttack Com.	Patna Division.		
Cuttack	.....	10	Agrah	.....	1
Khoordah	.....	35	Allighur	.....	1
Balasore	.....	..	Bareilly	.....	..
Total	.....	45	Sajehanpore	.....	..
Buckergunge	.....	45	Pelibheet	.....	..
Chittagong	.....	1	Cawnpore	.....	2
Noacally	.....	..	Etawah	.....	..
City Dacca	.....	12	Joint ditto	.....	1
Dacca Jelalpore	.....	3	Furruckabad	.....	..
Mymmensing	.....	..	Mooradabad	.....	..
Sylhet	.....	..	Nuggeena	.....	..
Tipperah	.....	4	Meeruth	.....	..
Total	.....	65	Boolundshehur	.....	..
Beerbboom	.....	4	Saharunpore	.....	3
Bhaugulpore	.....	..	Muzuffernugger	.....	..
Monghyr	.....	..	Sirpoorah	.....	..
Dinagepore	.....	..	Bela	.....	..
Maldah	.....	..	Total	.....	8
City Moorshedabad	.....	4			
Purneah	.....	..	Allahabad	.....	3
Rajeshahye	.....	..	Futtehpore	.....	1
Bagoorah	.....	..	Bundlecund, S. Div.	.....	1
Rungpoor	.....	..	Bundlecund, N. Div.	.....	1
Rungpoor Com-mission	.....	..	City Benares	.....	15
Total	.....	8	Ghazeepore	.....	19
			Juanpore	.....	..
			Azimghur	.....	5
			Mirzapore	.....	3
			Total	.....	48
			Grand Total	.....	518

SUTTEES.

ABSTRACT STATEMENT

Exhibiting the Age of the Hindoo Women who have burnt themselves on the Funeral Piles of their Husbands, in the several Districts within the CALCUTTA DIVISION, during the year 1826.*

	100.	90 and upwards.	80 and upwards.	70 and upwards.	60 and upwards.	50 and upwards.	40 and upwards.	30 and upwards.	20 and upwards.	Under 20.	TOTAL.
CALCUTTA DIVISION.											
Burdwan	1	11	3	10	6	6	7	1	45
Hooghly	6	14	23	19	16	10	8	2	98
Jessore	1	1	1	...	...	...	1	3
Jungle Melauls	3	1	...	3	1	2	...	1	11
Midnaspore	2	6	2	...	2	3	...	...	14
Nugwan	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Nuddeah	1	2	7	8	11	6	8	1	44
Suburbs of Calcutta	...	1	1	9	9	2	6	4	3	35	
Twenty-four Pergunnahs	4	2	7	3	4	...	20	
Baraset	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	...	8
Total.	...	1	14	35	50	54	47	38	32	8	279
CUTTACK COMMISSION.											
Cuttack	1	1	...	...	...	4	4	4	10
Khoordah	1	...	...	6	4	17	1	36
Bakashore
Total.	1	2	...	6	6	8	21	1	45

* Pur. Papers, vol. vii. 1830, pp. 208, 209.

The cause of *the former principal prevalence of this inhuman custom in Bengal, and especially in the vicinity of Calcutta*, is thus stated by H. Oakley, Esq., Magistrate of Hooghly, in 1818:—“The Suttee is supposed by some to be an act enjoined by the religion of the Hindoos; but, if so, why does it prevail in one part more than another? and why in the immediate neighbourhood of the Presidency? The worship of the Hindoo deities is tolerably equal, wherever the religion extends, and the pilgrimages by which they are to be propitiated are the same throughout India; and, if Suttee were really an act enjoined by religion, it would be universally meritorious, and equally observed wherever that religion is followed; but, as it is not, we must account for its prevalence among the Hindoos in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, *not by their peculiar strictness in the observance of religious and moral duties, but by some peculiar circumstances affecting their moral character.* It is notorious, that the natives of Calcutta and its vicinity exceed all others in profligacy and immorality of conduct. The idol of the drunkard and the thief (*Kalee*) is scarcely to be met with in the distant provinces; and none, but the most abandoned, will confess that he is a follower of *Kalee*. In Calcutta we find few that are not. Her worship must harden the hearts of her followers, to whom scenes of blood and crime must become familiar. By such men a Suttee is not regarded as a religious act, but a choice entertainment; and we may conclude, that the vicious propensities of the Hindoos, in the vicinity of Calcutta, are a cause of the comparative prevalence of the custom. But I am utterly unable to assign a cause for *this local depravity*, and for the prevalence of a worship despised and abhorred by every Hindoo of respectable character.”*

Ram Mohun Roy, in a Pamphlet entitled—“*Brief Remarks regarding modern encroachments on the ancient rites of Females, according to the Hindoo law of inheritance,*” supposes the prevalence of Suttee in Bengal to have arisen from the existence of polygamy, and the dependent and unhappy circumstances in which widows are left.

“All the ancient lawgivers unanimously award to a mother, an equal share with her son, in the property left by her deceased husband, in order that she may spend her remaining days independently of her children.” But modern expounders, “whose opinions are considered by the natives of Bengal as standard authority in the division of property among heirs,” have thus explained away this ancient law:—“A widow can receive nothing when her husband has no issue by her; and in case he dies leaving only

* Par. Papers, vol. v. p. 237.

one son by his wife, or having had more sons, one of whom has happened to die leaving issue, she shall in these cases have no claim to the property: again, should any one leave more than one surviving son, and they, being unwilling to allow a share to the widow, keep the property undivided, the mother can claim nothing in this instance; but when a person dies leaving two or more sons, and all of them survive, and are inclined to allot a share to their mother, her right is in this case only valid. Under these expositions, and with such limitation, both step-mothers and mothers have, in reality, been left destitute in the division of their husbands' property; and the right of a widow exists in theory only among the learned, but unknown to the populace.

"It is not from religious prejudices and early impressions only, that Hindoo widows burn themselves on the piles of their deceased husbands; but also, from their witnessing the distress in which widows of the same rank in life are involved, and the insults to which they are daily subjected, that they become in a great measure regardless of existence after the death of their husbands; and this indifference, accompanied with hope of future reward held out to them, leads them to the horrible act of suicide. It cannot pass unnoticed, by those who are acquainted with the state of society in India, that the number of female suicides in the single province of Bengal, when compared with those of any other British provinces, is almost ten to one; we may safely attribute this disproportion, chiefly to the greater frequency of a plurality of wives among the natives of Bengal, and to their total neglect in providing for the maintenance of females."—Referring to a practice of disinheriting the daughters, throwing the expens of their marriage upon their brothers, and the sordid principle from which many are given in marriage, it is added—"The humane and liberal among Hindoos trust that the attention of Government will be directed to those evils which are chief sources of vice and misery, and even of suicide among women; and to this they are encouraged to look forward, by what has already been done in modifying, in criminal cases, some parts of the law enacted by Mahomedan legislators, to the happy prevention of many cruel practices formerly established."*

The subject of this cruel custom could seldom be considered voluntary. This is very forcibly stated by W. Ewer, Esq., Sup. of Police, in the Bengal Presidency:—"It is generally supposed that a Suttee takes place with the consent of the widow, and that she frequently persists in her intention to burn, in spite of the entreaties of her relations. But there are many reasons for thinking that such an event, as a voluntary Suttee very rarely occurs: few widows would think of sacrificing themselves unless overpowered by force or persuasion; very little of either, being sufficient to overcome the physical or mental powers of the majority of Hindoo females. A widow, who would turn with instinctive horror from the first hint of sharing her husband's pile, will be at length gradually brought to pronounce a reluctant consent; *distracted with grief at the event, without one friend to advise or protect her, she is little prepared to oppose the surrounding crowd of hungry Brah-*

* Miss. Regis. 1823, p. 187—190. See Heber's Jour., vol. i. p. 37. Oriental Herald, vol. x. pp. 251—258.

manns and her interested relations, either by argument or force. Accustomed to look on the former with the highest veneration, and to attach implicit belief to all their assertions, she dares not, if she were able to make herself heard, deny the certainty of the various advantages which are supposed to attend the sacrifice ;—that by becoming a Suttee she will remain so many years in heaven, rescue her husband from hell, and purify the family of her father, mother, and husband ; while, on the other hand, that disgrace in this life, and continual transmigration into the body of a female animal, will be the certain consequence of refusal. In this state of confusion, *a few hours quickly pass, and the widow is burnt before she has had time even to think on the subject.*”*

A letter from a lady who has resided in India, dated Salisbury, Dec. 1827, contains an affecting illustration of these sentiments :—

“At a Ghaut near Serampore, I witnessed the burning of a respectable woman about thirty years of age, whom I found with *five* children, the eldest a fine boy about thirteen. As soon as she saw me, she asked, *if I were come to deliver her.* I told her I had no power to deliver her, but was come to persuade her not to burn. She shook her head and said, —‘ *I will burn! How can I go back? However the servant is gone to the English Magistrate, at his return my fate will be decided.*’ Two hours elapsed before he returned, the greater part of which I spent in conversation with her. She often turned to her children, and with affection placed her hand upon the face of her youngest child, who could just lisp *ma! ma!* At length the servant returned with permission for her to burn. As soon as she saw him, her countenance changed, her eyes sunk into her head, the furrows deepened in her face, and when she heard her fate, resolution failed, and *nature took possession of her breast.* When the eldest son saw that his mother was so timid, he said, *he would not set fire to her head.* But her brother-in-law said, ‘ *Now she must burn; for the boro Sahab has sent her permission to burn!*’ He then began to anoint her, and put a little oil into her hand to pour over her children as her blessing. The eldest son refused the oil, and persisted that he could not set fire to her. But neither the tears nor the screams of the boy, nor the agonizing fear of the mother, prevented her *being bound to the dead body of her husband, and pressed down with two bamboos.* If I had had any authority, merely to have said, ‘ *you are not to burn,*’ all this would have been prevented. I am sure both the people and the Brahmins would have dispersed without a murmuring word. Many call it a *bad custom and are quite tired of it.*”

The following account of a Suttee is one of a most appalling character :—

* Par. Papers, vol. i. p. 227. See vol. v. p. 17.

† “During my residence at Serampore, *many widows applied for permission to burn, but were not permitted.* Those who did burn were obliged to get permission of an English Magistrate, and go out of the bounds of Serampore.”

"One Seetloo, a Brahmin, died when absent from his family. A fortnight afterwards his widow Hoomuleea, a girl about fourteen years of age, proceeded to burn herself, the pile being prepared by her nearest relations, at the village in which she resided. Her father Puttan Terwarry was in another part of the country, and does not appear to have been made acquainted with what was passing. Whether the sacrifice was originally a voluntary one has not been ascertained; it must be presumed it was so. The preparatory rites being completed, Hoomuleea ascended the pile, which was fired by her uncle the prisoner Sheolol. The agony was soon beyond endurance, and she leaped from the flames; but seized by Sheolol, Bhichhook, and others, she was taken up by the hands and the feet and again thrown upon it, much burnt, and her clothes quite consumed; she again sprang from the pile, and running to a well hard by laid herself down in the watercourse, weeping bitterly. Sheolol now took a sheet offered for the occasion by Roosa, and, spreading it on the ground, desired her to seat herself upon it. *No, she said, she would not do this; he would again carry her to the fire, and she would not submit to this; she would quit the family and live by beggary; any thing, if they would have mercy upon her.* Sheolol, upon this, swore by the Ganges, that, if she would seat herself on the cloth, he would convey her to her home. She did so; they bound her up in it, sent for a bamboo which was passed through the loops formed by tying it together, and carrying it thus to the pile, now fiercely burning, threw her into the flames. The wretched victim once more made an effort to save herself, when, at the instigation of the rest, the Moosulman Buraiches approached near enough to reach her with his sword, and cutting her through the head she fell back, and was released by death. The number of spectators before whom this diabolical and most lamentable sacrifice was exhibited is variously stated; about 200 persons were probably witnesses of it." A trial ensued, and the following was the sentence:—"Making allowances for the superstitious prejudices of the Hindoos concerned, and for the ignorance of the Moosulman, the Court do not discern in any of them the guilt of murder; and, viewing the case as culpable homicide, sentence the prisoner Buraiches to be imprisoned with labour for five years; and the prisoners Sheolol, Bhichhook, Hurrepal, and Ijrail, to be imprisoned without labour for two years, from this date."—Goruckpore, May 1821. Such an account needs no comment.*

The description of a Suttee, the motives which generally lead to it, and the objects for which the victims were sacrificed, abundantly prove that the Suttee has been miscalled a voluntary self-immolation. This idea receives confirmation from the fact, that in the annual list of Suttees, from the years 1815 to 1820 inclusive, it appears sixty-one widows were burnt, most of whom were mere children in years.†

Years of age	17	16½	16	15	14	13	12	10	8
Number . . .	14	1	22	6	2	2	10	1	3

A Bengalee Newspaper, named *Kowmoody*, published at Calcutta, in Aug. 1825, contained the following account:

"Ramchundea Mitto, an inhabitant of Boydbooty, who generally lived at Calcutta, being attacked with the Cholera Morbus, was taken home by

* Par. Papers, vol. ii. p. 68.

† Par. Papers, vol. v. p. 17.

his relations, and on the night of the 29th he died, aged twenty-five years. His young and beautiful widow, *only about fourteen or fifteen years of age*, thinking herself altogether worthless in the world, on the death of her husband; and *anticipating the many distresses she would have to suffer if she survived him*, absolutely burnt herself on the funeral pile."

This paper, in Oct. 1825, contained a similar relation:—

"We are astonished to hear that Muddon Mohun Chueknobutty, *about fifteen years of age*, inhabitant of the twenty-four Purgunnals having lately died, his widow, *a little girl about twelve years of age*! no longer willing to inhabit this transitory world, obstinately burnt herself on the funeral pile."

Of juvenile and aged Suttees, the Asiatic Journal for Sep. 1827, justly remarked:—"It is lamentable to find, that of the twenty-four young creatures under twenty years of age, who underwent this cruel rite in 1824, one was aged *thirteen*, another *eleven*, and another only *nine*! Of aged Suttees there are many examples in the Returns, (Par. Papers, vol. v. 1827,) several having burned who were *eighty* and upwards, some aged *ninety*, and one at the great age of *ninety-five*. Surely these poor creatures ought to have been assumed to be *irrational*, and their anticipation of an event which must be so near, prevented on that ground." The indifference frequently manifested, by the unhappy mothers, to their orphan children, confirms the propriety of the rather singular reply of a Magistrate to an official inquiry relative to the act of Suttees being voluntary or not:—"The act, I apprehend, is always voluntary, provided a being in a state of stupefaction and delusion can be said to possess the power of volition.* The aggregate of Suttees in India in twelve years, according to the official documents, was 7789; allowing only two children to each widow, this would give 15,578 orphans, "left to the mercy of those who have decoyed their mothers to the fathers' funeral pile." The misery of a Hindoo orphan was thus pathetically described by a writer in a Calcutta paper, while the Author was in India:—

THE INFANT HINDOO MOURNER.†

"Upon a woody bank I roam'd at eve,
Close to the Ganges gliding stilly on:
And through a glade the sun's last beams I saw,
And o'er the golden tide their radiance stream'd.

* Par. Papers, vol. v. p. 26.

† These lines were probably written on reading the following account:—"As a party were proceeding up the river, in passing *Isharah*, near Serampore, their attention was attracted by the cries of a child, and on drawing to the shore they were redoubled. Near her was lying a heap of ashes, not quite extinguished, which appeared like the remains of a recent concremation. A number

It was a sweetly pensive hour of calm;
 The Myna chirp'd upon the Mango bough,
 And gently coo'd the Ring-dove 'midst the leaves.
 I heard a fretful cry of infant wail,
 Tremulous, floating on the breeze of eve,
 And paused, to listen, when these words I caught:
 "Mother! mother! Oh my dearest mother!"
 I hurried onward to the sandy waste
 That edg'd the water. On the ground there sat,
 Near to a heap of ashes mould'ring dear,
 Weary and desolate, a little child:
 One tiny hand a drooping flower held fast,
 Emblem most meet of that unhappy child;
 The other wip'd away the scalding tears
 That from her dim black orbs came trickling down,
 As on that ashy heap she gaz'd intent,
 Repeating still her cry of infant wail,
 "Mother! mother! Oh my dearest mother!"
 "Stranger!" exclaim'd an aged peasant near,
 "The story of that orphan soon is told.
 Child of my child, her father paid the debt
 Which awful nature claims, nor reck'd his babe,
 Who deem'd him sleeping in a heavy sleep:—
 'And wont you wake my father?' she would say,
 'And wont you speak, nor take me on your knee?'
 The Brahmun came—a garland in his hand—
 And hung it round the victim mother's neck:
 And then the living with the dead went forth.
 The drear procession reach'd the fated ground
 Where wood and fire as meet convenient lay:
 The child her mother follow'd, laughing still,
 Or skipp'd before her, sportive as a lamb;
 Or grasp'd the hand whose soft caress was life.
 At last the parent stoop'd and kiss'd the child,
 And as she kiss'd her, down a truant tear
 Trickl'd away, and from her quiv'ring lips,
 The pangs she spoke not, breath'd upon her child!
 A quick presentiment appear'd to cast
 Its instant gloom upon the little one:
 Unto her mother's bosom fast she clung,
 And sobb'd and wept. The mother, soothing, plac'd
 Yon flower, now faded, in her infant hand.
 The frail pledge remains, but Oh the giver!
 One last long kiss she gave, then tore away;
 And then the pile she mounted by the side
 Of him who press'd that bridal couch of death.

of children were standing near her, and at a little distance three or four grown up people looking on very contentedly. An inquiry was made by a humane individual whence the cause of her distress proceeded, and it was some time before an answer could be obtained. At length it was ascertained, that, *the ashes were those of the funeral pile, on which the mother of this unfortunate child had immolated herself with the body of her husband, and the lamentations of the child were occasioned by this cause.*" *Bengal Hurkaru, August, 1823.*

Her infant fain would follow; but we held
 The little struggler, while her piercing cries
 In vain reach'd her, who soon could hear no more;
 'Come back, my mother! mother! mother! mother!'
 The din of direful disord rose, and smoke
 Ascended blackly through the sunny air.
 The crowd dispers'd, but still the babe remains,
 And has remain'd since that dread morning hour,
 Weeping, and gazing for her mother there;
 And nothing finds but loneliness and ashes.—
 Mark the sad wildness of her young despair,
 As on the ashy heap her gaze is fix'd,
 With bitter tears and thick convulsive sobs;
 And hark again! her cry of infant wail,
 'Mother! mother! Oh my dearest mother!'"

CHAP. II.

The Suttee not an integral part of Hindoism, shewn in a review of a Pamphlet written in Bengalee, in defence of the burning of Hindoo widows.

The celebrated Ram Mohun Roy, in 1818, addressed to his countrymen a Pamphlet on the subject of the Suttee, to which an answer was drawn up by some of the pundits in Calcutta, written in the form of a dialogue between an advocate for the system of burning widows, under the term "*Bidhaok*," and an opponent, termed "*Nishedhok*." In the work every authority supposed to countenance the inhuman custom, and every scrap of Sanscrit found on its side among Hindoo writers, is given in the original text, and translated into Bengalee. It is valuable from its containing every thing found in the Hindoo shastras in favour of this practice. It was evidently intended for the perusal of Europeans, as an English translation is prefixed. In our extracts* from this pamphlet we prefer quoting its own language for the sake of doing it every degree of justice. The work commences by the advocate urging the claims of his cause in the following sweeping declaration:

"It is ordained by Srutee, Smrtee, Pooranee, and other sacred books, that the women, on the death of their husbands, should die in Shuhu-murun, that is to burn themselves alive with the corpse of their respective husbands; and that, in

* This review is taken from the Friend of India, vol. ii. pp. 453—483.

want of the corpse, they should die in Unoo-murun, that is to burn with something belonging to their husbands: which usages the great sages during all the four ages of the world, Suttwa, Treta, Dwapur, and Kalee, have regularly maintained in their codes. It is very improper that you throw obstacles to prevent such a matter." To this the opponent replies: "You say this is improper for want of knowledge of the shastras or law, but, when you know the shastra, you will no more say so."

This forms the signal for the advocate to pour forth on the opponent every scrap of Sanscrit, in support of the practice, which he had been able to collect. The chief of these authorities is that of *Ungeera*, who, however, does little more than *recommend* the practice. We give his opinion in the advocate's translation:—"The woman that mounts the funeral pile of her deceased husband equals herself to Uroondhoojee the wife of Vushisht'ha, and enjoys bliss in heaven with her own husband. She that accompanies her husband to the other world dwells in heaven for three and a half cootee years (thirty-five millions),* which is equal to the number of hairs on a human body; and with her own power taking her husband up, in the same manner as a snake-catcher would have taken a snake out of its hole, remains with him in diversion. She that goes with her husband to the other world purifies three generations, that is, the generations of her mother's side, father's side, and husband's side; and so she, being reckoned the purest and best in fame among women, becomes too dear to her husband, and continues to divert herself with him for a period equal to the reign of fourteen Indras; and, although the husband be guilty of slaying a Brahmun or friend, or be ungrateful of the past deeds, yet the said woman is capable of purifying him from all these sins. Hence," says the advocate, "Ungeera affirms, that after the demise of a husband, there can be no other duty for a chaste wife than to destroy herself in the fire."

Puradsura is then quoted as confirming part of this recommendation:—"The woman that goes with her husband to the

* "He who offers a single ripe plantain to Seeb, shall, with his relations, be exalted to heaven for thirty millions of years." (Asi. Obs. Ap. 1824.) "If," says Ram Mohun Roy, "in defiance of all the shastras, you maintain that such promises of reward are to be understood literally and not merely as incitements, still there can be no occasion for so harsh a sacrifice as burning people to death in order to save the lives of progenitors; for, by making an offering of one ripe plantain to Seeb, or a single flower of kuru-beer either to Seeb or Vishnoo, thirty millions of lives of progenitors may be saved!" AUTH.

other world, dwells in heaven for three and a half cootee years, which is equal to the number of hairs on a human body." *Hareeta* is introduced as enjoining it by consequence in the following observation:—"After the death of a husband, until his wife does burn herself in the fire, she cannot get rid of her feminine body." The *Muhabharut* is then adduced as declaring that a woman burning herself on her husband's funeral pile, atones for her having been a scold or even unfaithful through life, and secures her accompanying him in the other world; *maugre* all unwillingness on his part: and this, although she burn herself from "amours, wrath, fear, or affection." The highest countenance given to the practice therefore, by their own writers, (and these appear but four, *Ungeera*, *Purasura*, *Hareeta*, and *Vyas*,) amounts only to a recommendation of it from certain advantages the widow is deluded with the hope of obtaining; that is, enjoyment of happiness with her husband—by no means to eternity, but for as many years as there are hairs on the human body; *after which, she must descend to the earth again, and undergo all that vicissitude of birth which, in the opinion of the Hindoos, constitutes future punishment.*

The advocate for the burning of widows goes on to notice another authority, that of *Vishnoo-Risee*, who, however, leaves burning *perfectly optional*, in the following language:—"After the demise of a husband, his wife shall either devote herself to *brumhachurya* (a life of austerity), or mount the funeral pile of her husband." To remove the force of this option, the advocate adds, that the choice of a life of austerity would involve in it eight faults, or crimes, (but which he has not mentioned that the reader might judge of their nature,) and that even this option is therefore to be rejected. He then goes on to state the authority for *Unoo-murun*, or a woman buring herself after her husband's death with something belonging to him. For this he adduces the authority of *only a solitary writer*, the authority of the *Mutsya-Pooran*:—"In case of the demise of a husband in a distant country, the chaste wife should purify her person by bathing, and then, taking her husband's shoes or another thing, enter into a burning pile to be prepared on purpose." This he justifies by saying, that the *Rig-veda* declares such women are not to be guilty of self-murder; which plainly indicates, if this be self-murder, in the opinion of the Hindoos, it would be condemned. Such is the whole of the countenance this advocate has been able to adduce from the Hindoo writers themselves; and this, one quotation from *Oosuna* condemns in the gross,—it is the voice

of nature involuntarily speaking :—“ *Let not Brakhmunees, or wives of Brahmuns, suffer death by entering into a separate pile; but, for the rest of the women, this law is most preferable.* ” If it be meritorious to ascend the separate funeral pile, why deny this privilege to the daughters of Brahmuns? *Nature spoke in the breast of this writer.* He was a Brahmun, and he shuddered at the idea of the immolation of his daughter, for the sake of a husband, who might perhaps have treated her with neglect and cruelty. The Brahmuns of the present day have consigned them to the flames precisely as they do others; a proof, that a regard for the authority of their own *shastras* has little to do in this practice.

To these quotations from Ungeera, Hareeta, and Purasura, the advocates for this practice are well aware, are opposed authorities of far greater weight, and such as completely nullify them and forbid this inhuman custom. The opponent is now made to quote these, that the advocate for the burning system may obtain an opportunity of invalidating them. He first adduces the famous Legislator *Menu*, whose authority is paramount to that of every succeeding writer, as prescribing an opposite course for widows:—“ Listen to the law which *Menu* has prescribed for the husbandless woman. ‘ After the death of husbands their wives shall make themselves lean, by living upon sweet flowers, roots, and fruits; never mind the name of a man, and, until the time of their death, with resignation and restriction continue to observe the laws prescribed for *Ekputnees* (those who have married but one husband); that is, they should, with the desire of obtaining the state of chaste women, devote themselves to the law prescribed for *brumhachurya*. As thousands of young Brahmuns, who, before arriving at full age, devoted themselves to *brumhachurya* and begat no children, have gone to *Surga* or heaven; the chaste women in like manner, who, after their husbands’ death, devote themselves to the law of *brumhachurya*, may obtain bliss in heaven, though issueless.’ Hence, says the opponent, *Menu* has ordained that women, after their husbands’ death, should spend the remaining part of their lives in *brumhachurya*. This decision of *Menu* the opponent confirms, by adducing the following corroborative declaration from one of the *Vedas*: ‘ Know that whatever *Menu* pronounces is medicine for the soul;’ and another from *Vrihupatee*, ‘ A *Sreeti* inconsistent with that of *Menu* is not praiseworthy.’ ”

To remove this decision of *Menu*, which *forbids the practice*, is the grand object of this work, and for the sake of this

alone it is quoted. This, the advocate, knowing that no commentator can erect himself into a lawgiver, and abolish the law itself, first attempts by affirming, that it is only the Smriti inconsistent with Menu which is unworthy of regard; but, as a woman can live a life of abstinence and chastity after burning herself, these two of course are not inconsistent! Feeling ashamed of this argument, he quits it, and, adducing the following sentence from *Juyminee*, "where there arises an inconsistency among laws, that maintained by many is preferable," attempts to infer, that the recommendation of Ungeera, Purasura, and Hareeta, ought to outweigh the law itself, enacted by Menu. Deserting this argument as untenable, he quotes a passage from the *Rig-veda*, recommending the practice of burning, and affirms that the law of Menu on the subject means nothing more than that a woman who may by any accident be prevented from burning herself with her husband, or afterwards with one of his shoes, ought to devote herself to a life of austerity. The author, while he professes to set the authority of the *Rig-veda* against that of the great Hindoo legislator, is however well aware, that the *Vedas* contradict each other on this very point. That he may, in some way or other, obviate this discrepancy, so fatal to his argument, he now introduces the opponent as quoting a well known passage from the *Veda* which forbids the burning of widows in the following words:—"As by means of living still, the duties usual and occasional can be performed to purify the mind, and as by hearing of, fixing our mind and devoting our soul to Brumhu or the Supreme Spirit, we can attain it, (absorption in Brumhu,) no woman should therefore spend her life, that is, suffer death, in hopes of attaining *Surga*, or bliss in heaven."

This is the doctrine which it is the object of the writer of this pamphlet to overthrow. After the opponent has stated it, the advocate urges, first, that to infer from the authority of Menu and the *Veda*, that a woman, instead of burning herself, ought to embrace a life of abstinence and chastity, would strip the writings of those who recommend her burning herself of all authority! an overwhelming argument truly. He then adduces a sentence from Menu, to shew that when one Smriti appears to have one meaning, and another a different one, both are to be held as law! The plain inference from this would be, that a widow ought to immolate herself on her husband's funeral pile, and to embrace a life of austerity too! To confirm this exposition the advocate quotes the following contradictory sentence by way of illustration: "In the *Otirata*,

or the oblations of clarified butter, offered to the consecrated fire, the Shorassee is to be taken; and in the Otratra the Shorassee is *not to be taken.*" The just meaning of which contrary Sutras, says he, is, that if in this sacrifice the Shorassee be taken or received, the sacrifice is superlatively meritorious; but, if it be not, the deed is still complete. From this illustration the writer infers, that if a widow wishes to attain connubial bliss in heaven, she may burn herself; but if she wishes final beatitude, she may embrace a life of self-denial; and then adds triumphantly, "See therefore, that a woman's burning herself for the sake of connubial bliss in heaven has no way been forbidden." Thus, even by these authorities, if a widow desires final beatitude she is not commanded to burn herself; and according to them, all is *merely matter of option.* But a further examination of the subject will shew that this recommendation, while viewed by themselves as degrading in the highest degree, is *subversive of the whole system of Hindooism.*

The Hindoos, throughout India, believe the human soul to form an integral part of Bramhu, or the Deity, and hence esteem the summit of future bliss to consist in final beatitude, or absorption into Bramhu. To the attainment of this all their endeavours are directed; for the sake of it the most tremendous austerities are performed; and nothing beyond this is supposed to be within the wish of man. There are, according to their ideas, many heavens to be obtained by meritorious deeds. None of these, however, is considered lasting; but the duration of every state of bliss, is, according to them, proportioned to the merit of the deed of which it is esteemed the reward. Their state of misery is esteemed no more lasting than that of happiness; but every kind of suffering is supposed to be proportioned in duration to the demerits of the sufferers; after which, they also are said to be born again on the earth, and undergo all the vicissitudes of transmigration, till they become sufficiently pure to obtain absorption. Hence a woman who may burn herself for the sake of living with her husband in heaven, for a certain period, on its expiration descends to the earth, and, according to the Hindoos, may be found in hell in the course of years.

The opponent is represented as approving this decision; but, for the sake of its being answered, he is made to urge another objection in the following words:—"As in various shastras contempt has been poured on actions done from cupidity, a woman's burning herself from such motives is by no means proper." He then quotes the *Kuthopunishut* as declaring,

that while the pursuit of the system of sacred wisdom is considered safe, he who pursues the other system, which includes a widow's burning herself, degrades his own nature. This he further corroborates by a long quotation from the *Bhagavut Geet*, which charges such as follow the system with acting *only from cupidity and ambition*. The whole of this system, therefore, is, by their best writers, regarded as having nothing in it of the nature of virtue; but as being, in reality, the indulgence of cupidity, ambition, and malice. Among these, the opponent properly classes a widow's burning herself with her husband's corpse, with the view of enjoying connubial bliss in heaven; and intimates that, if actions of this kind are not evil, they are at least unnecessary. This fires the advocate, who, to overwhelm his adversary at once, exclaims, "Listen then to Srutee. 'A man wishing heaven for himself, shall perform Ushwamedha-jauga' (the sacrifice of a horse); and again, 'a man wishing heaven for himself, shall perform Jotisuma-jauga.' These, and other Srutees, are they to lose their spirits? (that is, to have no effect). Say what is your answer?" The opponent acknowledges that the Srutees which command selfish actions are not useless, but intended for those who, previously filled with "amours, wrath, and covetousness," are not inclined to enter disinterestedly into the service of the Supreme God; and that, without these Srutees enjoining them thus to sacrifice from cupidity or malice, they would be like an elephant without his guide. To prevent this, says he, certain jaugas were ordained to be performed by them; as *sena-jauga*, by one wishing the death of his enemy; *pootrosti-jauga*, by one longing for a son; and *jotisuma-jauga*, by one wishing bliss in heaven. This concession is made with a view of enabling the opponent to bring forward the last objection he has left, that the advocate may demolish it like a man of straw. This is couched in the following words:—"If you maintain that disinterested actions are better than those self-interested, why do you then, instead of permitting husbandless women to adopt the law of brumhachurya, which gives final beatitude, endeavour to preserve the system of self-interested actions of Shuhu-murun and Onoe-murun, which produce bliss in heaven?"

This argument, which the advocate was aware must appear on the face of the subject, and weigh in favour of a life of abstinence and chastity, in preference to burning, he attempts to obviate by urging that a woman, in embracing a life of chastity, would still do it with a view to final beatitude, and,

therefore, from self-interested motives ; hence, as burning herself would also rescue her husband from the pit he might be driven into for slaying a Brahmun, or friend, or being ungrateful, together with the three generations before mentioned, and enable the woman to "get herself rid of her feminine sex," he esteems it far more desirable that she should burn.

To this conclusive argument the opponent replies :—" Now your sayings are consonant with the shastras." Still, however, he suggests the *probability* of women's attaining the state of final beatitude, were they, after the death of their husbands, "to be disciplined in sacred wisdom, which, by burning themselves, they can never attain." To this the advocate has an unanswerable argument ready, that all instruction would be totally vain ; for, says he, "it would be attended with no other success than to condemn them for both the one and the other;" in other words, either they would not live the life of chastity recommended, or they would be too dull to do it from proper motives. He concludes the argument with saying, "It is therefore very improper, that the women who have never been conscious of so much as the meaning of the word wisdom, should be desired to follow the system of sacred knowledge."

These are the grounds, on which those who oppose the abolition of the practice desire to preserve this privilege of *burning alive their mothers, their sisters, and their daughters.* It is not because it is sanctioned by the Hindoo law ; for their greatest legislator *positively forbids* it by enjoining on widows a contrary conduct. But this *unparalleled course of murder* has been practised *wholly as a PREVENTIVE !* As a preventive of what ? the effects of their dulness ! their inability to comprehend "the instructions of sacred wisdom !" What would be these effects ? That they would live a life of abstinence and chastity from *improper motives*, from a desire after final beatitude ! and thus, losing final beatitude, only obtain heaven. This honest declaration, that their chief motive for supporting this system of burning, is furnished by women's stupidity, brings to light a part of the creed of these advocates for matricide, which few ever suspected to belong to Hindoism. The whole of the sex are hereby doomed to *interminable misery*, since they are declared to be such, that it would be improper for them, even *to be desired* to follow that system of sacred knowledge universally esteemed by the Hindoo writers, *the only path to final beatitude !*

The advocate evidently states, that, *as they would not live*

a life of chastity, their burning themselves is the only preventive of their condemnation. And have the Hindoos this shocking idea of their female relations? Will nothing preserve them in widowhood from a life of lewdness but being burnt alive? Then a Suttee at once loses its name and its nature. It is no longer the effect of chaste affection; it is *the highest dishonour to every family in which it may happen.* But is it right that this *preventive measure* should be adopted with any one, much less with such near relatives? If it be, ought it to be confined to *one sex?* If this *preventive course* be allowable, it ought not to be confined to the most virtuous, merely because they are the most defenceless; it ought to be extended to the *advocates* of the measure themselves. The same *preventive* might, with equal benevolence, be exercised on them, or, at least, on such as seem most likely to perpetrate vice; and, if they are less fond of the burning system than the poor widow, they might be permitted to choose any other mode of dying, and thus the country would, in due time, be purified in the most effectual manner.

The author having thus far silenced the opponent, attempts to justify binding the poor widow to the corpse of her deceased husband, heaping wood upon her, and pressing her down with bamboos. For this purpose he makes the opponent, after acknowledging that the advocate for the system had given the "just sense of various shastras," observe, that instead of causing the women to mount the burning pile, they make them first mount the pile, and then, having tied the widows to the corpse of their husbands, heap over them wood and large bamboos, and burn them to death. "We proclaim that you must not slay women in such a manner." The advocate does not reply by denying the truth of this shocking fact, or by urging that it is too strongly stated; but he defends it by saying, "In whatever country the practice is to mount the full burning pile, there it is indisputable; but that in those countries where this is not the practice, this following of local custom is not inconsistent with the shastras, quoting several authors to shew that the usages of a country ought to be observed." The opponent is then made to reply: "By this rule, those who, residing in forests and mountains, make it their profession to kill living creatures, are to be held blameless." "By no means," says the advocate, "for the actions of these rude foresters are not approved by men of fidelity, and the laws on the head of Shuhu murun have been regularly maintained by the holy sages, philosophers, and the learned." The plain meaning is, that the learned introduced

into Bengal this custom of binding women to the corpse of the deceased husband, heaping wood on them, and pressing them down with large bamboos, from a regard to the custom of the country, when no such custom existed till created by them!

The manner in which the advocate justifies the violation of the woman's promise to *mount the burning pile*, is mere singular. The woman, before she burns, pronounces what is termed the sunkulpa, which is couched in the following terms,—" *I will mount the BURNING pile.*" Adverting to this, the opponent says, "How can the sunkulpa be completed, because it is pronounced with a promise to mount a burning pile? instead of which they meant it before it touches fire." This difficulty the advocate removes in a moment.—"Whatever you say regarding the incompleteness of the sunkulpa arises from your inattention; for, should a little part of a village or a cloth be consumed by fire, it is then said, even by learned men, that the village or cloth was burnt. In the same manner a little burning pile is also called a burning pile, and in that case the sunkulpa was not incomplete." As much as to say, if a single twig be set on fire, this constitutes a burning pile!

The next reply, for its *levity* and *falsehood*, is, if possible, *more disgusting*. The opponent is made to answer; "I approve of your saying this; but from what instances do the people attending funeral ceremonies tie up the women that are about to mount the burning pile? and why are they not guilty of the sin of slaying women?" To this the advocate replies: "In the aforesaid text of *Hareeta* it was expressed, that until the women themselves cause their bodies to be consumed in the fire, they cannot finally get rid of their sex. In which case, should any part of their bodies, while burning asunder in the piles, *be slipped out thereof, it cannot be wholly consumed.*" It is difficult to say, whether the *indelicacy, levity, or falsehood* of this reply be most to be detested. For men *thus to sport with decency, humanity, and truth, in defence of MURDER, is of itself sufficient to condemn for ever the INHUMAN CUSTOM.* The opponent having expressed his approbation of this reason for binding women, has only *one scruple left*, which is, whether those who assist in burning the widow are not guilty of sin. To this the advocate replies, that it rather exalts them to glory, than renders them guilty of sin, which he confirms by reciting the following example from the *Mutsya-pooran*.—"There was a prostitute, named Leelavutee, who, having resolved to make an offering of an artificial salt-hill, a goldsmith undertook the work, and per-

ceiving it to be a divine action he took nothing from the girl for his hire, but constructed for her a salt-hill with so much elegance that afterwards, in reward thereof, the said poor and theological goldsmith, together with his wife, was endowed with immense riches, and became himself the monarch of the seven-dweep universe, with a shining form equal to the rays of ten thousand suns." Hence he gives the opponent to understand, that whoever assists in burning a widow is likely to reap glory, as well as this theological goldsmith for assisting the prostitute in her devout offering. Thus do the supporters of this system, by the *most idle fables*, as well as the most *indecent examples*, trifle with the *real murder* of their female relatives.

We subjoin a few extracts from a document, drawn up in Sanscrit by *Mrityoonjuy-Vidyalunkur* (the chief pundit successively in the college of Fort William, and in the Supreme Court), at the request of the chief Judge in the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, who wished him to ascertain, from a comparison of all the works extant on the subject, the *precise point of law relative to burning widows*, according to those who recommend the practice. This document, as the compiler of it, from his own extensive learning and the assistance of his friends, had an opportunity of consulting more works on the subject than almost any pundit in this Presidency, may be regarded as possessing the highest legal authority according to the Hindoos. After having consulted nearly *thirty works* on the subject, current in Bengal and the northern, western, and southern parts of Hindostan, among which are all those quoted for the practice by the author of this pamphlet, he says:—"Having examined all these works, and weighed their meaning, I thus reply to the questions I have been desired to answer.—The Juttee Mullah Bilas shastra directs the following formula to be addressed to the bride, by the priest, at the time of marriage: 'be thou perpetually the companion of thy husband, in life and in death.' Hareeta, a *later writer*, says that it is the inheritance of every woman belonging to the four casts, not being pregnant, or not having a little child, to burn herself with her husband." The compiler afterwards quotes *Vishnoo moonee*, as speaking thus,—"let the wife either embrace a life of abstinence and chastity, or mount the burning pile; but he forbids the latter to the unchaste." He then enumerates particularly the various rules laid down by him and others who have followed him on the same side of the question, relative to the time and circumstances in which a woman is permitted to burn herself, and in what cases she is even by them absolutely forbidden.

These extracts shew that binding the woman, and the other acts of additional cruelty which the author of this pamphlet justifies, are totally forbidden. The *Soodheekoumoodee*, as quoted by the compiler, says,—“Let the mother enter the fire after the son has kindled it around his father’s corpse; but to the father’s corpse and the mother let him not set fire; if the son set fire to the living mother, he has on him the guilt of murdering both a woman and a mother.” Thus the possibility of a woman being bound to her husband’s corpse is taken away: *the son is not to be, in the least degree, accessory to the mother’s death*; if she burn herself at all, it must be by throwing herself into the flames already kindled. And the *Nirnuya-sindoo* forbids the use of any bandage, bamboos, or wood, by way of confining the woman on the funeral pile; nor before she enters it must the least persuasion be used, nor must she be placed on the fire by others.

Mrityoonjuy shews, from various authors, that though burning is termed *optional*, it is not to be *recommended*. To this effect he quotes the *Vijuyuntee*:—“While brumhachurya and burning are perfectly optional, burning may arise from concupiscence, but brumhachurya cannot; hence they are not equally worthy, how then can they be equally optional? By brumhachurya the widow obtains bliss, though she have no son.” He then quotes several authors, as declaring that women ought not to burn, because it is merely a work of concupiscence; the *Julwa mala-vilas* and others, as declaring that the practice is merely the effect of cupidity, and not the fruit of a virtuous and constant mind; and the *Mitakshura*, as declaring that by embracing a life of abstinence the widow, by means of divine wisdom, may obtain beatitude; and hence, a woman’s burning herself is improper; adding, that, *in former ages nothing was heard of women’s burning themselves: it is found only in this corrupt age.*

The following is the conclusion drawn by this able pundit and jurist:—

“After perusing many works on this subject, the following are my deliberate ideas. *Vishnoo-moonee* and various others say, that, the husband being dead, the wife may either embrace a life of abstinence and chastity, or mount the burning pile; but, on viewing the whole, *I esteem a life of abstinence and chastity to accord best with the law*; the preference appears evidently to be on that side. *Vyas, Sungkoo, Ungeera, and Hareeta*, speaking of a widow burning, say, that by burning herself with her husband she may obtain connubial bliss in heaven; while, by a life of abstinence and chastity, she, attaining sacred wisdom, may certainly obtain final beatitude. Hence to destroy herself, for the sake of a little evanescent bliss, cannot be her duty; burning is for none but those who, despising final beatitude, desire nothing beyond a little short-lived pleasure. *I regard a woman’s*

burning herself as an unworthy act, and a life of abstinence and chastity as highly excellent. In the shastras appear many prohibitions of a woman's dying with her husband, but against a life of abstinence and chastity there is no prohibition. Against her burning herself the following authorities are found:—In the *Meemangshadurshun* it is declared that every kind of self-inflicted injury is sin. The *Sankhya* says, that a useless death is absolutely sinful. The killing for sacrifice commanded by the shastras has a reasonable cause, and is yet sinful in a certain degree, because it destroys life. And while, by the *Meemangsha*, either of the two may be chosen; by the *Sankhya*, a life of abstinence and chastity is alone esteemed lawful. But, by the *Vedanta*, all works springing from concupiscence are to be abhorred and forsaken; hence a woman's burning herself from the desire of connubial bliss ought certainly to be rejected with abhorrence.

“No blame whatever is attached to those who prevent a woman burning. In the shastras it is said that Kundurpa being consumed to ashes by the eye of Shiva, his wife, Rutee, determined to burn herself; and commanded her husband's friend, Mudhoo, to prepare the funeral pile. Upon this the gods forbade her; on which account she desisted, but by Kalee-das no blame is attached to them for this conduct. Thus also in the *Shree-Bhagubut*; a woman, named Kripee, had a son, a mighty hero, from love to whom she forbore to burn herself with her husband; yet she was deemed guilty of no sin therein. Now also we hear of sons and other relatives attempting to dissuade a woman from burning; yet they are esteemed guilty of no crime. It is also evident that a woman, in thus burning herself, dies merely from her own self-will, and from no regard to any shashtra; such the command of a thousand shastras would not induce to die. They merely reason thus: ‘By the death of my husband I have sustained an irreparable loss; it is better for me to die than to live.’ Hence a woman determines to die; and her relatives, seeing this mind in her, provide the funeral pile, and say, ‘if you are determined to die, to die by falling from a precipice would be tedious, die in this manner:’ thus a father who has a son determined to go to a distant country, finding all dissuasion vain, at length sends a guide with him who knows all the rivers and dangerous places. The various shastras therefore describe this action as being merely that of one who, *having received an incurable wound, is determined to die, whether by falling from a precipice, by fire, or by water.*”

After this full investigation, by one so able and possessing such opportunities, the subject, as far as relates to the law of the Hindoos, or to the countenance it receives from the Hindoo system, may well be supposed to be fully before the public. While this practice is allowed to have been recommended by certain writers, it is evident that it was never considered as a law, or a religious injunction essential to the duty of a good Hindoo. If it be a law, the greater part of India must have lived in a state of direct disobedience to the laws of their own religion; for, as the recommendation is directed to widows of every cast, it must have been imperative on all, at least as matter of conscience. Yet, if the number of widows burnt in Bengal annually exceeds not five hundred, it cannot have been obeyed even in Bengal, by at least ninety-nine out of a hundred of the population, and in the western part of Hindostan

by a still greater proportion ;* while, in the southern part of the British dominions, it is scarcely regarded at all. But many have condemned the *very principle* on which it has been recommended. Those who contend for the burning of widows hold that certain deeds, though done from the most unworthy motives, are in themselves so available, as to merit a certain degree of recompense. All these deeds the more learned treat with the greatest contempt, declaring them to be nothing more than vice in another shape. Thus, those who form the *great support of the Hindoo system, totally condemn the very PRINCIPLE on which the practice is recommended, while they insist that the law commands a widow to live a life of abstinence and chastity.* That these compose the greater part of the Hindoos, may be inferred from the proportion of widows burnt alive when compared with the whole population of Hindostan. Such is the state of things relative to this practice, even when described by its most strenuous advocates. As a *command* it has not the least foundation in the Hindoo system. As a *recommendation* it has not been supported by one-fifth of the Hindoo writers on ethics or jurisprudence, nor practically regarded by a thousandth part of those who profess Hindoism. It is in *direct opposition* to the command of the great Hindoo lawgiver, grounded on principles completely subversive of the Hindoo system, and opposed to that course which the Hindoos believe to be the only path to final happiness.

CHAP. III.

The tendency of partial interference to promote the increase, celebrity, and legality of the Suttee—authorities to shew the propriety, safety, and facility of the abolition of the practice.

The sentiment of the Poet, “ ‘Tis but lame kindness that does its work by halves,” applies with peculiar force to the Regulations adopted in British India, relative to the Suttee.

* “ Supposing the entire Hindoo population of the Bengal Presidency to be 50,000,000, and the annual deaths to be 1 in 33, or above 1,500,000; a sixth of this number, or 250,000, might, on a general computation, be assumed as the number of Hindoo females becoming widows, of whom little more than 600 devote themselves on the death of their husbands.” (Par. Papers, July 1825, p. 11.) AUTH.

This appears from the sentiments of the great majority of the Indian Magistrates, as expressed in the eight volumes of Parliamentary Papers, on the burning of Hindoo Widows, printed July 1821, June 1823, June 1824, July 1825, May 1827, July 1828, March 1830, and June 1830. A few extracts from these volumes may be interesting, to develope the nature and tendency of the partial system of prevention and mitigation, deter from the re-adoption of measures too inefficient, and lead to the entire suppression of this horrid custom, wherever British influence can extend. The nature of the system, formerly adopted by the British Government in India, for the regulation of the rite of Suttee, appears from the following *Draft of Directions to be issued by the Magistrates to the Police Darogahs* :—

“Whereas, during the ceremony denominated ‘Suttee,’ certain acts have been occasionally committed in direct opposition to the rules laid down in the religious institutes of the Hindoos, by which that practice is authorized, and forbidden in particular cases; as, for instance, at several places pregnant women, and girls not yet arrived at their full age, have been burnt alive; and people, after having intoxicated women by administering intoxicating substances, have burnt them without their assent whilst insensible; and, inasmuch as this conduct is contrary to the shastras, and perfectly inconsistent with every principle of humanity (it appearing, from the expositions of the Hindoo law delivered by pundits, that the burning a woman pregnant, or one having a child of tender years, or a girl not yet arrived at full age, is expressly forbidden in the shastras; and also that intoxicating a woman, for the purpose of burning her without her assent, or against her will, is highly illegal, and contrary to established usage), the police darogahs are hereby accordingly, under the sanction of Government, strictly enjoined to use the utmost care, and make every effort to prevent the forbidden practices above mentioned from taking place within the limits of their thannahs. And they are further required, on all occasions, immediately on receiving intelligence that this ceremony is likely to occur, either themselves to proceed to the spot, or send their mohurrir, or jemadar, accompanied by a burkundaz of the Hindoo religion, to learn of the woman who is to be burnt, whether she has given her assent, and ascertain the other particulars above mentioned, relative to her age, &c., &c. In the event of the female who is going to be burnt being less than sixteen years of age, or there being signs of her pregnancy, or on her declaring herself in that situation, or should the people be preparing to burn her after having intoxicated her, without her assent, or against her will (the burning a woman under any of these circumstances, being in direct opposition to what is enjoined in the shastras, and manifestly an act of illegal violence), it will then be their duty to prevent the ceremony thus forbidden, and contrary to established usage, from taking place, and to require those prepared to perform it, to refrain from so doing; also to explain to them that in their persisting to commit an act forbidden, they would involve themselves in a crime, and become subject to retribution and punishment. But in the case of the woman being of full age, and no other impediment existing, they will nevertheless remain on the spot, and not allow the most minute particular to escape observation. And, in the case of people preparing to burn a woman by compulsion, or after having made her insen-

sible by administering spirituous liquors or narcotic drugs, it will be then their duty to exert themselves in restraining them; and, at the same time, to let them know that it is not the intention of the Government to check or forbid any act authorized by the tenets of the religion of the inhabitants of these dominions, or even to require that any express leave or permission be obtained previously to the performance of the act of Suttee, and the police officers are not to interfere or prevent any such act from taking place. And, lastly, it will be their duty to transmit, immediately, for the information of the magistrate, a full detail of any measures which they may have adopted on this subject. And also, on every occasion, when, within the limits of their thannahs, this ceremony of 'Suttee' may take place, the same being lawfully conducted, they will insert it in the monthly reports."*

Calcutta, Oct. 9th, 1813.

N. B. Instructions were subsequently communicated, that a Brahmunee must not burn on a separate pile; and a child, under three years of age, was not to be left without a written security from some one, that it should be provided for.†

The nature and influence of the system of legalizing the practice of Suttee, appear from the following extracts, which might be greatly increased, if requisite:—

W. Ewer, Esq., Acting Superintendent of the Police, Lower Provinces, in 1818 observed;—"It appears to me that, if the practice be allowed to exist at all, the less notice we take of it the better. The interference of the police may, in some cases, have induced compliance with the rules of the shastras; but *the official attendance of the darogah stamps every regular Suttee with the sanction of Government*; and I must humbly submit, that authorizing a practice is not the way to effect its gradual abolition."‡

The late Marquis of Hastings stated, as his opinion of the system;—"The Governor General in Council is reluctantly led to express his apprehension, that the greater confidence with which the people perform this rite under the sanction of Government, as implied or avowed in the circular orders already in force, combined with the excitement of religious bigotry by the continual agitation of the question, may have tended to augment, rather than diminish, the frequency of these sacrifices."§ (Calcutta, Dec. 1819).||

The increase referred to was evident from the returns of

* Par. Papers, vol. v. pp. 38, 39.

† Par. Papers, vol. i. pp. 41—43. See pp. 137, 144.

‡ Par. Papers, vol. i. p. 229. See pp. 232, 236. § pp. 241, 242.

|| His Lordship's successor, Earl Amherst, declared, in March 1827, "I am very much inclined to believe, that half measures will be unproductive of good; nay, that they are not unlikely to produce positive evil; and, I am not prepared to recommend an enactment prohibiting Suttees altogether." Par. Papers, vol. vii. March 1830, p. 133.

Suttees in the several Districts subordinate to the Presidency of Fort William, viz. in the year

" 1815.....	378
1816.....	442
1817.....	707
1818.....	839."*

Relative to this increase, the magistrates in the Alipore District remarked,—“The abstract statement of the number of Suttees exhibits the frequency of these abominable sacrifices so progressively and materially increased since the period referred to (from 1815 to 1818), as to justify our being confirmed in the belief, before, more than once, expressed by this to the superior court, that any interference, *save that of a total prohibition under the severest penalties*, will ever be productive of a mistaken spirit of jealousy and opposition, which will hope, by encouraging the prevalence of this superstitious usage, to induce us to discontinue altogether our interference.”†

“Our Government,” says C. Smith, Esq., Second Judge in Calcutta, in 1821, “by modifying the thing and issuing orders about it—orders which even the Government and the Sudder Judges themselves do not appear clearly to comprehend—have thrown the ideas of the Hindoos upon the subject into a complete state of confusion. *They will believe that we abhor the usage, when we prohibit it in toto, by an absolute and peremptory law. They have no idea that we might not do so with the most perfect safety. They conceive our power and our will to be commensurate.*”‡

The Hon. Court of Directors, in a letter to the Governor General in Council, in 1823, express their opinion upon the subject of partial interference:—“To us it appears very doubtful, (and we are confirmed in this doubt by respectable authority,) whether the measures which have been already taken have not tended, *rather to increase than to diminish the frequency of the practice*. Such a tendency is, at least, not unnaturally ascribed to a regulation which, *prohibiting a practice only in certain cases, appears to sanction it in all others*. It is to be apprehended that, where the people have not previously a very enthusiastic attachment to the custom, a law, which shall explain to them the cases in which it ought not to be followed, may be taken *as a direction for adopting it in all others*. It is, moreover, with much reluctance that

* Par. Papers, vol. i. p. 241. † p. 218. See also pp. 254—256.
‡ Vol. ii. p. 67.

we can consent to make the British Government, by a specific permission of the Suttee, *an ostensible party to the sacrifice*; we are averse also to the practice of making British Courts expounders and vindicators of the Hindoo religion, when it leads to acts which, not less as Legislators than as Christians, we abominate.*

The opinions of the second, third, and fifth judges of the Nizamut Adawlut in Calcutta, in 1824, were as follow:—

“The second judge cannot subscribe to any instructions that have a tendency to *modify, systematize, or legalize the usage*, or that appear to regard a legal Suttee as at all better than an illegal one. He is convinced that, if this mode of issuing orders under the sanction of Government to regulate Suttees, is continued,—*the practice will take such deep root, under the authority of the supreme power of the country, that to eradicate it will become impossible.*”† (C. Smith, Esq.)

“I conceive that we have already done a great deal of mischief in this way, and that instead of diminishing we have increased the evil.”‡ (J. T. Shakespear, Esq.)

“I confess that my own opinion inclines me to impute to the Regulations a positively pernicious tendency, in proportion to the degree in which they have brought the sacrifices under the more immediate cognizance of the officers of Government; whose presence at the ceremony, instead of operating as a restraint, has, I am afraid, contributed to invest it with additional solemnity, and to confer on the performance of it, in the mistaken views of the natives, a species of *authoritative sanction* which it was not before considered to possess.”§ (W. B. Martin, Esq.)

The late Rev. T. Thomason, chaplain in Calcutta, in a letter dated Feb. 1827, speaking of the Bengal Government requiring that the Suttee should be performed agreeably to certain regulations, observed:—“The measure actually legalized it by British authority, to the great joy and benefit of the Brahmuns; securing to them and even increasing their fees by multiplying the formalities. Every evil might have been anticipated from this unwise act. This regulation legalized the Suttees. The Government became by it, without intending it, *particeps criminis*. It pronounced that to be legal (under certain circumstances) which ought never, under any circumstances, to be deemed legal. If the Government interfere at all, their interference should be to abolish, and not to limit or

* Par. Papers, vol. iii. p. 45, 48. † Vol. iv. p. 149. ‡ p. 148.

§ Par. Papers, vol. iv. p. 149. See also p. 85. Vol. v. p. 51.

sanction such an abomination. This I very strenuously maintained in argument, with some persons *officially* concerned in the regulation. The question has often been asked, whether this regulation did in fact increase or diminish the number of Suttees. On a deliberate review of the whole case, *I rest in the conviction, that the number has been increased rather than diminished.** L

The Petition of the Natives of Calcutta, to Lord W. Bentinck, against the Regulation abolishing the Suttee, in the Bengal Presidency, presented Jan. 1830, shews the sentiments of the Hindoos upon the subject of partial interference:—"The qualified measure did not answer the object proposed, the fact was, *that the number of Suttees in Bengal considerably increased in consequence, within a short time*, and in order to ascertain the cause, a reference was made to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, who could assign no satisfactory cause to account for it. Though it might perhaps have occurred to Gentlemen of so much experience, that the interference of Government, even to this extent, with the practice, was likely, by drawing to it the attention of the Native community in a greater degree than formerly, to *increase the number of votaries.*"†

The opinion of the British Magistrates in India, generally, relative to *the safety and facility of the abolition of the Suttee*, will appear by a few extracts from the Parliament documents.

H. Oakley, Esq., Magistrate of Hooghly, in 1818, stated;—"I do not hesitate in offering my opinion that a law for its abolition would be objected to, only by *the heirs*, who derive worldly profit from the custom,—by Brahmuns, who partly exist by it,—and by those whose depraved nature leads them to look on a sacrifice as a highly entertaining show; at any rate, the sanction of Government should be withdrawn without delay. The adoption of this measure will most likely be followed by a decrease in the number of Suttees, and the *Magistrate's feelings will not be outraged, as they frequently are at present, by compelling him to so barbarous a custom.*"‡

The late J. H. Harington, Esq., officiating Chief Judge at Calcutta, in a minute relative to the Suttee, written in 1823, declared, "On a deliberate view of all those instances in which the laws, customs, and prejudices of the Hindoos, when found to be at variance with the principles of justice

* Poynder's Speech on Human Sacrifices in India, 1827, pp. 66—69. See pp. 32, 70, 99. † Asi. Journ., July 1830, p. 133.

‡ Par. Papers, vol. i. p. 237. See pp. 212, 233, 239, 241.

and good society, have been necessarily superseded and abrogated by the Laws and Regulations of the British Government,* and the whole of which supercession has been quietly submitted to, *as obviously and exclusively originating in motives of equity and humanity, unconnected with any degree of religious intolerance*, we may, I think, safely conclude, that a similar result will attend the enactment of a legislative provision to prevent the yearly sacrifice of several hundreds of deluded unoffending females, born and living under the protection of the British Government." This document thus closes. Referring to certain probable excesses in the perpetration of Suttees, it is added, "In such a state of things I could not hesitate to adopt the opinion expressed by the second Judge of the Court of the Nizamut Adawlut, that the toleration of the practice of Suttees is a reproach to our Government; and *even now*, I am disposed to agree with him, '*that the entire and immediate abolition of it would be attended with no sort of danger.*'"†

The opinion of J. H. Harrington, Esq., officiating chief Judge in the Nizamut Adawlut, Calcutta, in 1824, on the expediency of abolishing the Suttee, has been given. The second Judge, C. Smith, Esq., declared:—"The practice of Suttee OUGHT TO BE ABOLISHED, and it may be abolished with PERFECT SAFETY." The third Judge, J. T. Shakespeare, Esq., likewise stated:—"I am prepared to concur in a recommendation to Government, that a regulation be promulgated prohibiting Suttees throughout the country." The fifth Judge, W. B. Martin, Esq., at the same time stated:—"The toleration of the practice by our Government, and its disposition to interfere no further than was necessary to guard it from abuse, has been misconstrued into a tacit recognition of the principle of a usage, the legality of which, within certain limits, it has formally acknowledged." The minute of the officiating Judge, J. Ahmuthy, Esq., was as follows:—"I feel satisfied, that it would be far preferable to enact a regulation prohibiting the practice of Suttees at once, and rendering it punishable by law, than having recourse to any partial or in-

* Such as the execution of Brahmuns; suppressing the sacrifice of children at Saugur; preventing women and children, in the provinces of Benares, from burning in a *koorh*, or circular enclosure, on the approach of a public officer to serve any judicial process on Brahmuns; abolishing Dhurna; Infanticide among the Rajkoomars; burying widows alive; cruel ordeals, &c.

† Par. Papers, vol. iv. pp. 8—18. See an article on *Female Immolation* from the Friend of India. Par. Papers, vol. iv. pp. 13, 22—24.

direct means to repress it gradually, if even such a result could be reasonably expected to ensue."*

The Hon. Court of Directors, in a letter addressed to the Governor General in Council, in 1823, thus express their views of the obligatory nature of Suttee, and the means of its abolition:—"Connected with the opinions expressed by many intelligent men, that *the practice of Suttee is not a tenet of religion to which the people are enthusiastically attached, but rather an abuse, fostered by interested priests and relations*, these instances of partial success lead us to regard the notion of *prohibition*, modified according to circumstances, of this barbarous custom, with rather less apprehension than it has generally produced. Assuredly the most acceptable form of success would be, that which would be brought about by such an increase of intelligence among the people as should shew them the wickedness and absurdity of the practice; next to this, we should rejoice to see the abolition effected by the influence and the co-operation of the higher order of natives."†

R. Jackson, Esq., in the debate on the subject of the Suttees, at the General Court of Proprietors, March 1827, observed,— "He relied upon the opinion of nearly *sixty of their most eminent servants*, such as Residents, Judges, and Magistrates, that it might easily be subdued by a mixture of firm and conciliatory measures; who founded their opinions upon, at least, as many instances in which such conduct had been successful. Should it now fail, he would not hesitate at coercion—they must obey God rather than man!"‡

The Rev. T. Scott, of Aston Sandford, in his valuable Commentary, has the following remarks on Numbers xxxv. 33:—" *So ye shall not pollute the land wherein ye are; for blood it defileth the land: and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein but by the blood of him that shed it.*" "The *connivance of our Government in the burning of widows, and in human sacrifices, and in other species of murder committed in our East Indian dominions, under the pretext of an idolatrous religion, is wholly unjustifiable, and burdens our land, and all connected with those distant regions, with the guilt of blood not expiated by that of those who shed it.*"

It appears important to place upon record, *the opinion of*

* Par. Papers, vol. iv. pp. 148, 149, 153. See also pp. 167, 209. Vol. vii. p. 142.

† Par. Papers, vol. iii. p. 45. See vol. iv. pp. 20, 155, 156, 181, 182.

‡ Asi. Jour., May 1827, p. 732. See this admirable Speech, published by Parbury, London.

the Hindoos relative to the obligatory nature of the rite of Suttee. While some of them appear attached to the practice, it is grateful to see the prevalence of humane principles among this interesting people. Reference has been made to the great Hindoo sage, *Menu*; Sir W. Jones, in his translation of "*The Institutes of Menu*," thus describes the work:—

"This system of duties, religious and civil, and of law in all its branches, the Hindoos firmly believe to have been promulgated in the beginning of time by *Menu*, son or grandson of *Brahma*; or, in plain language, the first of created beings, and not the oldest only, but the holiest of legislators." His high character is described in the following terms: " *Menu* sat reclined with his attention fixed on one object, the Supreme God; when the divine sages approached him, and, after mutual salutations, in due form, delivered the following address:—'Deign, sovereign ruler, to apprise us of the sacred laws in their order, as they must be followed by all the four classes, and by each of them, in their several degrees, together with the duties of every mixed class; for thou, lord, and thou only among mortals, knowest the true sense, the first principle, and the prescribed ceremonies of this universal, supernatural *Veda*, unlimited in extent, and unequalled in authority.' After a careful perusal of this work, not the slightest reference to the custom of the Suttee has been found. It contains various laws relative to females; a few extracts may be interesting:—'In his passage to the next world, neither his father, nor his mother, nor his wife, nor his son, nor his kinsmen, will remain in his company; his virtue alone will adhere to him. When he leaves his corse, like a log or a lump of clay on the ground, his kindred retire with averted faces: but his virtue accompanies his soul. Equal care must be taken of barren women, of women without sons, of women without kindred, of widows true to their lords, &c. A widow, who, from a wish to bear children, slighteth her deceased husband, by marrying again, brings disgrace on herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord. Like those abstemious men (unmarried *Brahmans*) a virtuous wife ascends to heaven, though she have no child, if, after the decease of her lord, she devote herself to pious austerity. In childhood, must a female be dependent on her father; in youth, on her husband; her lord being dead, on her sons; if she have no sons, on the near kinsmen of her husband; if he left no kinsmen, on those of her father; if he have no paternal kinsmen, on the sovereign.'* The duty of Hindoo widows is evidently a life of austere devotion till death, and the custom of Suttee is unknown in the institutes of this great legislator.

In the bewasta, received from *Mrityoonjuy*, Pundit of the Supreme Court, in 1817, respecting the burning of Hindoo widows, and other sacrifices among the Hindoos, *Menu* is not mentioned among the various authorities quoted; and it is acknowledged, "on the subject of *anoogamun* (Suttee) the shastras exhibit a great variety of opinions; but no difference prevails with regard to leading a life of austerity."†

The late Rev. W. Ward, in a letter to the Earl of Clarendon, relates the following remarkable fact.—"In 1817 I was

* Sir. W. Jones's Works, vol. vii. pp. 240, 334, 271.

† Par. Papers, vol. i. p. 124.

riding near Serampore, where there had been a Suttee; after making inquiries respecting the family and rank of the widow, I addressed a few individuals on the crime in which they had been assisting. One of these men answered,—*Sir, whatever the act now committed may be, we have nothing to fear. You (the English Government) must see to that; for the police magistrate has been here and given the order, and according to that order the woman has been burnt.*”*

In Malabar a summary of the laws of the shastra was drawn up by the natives, from which they actually conclude against the practice in the following terms:—“From these texts it is clear, that the rules relative to the observance of anugamanum (Suttee) do not extend to the Keroola, and cannot be admitted to be performed there, even if a person is willing to do so.”†

Bruja Mohun, in his *Strictures on the present system of Hindoo Polytheism*, written in the Bengalee language, and printed in Calcutta, 1818, reprobated the practice of Suttee. “Promising heaven to your elder or younger sister—to your mother or grandmother—or daughter or friend—you bind them down with ropes and bamboos, and burn them on the funeral pile. When we witness the perpetration of these murders, does not nature itself move us to forbid them? Some of you consider the drinking of wine, and the extinction of life, and the shedding of blood, as conducive to salvation—we do not. To burn defenceless women, to murder an aged father and mother, by immersing them in water, you esteem holy—we esteem these deeds unholy.”‡

In 1819 a Petition was presented to the late Marquis of Hastings, from the Hindoo inhabitants of Calcutta, praying for the abolition of Suttees. How much it is to be lamented that this Petition was not regarded. An extract only is given:—“Your petitioners beg leave to submit, to the benevolent attention of your Lordship’s Government, that in the opinion of many of the most learned Brahmuns, founded upon the shastras, all kinds of voluntary death are prohibited; that *Menu*, whose authority is admitted to be equal to that of the *Vedas*, positively enjoins widows to lead a life of virtue and abstinence from sensual gratifications; that the *Vedant* which contains the essence of the *Vedas*, as well as the *Geeta*, forbids all acts done with the view of future temporary reward; and that amongst the inferior authorities, while some, as the

* Poynder’s *Speech on Human Sacrifices in India*, p. 65. See p. 114.

† p. 217.

‡ *Friend of India*, Dec. 1818.

Smritee shastras, actually prohibit all violent death: others, Mitakshura, declare the leading of a virtuous life preferable to dying on the pile of the husband; and a few only insist on the superior merit of concremation.*

In 1823, "When the meeting was held by the Hindoo gentlemen of Calcutta, to vote an address of thanks to Lord Hastings, on his leaving Bengal, Rhadacant Deb proposed, that Lord Hastings should be particularly thanked, for 'the protection and encouragement which he had afforded to the ancient and orthodox practice of widows burning themselves with their husbands' bodies,' a proposal which was seconded by Hurree Mohun Thakoor, another wealthy baboo. *It was lost, however; the cry of the meeting, though all Hindoos, being decidedly against it.*"†

Ram Mohun Roy, in his pamphlet entitled, "*A Conference between an advocate and an opponent of the practice of burning widows,*" states the sentiments of the humane and enlightened among the Hindoos on this subject:—"The Veda declares,—'By living in the practice of regular and occasional duties the mind may be purified. By hearing and reflecting and constantly meditating on the Supreme Being, absorption in Brumhu may be attained. Therefore, from a desire during life of future fruition, life ought not to be destroyed!' Menu, Yagnyuvulkyu, and others, have, in their respective codes of law, prescribed to widows the duties of ascetics only. The ancient saints, and holy teachers, and their commentators, and yourselves (advocates of the Suttee), as well as we and all others, agree that Menu is better acquainted than any other lawgivers with the spirit of the Vedas. He has directed widows to spend their lives as ascetics." It is thus closed;—"It is to me a source of great satisfaction, that you (the advocates) are now ready to take this matter into your serious consideration. By forsaking prejudice, and reflecting on the shastra, what is really conformable to its precepts may be perceived, and the *evil and disgrace brought on this community, by the crime of female murder, will cease.*"

"I have heard," says the Rev. H. Townley, "of the reply being repeatedly given to the expostulations of Europeans:—'If there is any blame in our proceedings, it belongs to yourselves; for we are acting under British sanction.'" He adds, "The native who instructed me in the Bengalee language (who was a Brahmun of more than ordinary intelligence),

* Poynder's Speech, p. 220. See pp. 72, 222—224.

† Heber's Journal, vol. i. p. 72.

frequently expressed his surprise, that Government did not issue an order, that no more Suttees should be permitted; intimating his conviction that no commotion whatever would ensue."*

The Rev. E. Carey, late Missionary in Calcutta, at a public meeting in Manchester, in 1828, observed,—“As the subject of Suttees had been mentioned, he would state his conviction, that *all the real obstacles to the practice of burning widows existed at home*. He did not mean to say, that obstacles were to be found in the wishes of any party, but in their misconception of the case. He had conversed with a Brahmun and Pundit on the subject, who said, ‘*If the practice is so heinous, why not suppress it?*’ ‘They fear (Mr. C. observed) to hurt their religious scruples.’ ‘What! (replied the Brahmun,)—We have compulsory taxes on the brahminical lands, and will it go nearer to our consciences, to save our daughters from the flames?’”

The Journal of the Rev. W. Howell, at Cuddapah, contains the following passage:—“Jan. 1, 1830. Received visits from many respectable natives to day; chiefly servants of the revenue and judicial department. Mr. Peggs’s pamphlet on *Suttees* being in my hand at the time, I entered into conversation with them on that topic. Some said it is supposed to be meritorious, when the wife puts an end to her life on the death of her husband. I replied, if that is the case why do not the men do so on the death of their wives? They observed, Because the men are at liberty to marry again. I said, So ought the women to be also. I asked them next, whether they would feel averse to Government abolishing such a practice among them? They said, It was matter of indifference to them, but that it is better to preserve life than otherwise. Blessed be God for its abolition, by a late regulation, in Bengal.”†

This chapter may be closed by the following *Supplicatory Lines* addressed to the Marquis of Hastings before he left India, in Jan. 1823. Myriads of hearts responded to these sentiments. O that this prayer had been heard. It is said, this Nobleman would have abolished this practice, “if he could have relied upon the popular feeling being in his favour in our own country, and that *the danger was felt, not in India, but only in England!*”‡

* Townley’s Answer to the Abbe Dubois, pp. 180, 190.

† Evang. Mag., Sep. 1830, p. 407.

‡ Account of York meeting relative to the Suttee, 1827, p. 5.

"Ere thy benignant power retires
 From India, bless'd beneath thy care,
 O quench those foul unhallow'd fires,
 Which hell's own flame has kindled here,
 The stain of earth and upper air!
 Then o'er the sea,
 The orphan's blessing and the widow's prayer
 Shall follow thee.
 O ne'er to man has pitying heaven
 A power so blest, so glorious given,
 Say but a single word and save
 Ten thousand mothers from a flaming grave,
 And tens of thousands from the source of woe,
 That ever must to orphan'd children flew!
 Save from the flame, the infant's place of rest,
 The couch by nature given—a mother's breast;
 O bid the mother live—the babe caress her,
 And sweeter still its hoping accents bless her.
 India with tearful eye and bended knee,
 Hastings, her lord and judge, presents her plaint to thee."

CHAP. IV.

Nature and success of efforts by the British Government in India, for the abolition of the Suttee—probable prevalence of the practice at the present period—necessity and propriety of persevering exertions till it is annihilated.

The measures adopted by the British Government in Hindostan, relative to this unnatural practice, were for many years of a partial or preparatory character, and, as might have been anticipated from their nature, not decisive or successful in the suppression of Suttees.

The Collector of Ahmednagar, Cap. H. Pottinger, speaking of a Suttee that occurred in that city in 1818, stated:—
 "I tacitly consented to the sacrifice, but at the same time positively refused any assistance towards defraying the expenses for the requisite clothes for the woman, or for the wood to form the pyre, and likewise declined to sanction the proceeding by my presence or that of any person on my part. I have little doubt of the success of my interposition, in the majority of cases that may occur, when I have it in my power, to assure the woman of the means of subsistence."* A former

* Par. Papers, vol. v. p. 20. Vol. i. p. 244.

volume of the Par. Papers remarks:—"An encouragement seems at one time to have been held out to Suttees, by granting to the family of the victim a portion of free land, similar to the provisions of the descendants of sepoy killed on service. The instances are far from numerous."* Chandgurgh, Bombay Presidency, July 1821.

In the Par. Papers, relative to the Bombay Presidency, reference is made to making provision for the widow who was prevailed upon to decline immolating herself. But this plan, like every other, short of entire prohibition, is defective, as it may have (to use the language of W. Chaplin, Esq., Commissioner of the Deccan) "the injurious effect, of leading persons to feign a resolution to burn themselves, in the hope of being paid for desisting."†

The late J. H. Harrington, Esq., in 1825, suggested that magistrates should be authorized, "to hold out some public encouragement, as an honorary dress, title, or other rewards, to any landholder or other person of local influence, who should distinguish himself by active and successful endeavours to discourage and suppress the sacrifice of Hindoo widows." The chief Secretary to Government replied;—"His Lordship in council will be happy to notice by a suitable mark of his approbation any Zemindar, or other Native of rank or respectability, who may have caused or may cause the discontinuance of the practice, where it was before prevalent among his own relations and connexions, and may have successfully exerted himself in procuring the general relinquishment of it in his own estate, or to any considerable extent within the sphere of his influence."‡

The nature of the system of discountenancing Suttees pursued on the Madras side of India was as follows:—"Before any woman can destroy herself by burning, permission must be obtained of the magistrate. On the request being preferred the applicant is directed to wait a little for an answer; the magistrate in the mean time sends for his cutwal and instructs him to proclaim that a certain woman intends burning herself, but should any bunian or bukall be discovered selling any article required for the purpose to the said woman, or any cooly offering his assistance by carrying oil, wood, &c., to the spot appointed, the former shall be turned out of the bazar, and the latter otherwise punished. It is also proclaimed that, should any crowd collect, the police peons are to

* Par. Papers, vol. iii. p. 47. † Vol. i. pp. 264—268.

‡ Vol. v. p. 51.

disperse it, and to confine to the Cutwal's Choultry all persons resisting the police authority ; should any Brahmun belonging to any public offices be seen in the crowd, or any of his relations aiding the ceremony, *such servant shall be discharged from his situation.* The whole of this being proclaimed, the applicant is desired to take leave. As may be expected, it has been observed, that *with these restrictions no burning has taken place !—Prevent a crowd from collecting to witness the immolation, and rest assured no such ceremony proceeds !** (R. Moligaipore, March 1823.)

The opinion of some of the more intelligent Hindoos, respecting the propriety and utility of humane and decisive measures for the prevention of this rite, appears by some letters in the Asiatic Journal for July 1826, written in English by natives of Bengal. Two or three short extracts only are given :—

“ Her brother Roopnarain Gosaul, who is supposed to be a wealthy man, and being so long in the Hon. Company's Service ought to be discharged from his place, and prosecuted in the Supreme Court for giving countenance to such an inhuman act. *No body anger could be minded when a life is concerned ; she ought to be prevented to burn.* If Governor General gives orders to remove the woman from her relations, at her pronouncing that she will burn, and allow her to remain one day in a comfortable place with English Ladies that understand the country's language, there is not doubt her mind shall be purified, and her foolish thoughts shall be removed, and will not be anxious to do such a base act as to burn with the dead person.” (Muddunmohun Mullick, Calcutta, Jan. 1826.)

“ I fully agree with the sentiments contained in Muddunmohun's letter. If the Government in Council give orders to remove all the women on pronouncing that they will burn, to be placed with an intelligent English person to persuade them to the contrary, and not allow any of the relations to converse, or make them take intoxicating drugs, they will never die in such an inhuman manner. I have lost my wife these six years, and have not married again for fear she may burn with my body at my death.—The Hindoo women have no sense ; they hear from their superiors the cremation is an holy act, and they are fools enough to listen to it, which only induces them to express their sentiments that they will burn ; and as soon as such a declaration is obtained, all the unfeeling relations use all their exertions to induce the poor unfortunate widows to suffer such a cruel death. I hope you will not refuse to have this appeared in your interesting Paper, and oblige me.” (Sunchurn Sill, Calcutta, Jan. 1826.)

In many instances, the humane exertions of Magistrates, and various other individuals, have been successful in dissuading from the sacrifice, or rescuing the victims of superstition, when fleeing from the men, whose “ feet are swift to shed blood.”

In the Bareilly division it is reported in the official docu-

† See also Shepherd's Inefficiency of the Ecc. Esta. of India, 2d. edition (London), pp. 67, 68 ; and Asi. Jour., April 1830, p. 260.

ments that, in 1815, three women were prevented from becoming Suttees. In the Patna division, in 1817, twenty-five Suttees took place, but five women were prevented, who "were saved from burning by the interference of the people of the village, or by the arrival of the police officers." In the same year five Suttees are stated to have been prevented in the city of Benares. In the following year three other Suttees were prevented in the same city, and, "one woman, cast a Brahmun, ran away from the pile after it was set fire to, and is still living." Four widows were saved at Cuddapah in 1820.* The Magistrate of the Patna division, in his returns of Suttees for 1822, writes,—"It is with satisfaction that I have noted that *twelve widows* have been either prevented or dissuaded from becoming Suttees; in nine of which they were dissuaded by the police officers; in one the widow was prevented by a police officer, on account of a legal impediment, and in the two remaining cases the widows were dissuaded, one by the Zemindar of the village and the other by her friends." In the returns from the same division for 1823 is the following interesting statement:—"It will probably be considered the most remarkable feature of the present report that, on *nine occasions* of intended Suttees, at which alone the police officers had an opportunity of being present, *they succeeded, without difficulty or opposition, in dissuading the widows from sacrificing themselves.* From the inquiries that I have been able to make on the subject of Suttees during the last two years, I do not hesitate to offer an opinion that, in this district, it would not be attended with any dissatisfaction of a dangerous nature, if the Government should deem it proper *to prohibit this lamentable custom altogether*; it even appears to me, that the inhabitants of the district generally are prepared to hear of such a prohibition."† Why was not such a prohibition immediately issued?

In some parts of Orissa a pit is used, and the woman, after circumambulating it three or seven times, throws herself into the fire. The Author saw one of these pits at Juggernaut's temple, in May 1824, but did not hear of the Suttee in time to be present. Even from this pit the victim sometimes escapes. In the Par. Papers of 1825, is the following account:—"Rahang, in the thannah of Pooree (Juggernaut), died Aug. 25, 1823, and his widow, Mussumut Munee, aged fifty, declared her intention of becoming a Suttee, and repeated the declara-

* Par. Papers, vol. i. pp. 167, 173; vol. iv. and v. pp. 22—24.

† Par. Papers, vol. iv. p. 122. See also Par. Papers, 1828, p. 18.

tion in the presence of the police officers. In pursuance of this intention, the day following she went through the usual ceremonies, and *threw herself into a burning pit, where the body of her husband was consuming*; but almost immediately leaped out and made her escape. She was severely but not dangerously burnt, and an engagement was taken from the managers of the village, binding themselves that she should be taken care of and proper remedies applied. She returned to her family and was received by them as usual.*

The Regulation of 1813, to confine the practice, as was anticipated, to the directions of the shastra, has been given, and its impolitic and mischievous character is evident. To adduce another proof, in addition to what has been advanced, J. F. Petty, Esq., Magistrate in the Southern Concan, in 1819, observed,—“As far as my observation goes, I shall say that the humane intentions of the framers of the Regulations, regarding these ceremonies, will not be fully answered. Some few widows, perhaps, escape, as falling under exceptions specified in the Bengal pundit’s reports; whilst, on the other hand, it can hardly be doubted, that the necessary presence of the police officers of Government, at these immolations, stamps on them that character of *strict legality*, and seems to afford them *that degree of countenance on the part of Government, which must produce an evil effect.*”†

Among the *decisive measures* of the British Government to suppress the Suttee, was a Regulation “*prohibiting widows of the Joge tribe from burying themselves alive with the bodies of their husbands,*” issued Sep. 1817. It was as follows:—

1. “It having been ascertained that the shastra contains no authority for a practice which has prevailed amongst the Joge tribe in some parts of the country, especially in the district of Tipperah, of burying alive the widows of persons of that tribe, who desire to be interred with the bodies of their deceased husbands, such practice must necessarily be regarded as a criminal offence under the general laws and regulations of Government.

2. “The magistrates and police officers, in every district where the practice above mentioned has been known to exist, shall be careful to make the present prohibition as publicly known as possible; and if any person, after being advised of it, shall appear to have been concerned in burying a woman alive in opposition thereto, he shall be apprehended and brought to trial for the offence before the Court of Circuit.

3. “The magistrates and police officers are farther directed to use all practicable means for preventing any such illegal act; and an attempt to commit the same, after the promulgation of these rules, though not carried completely into effect, will, on conviction, be punishable by the city magis-

* pp. 109, 150. See vol. v. pp. 18, 19, 28.

† Par. Papers, vol. i. p. 254.

trate, or by the Court of Circuit, according to the degree of criminality and circumstance of the case."*



BURYING ALIVE A HINDOO WIDOW.

The nature of the rite of burying alive, is affectingly described by an eye-witness, the late Capt. Kemp, in 1813.

"It is the custom of the Jogeé sect to bury their dead; preparation was therefore made for the interment of the deceased, as also, (shocking to relate,) of his wife, a young woman of about *sixteen* years of age, who had signified her intention of being buried alive with the dead body of her husband. Accordingly, at six P. M., they repaired to the place of interment, a little below our bungalow, at the water side. At nine P. M. I went to the place, and found a large concourse of people of both sexes collected, and some employed digging a circular grave, which, when finished, might have been thirteen or fourteen feet in circumference, and five feet six inches in

* Par. Papers, vol. i. p. 141. Mis. Reg., Dec. 1823, p. 564.

depth. I could scarcely believe that persons in their senses could, in a voluntary manner, be brought to terminate their existence in such a horrid manner, and had suspected some intoxicating liquor, or herbs of a narcotic nature, were used on similar occasions, to deprive these deluded victims of their reason; but, on conversing with her, I found her free from all effects of this nature, and all efforts to persuade her from this desperate purpose of rushing into the presence of her Creator as a suicide, had no effect. On asking her mother, who was by her, how she could divest herself of that feeling, which was even discernible amongst the most ferocious inhabitants of the jungle, who would run to save their offspring from destruction, even at the risk of their own lives. Her reply was, it was her daughter's determination, and what could she do?

"The dead body was now placed in a sitting posture at the bottom of the grave: the young woman was then brought forward. She held a small basket, having betel leaves in it, with one hand, while with the other she distributed, during seven circumvolutions about the grave, koe (sugar-plums) and cowries; all were anxious to catch some of this consecrated donation. The seventh time that she had walked round the grave, she stopped, when a Brahman repeated some words to her. She now lifted up her right hand above her head, with her fore-finger erect, she waved it in a circular manner, pronouncing the words, 'Hurree bol, Hurree bol,' in which the surrounding multitude joined her. She then, without any reluctance or dismay, descended to the bottom of the grave, placed herself behind the dead body of her husband, her left hand round his waist, the other over her own head, which she reclined between his shoulders. In this position the mother was called (as I supposed) to resign her daughter, or to sanction her conduct, by applying a wisp of lighted straw to the crown of her head, for the space of a second or two. The grave was now gradually filled by the by-standers, whilst two men trod the fallen earth around the living and the dead, as a gardener does the mould around a newly transplanted tree, and thus deliberately proceeded till the earth rose to the surface, leaving the bodies about three feet beneath; when the multitude dispersed."*

Burying alive was practised after the promulgation of the above Regulation. The Magistrate of Burdwan, in 1820, was commended for not using his authority to save the widow of a jogee.† The Magistrate of Tipperah in 1825 reports,—"In this District female Immolation, by means of *burying alive*, appears to be very prevalent. This custom is peculiar to the Jogeey or weaver cast, and more than one half of the sacrifices which occurred, during this year, were done by these means."‡ How soon the above Regulation became a dead letter! The Somachar Durpun, a Newspaper in Bengalee, also contained the following account,—"A certain jogee, or weaver, inhabitant of Somrah, died; his wife, according to the custom of her own cast, went down to the grave with her deceased husband. Her friends and relatives instantly covered the victim and the

/* Dr. Johns' Pamphlet on the Suttee, 1816, pp. 66—68.

† Par. Papers, vol. ii. p. 27. See vol. vii. p. 21.

‡ Par. Papers, vol. vii. 1830, p. 27.

corpse with earth, and in this inhuman manner made an end of her existence."* It is hoped, that the recent measures for the abolition of the Suttee, will be of a more effective and permanent character, than the above Regulation.

Previously to the adoption of Lord W. Bentinck's decisive Regulation, of Dec. 1829, some preparatory steps appear to have been taken. The Rev. Mr. Smith, a Missionary at Benares, advertises to them in Feb. 1829.—"Went out by the river side and conversed with a number of Brahmuns on religious subjects, and also brought in the order respecting the prohibition of Suttees. On hearing which, a Brahmun exclaimed. 'What has Government now arisen from sleep? So many years has this cruel practice been carried on, and has compassion at last entered into their breasts? They ought to have prevented this horrid practice many years ago.' It astonished me," says Mr. S., "to hear such expressions from a Hindoo." An interesting statement is also given by him, of this prohibitory order being read by the Daroga at *Gopee gunj*, before more than 200 Brahmuns and pundits: after which, the whole listened to his preaching the gospel, and some individuals seemed to be much affected by it. "The English," say they, "now wish to enlighten us."

This prohibition enjoined, "That no Suttee should take place, in future, in the District; but should any woman feel determined to be burned with the corpse of her husband, notice should be given to the magistrate; and should it be sanctioned, she must then gather firewood herself, and prepare the pile without making any fence to it, and it should be done in the presence of the daroga. After putting a slow fire to the pile, she must voluntarily get on it; and should any person be found assisting, advising, and encouraging her in the horrid deed, they should be *prosecuted*; as the flames touch her body, should she wish to get off the pile, nobody should prevent her; and should any person be found threatening her, in order to keep her in the flame, that they should be prosecuted as murderers."†

Some measures of a similar character were also adopted by the Governor of Bombay, before the abolition of the Suttee in that Presidency. The India Gazette, in Feb. 1830, stated, "Although the burning of widows was chiefly practised in Bengal, yet it is well known that instances of it are not unfrequent in the territories subject to the other Presidencies. It is probable that the example of the Supreme Government,

* Asi. Jour., Feb. 1827.

† Asi. Jour., Nov. 1830, p. 134.

will lead to the entire abolition of the practice; but, in the mean time, it is interesting to know *the course which is adopted for its regulation where it is still permitted*. Instructions, we understand, have been given by the Governor in Council at Bombay, to all the civil authorities of that Presidency, to the following effect;—That when a Suttee requests leave of a Magistrate, to burn with the body of her deceased husband, he is to assemble a *Punchayet* of the most respectable natives, who are to report whether permission should be given. This is wary treading on what is believed to be dangerous ground; but no one can suppose that the verdict of the native *punchayets* against the unfortunate widows, will exonerate British rulers from the moral guilt of being accessories to the sacrifice, or from the stigma which it attaches to their political government of the country. This mode of proceeding is probably as unobjectionable as any other that can be suggested, short of abolition; but it is a mere subterfuge, and only proves the anxiety which men of humane and generous feelings experience, to remove, as far as possible from themselves, all participation in so unnatural and odious a transaction.*

The following is the Regulation for abolishing the Suttee “throughout the Territories immediately subject to the Presidency of Fort William, passed by the Governor General in Council, Dec. 4, 1829.”†

“The practice of Suttee, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos, is revolting to the feelings of human nature; it is nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindoos as an imperative duty; on the contrary, a life of purity and retirement on the part of the widow is more especially and preferably inculcated, and by a vast majority of that people throughout India the practice is not kept up nor observed: in some extensive districts it does not exist; in those in which it has been most frequent it is notorious that, in many instances, acts of atrocity have been perpetrated, which have been shocking to the Hindoos themselves, and, in their eyes, unlawful and wicked. The measures hitherto adopted to discourage and prevent such acts have failed of success, and the Governor General in Council is deeply impressed with the conviction, that the abuses in question cannot be effectually put an end to without abolishing the practice altogether. Actuated by these considerations, the Governor General in Council, without intending to depart from one of the first and most important principles of the system of British Government in India, that all classes of the people be secured in the observance of their religious usages, so long as that system can be adhered to without violation of the paramount dictates of justice and

* Asi. Jour., Aug. 1830, p. 206.

† Par. Papers, vol. viii. June 1830, pp. 4, 5. See a projected Regulation of the late J. H. Harrington, Esq., Feb. 1827, in anticipation of the abolition of the Suttee, Par. Papers, vol. vii. 1830, pp. 130—132.

humanity, has deemed it right to establish the following rules, which are hereby enacted to be in force from the time of their promulgation *throughout the Territories immediately subject to the Presidency of Fort William.*

II. "The practice of Suttee, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos, is hereby declared illegal, and punishable by the Criminal Courts.

III. "First, All Zemindars, Talookdars, or other proprietors of land, whether Malguzaree, or Lakherraj; all Sudder farmers, and Under-rulers of land of every description; all dependent Talookdars; all Naibs, and other local agents; all native officers employed in the collection of the revenue, and rents of land on the part of Government, or the Court of Wards; and all Munduls, or other head men of villages, are hereby declared especially accountable for the immediate communication to the officers of the nearest police station, of any intended sacrifice of the nature described in the foregoing section; and any Zemindar, or other description of persons above noticed, to whom such responsibility is declared to attach, who may be convicted of wilfully neglecting or delaying to furnish the information above required, shall be liable to be fined by the Magistrate, or joint Magistrates, in any sum not exceeding 200 rupees, and in default of payment to be confined, for any period of imprisonment, not exceeding six months.

"Second—Immediately on receiving intelligence that the sacrifice declared illegal by this Regulation is likely to occur, the Police Darogah shall either repair in person to the spot, or depute his Mohurhir or Jemadar, accompanied by one or more Burkendazes of the Hindoo religion, and it shall be the duty of the police officers to announce to the persons assembled for the performance of the ceremony, that it is illegal, and endeavour to prevail on them to disperse, explaining to them that in the event of their persisting in it, they will involve themselves in a crime, and become subject to a punishment in the Criminal Courts. Should the parties assembled proceed in defiance of these remonstrances, to carry the ceremony into effect, it shall be the duty of the police officers to use all lawful means in their power to prevent the sacrifice from taking place, and to apprehend the principal persons aiding or abetting in the performance of it; and in the event of the police officers being unable to apprehend them, they shall endeavour to ascertain their names and places of abode, and shall immediately communicate the whole of the particulars to the Magistrate, or joint Magistrates, for his orders.

"Third—Should intelligence of a sacrifice, declared illegal by this Regulation, not reach the police officers until after it shall actually have taken place, or should the sacrifice have been carried into effect before their arrival at the spot, they will, nevertheless, institute a full inquiry into the circumstances of the case, in like manner as on all other occasions of unnatural death, and report them for the information and orders of the Magistrate, or joint Magistrates, to whom they may be subordinate.

IV. "First—On the receipt of the reports required to be made by the Police Darogahs, under the provision of the foregoing Sections, the Magistrate, or joint Magistrates, of the jurisdiction in which the sacrifice may have taken place, shall inquire into the circumstances of the case, and shall adopt the necessary measures for bringing the parties, concerned in promoting it, to trial before the Court of Circuit.

"Second—It is hereby declared, that after the promulgation of this Regulation, all persons convicted of aiding and abetting in the sacrifice of a Hindoo widow, by burning or burying her alive, whether the sacrifice be voluntary on her part or not, shall be deemed guilty of culpable homicide, and

shall be liable to punishment, by fine or by imprisonment, or by both fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the Court of Circuit, according to the nature and circumstances of the case, and degree of guilt established against the offender; nor shall it be held to be any plea of justification that he or she was desired by the party sacrificed to assist in putting her to death.

“ *Third*—Persons committed to take their trial before the Court of Circuit, for the offence above mentioned, shall be admitted to bail or not, at the discretion of the Magistrates, or joint Magistrates, subject to the general rules in force, in regard to the admission of bail.

V. “ It is further deemed necessary to declare, that nothing contained in this Regulation, shall be construed to preclude the Court of Nizamut Adawlut from passing sentence of death on persons convicted of using violence or compulsion, or of having assisted in burning or burying alive a Hindoo widow, while labouring under a state of intoxication or stupefaction, or other cause, impeding the exercise of her free-will, when, from the aggravated nature of the offence proved against the prisoner, the Court may see no circumstance to render him or her a proper object of mercy.”

This magnanimous act of the Government of Lord W. Bentinck, will be mentioned in terms of high approbation by all succeeding generations. He has acquired honours, in comparison of which,

“ The laurels that a Cæsar reaps are weeds.”

In the official “ Letter from the Governor General in Council, to the Court of Directors,” relative to this important measure, are the following paragraphs, which appear worthy of the most extensive publicity.—

“ Your Honourable Court will be gratified by perceiving the great preponderance of opinions of the most intelligent and experienced of the civil and military officers, consulted by the Governor General, in favour of the abolition of Suttees, and of the perfect safety with which, in their judgment, the practice may be suppressed. A few indeed were of opinion, that it would be preferable, to effect the abolition, by the indirect interference of the Magistrates, and other public officers, with the tacit sanction alone on the part of Government; but we think there are very strong grounds against the policy of that mode of proceeding, independently of the embarrassing situation in which it would place the local officers, by allowing them to exercise a discretion in so delicate a matter. To use the words of the Governor General, we were ‘ decidedly in favour of an open, avowed, and general prohibition, resting altogether upon the moral goodness of the act, and our power to enforce it.’ ”

“ In conclusion, we venture to express a confident expectation, that under the blessing of Divine Providence the important measure which we have deemed it our duty to adopt, will be efficacious in putting down the abhorrent practice of Suttee, a consummation, we feel persuaded, not less anxiously desired by your Honourable Court, than by every preceding Government of India, although the state of the country was less favourable in former times than at present, for its full and complete execution. It would be too much to expect that the promulgation of the abolition will not excite some degree of clamour and dissatisfaction, but we are firmly persuaded that such feelings will be short-lived; and we trust, that no apprehension need be enter-

tained of its exciting any violent opposition, or any evil consequences whatsoever.

We have, &c.

(signed)

W. BENTINCK.

COMBERMERE.

W. B. BAYLEY.

C. T. METCALFE."*

"Fort William, 4th December, 1829.

The Madras Governor in Council, speedily followed the noble example of the Supreme Government in Bengal, and enacted a similar Regulation, bearing date Feb. 2, 1830. In the letter upon the subject to the Hon. Court of Directors, are the following important remarks,—“We fully concurred in Mr. Lushington’s† opinion, that so far from this inhuman practice being strictly enjoined by the most celebrated and revered of the Hindoo lawgivers, a life of piety and virtue was, by them, specially ordained to be observed by widows; and that the abolition of this cruel and revolting custom would be an act of duty and of mercy, to that small portion of the Hindoos who still adhered to it, provided it could be accomplished without entailing worse consequences upon the people at large, and upon our empire over them. Having, therefore, under consideration, the long experience which all classes of the people have now had of that spirit of toleration and regard, for all their religious institutions, by which our Governments have always been distinguished; reflecting also upon the present tranquil state of these Territories, and of our political relations throughout India, we felt no apprehension, that the few who may be disaffected to the Company’s power, would be able to excite any serious misconstruction from our execution of what has been so long the humane desire of your Honourable Court, and we therefore resolved, that the time had now arrived when this barbarous custom might be safely prohibited.”†

The Suttee was abolished in the Bombay Presidency, before the close of the year 1830. The Asiatic Journal contains the following “Motion of thanks, to Sir John Malcolm, from the Bombay Missionary Union,” bearing the date Nov. 1, 1830:—“That the grateful acknowledgments of the Union should be presented to the Hon. Major General, Sir John Malcolm, G. C. B., Governor of Bombay, for the facilities, which he has granted for the preaching of the gospel in all parts of the Bombay Territories, *for his honourable exertions in the abolition of Suttee*, and for the kind manner in which he has

* Par. Papers, vol. viii. 1830, pp. 3, 4.

† The Governor.

† Par. Papers, vol. viii. 1830, p. 6.

countenanced Christian education."—The "Reply" is so honourable to all parties, that its insertion cannot but be acceptable to the reader:—"Sir, I entreat you to convey to the Bombay Missionary Union, that they may communicate to the Societies, of which they are agents, my warm and sincere thanks for the kind expression of their sentiments; and I beg that you will assure them, that it is solely to their zeal and Christian humility, combined, as I have ever found it, with a spirit of toleration and good sense, that I owe any power I have possessed of aiding them in their good and pious objects, which, pursued as they are, by the members of the Societies who have honoured me with their approbation, must merit and receive the support of all who take an interest in the promotion of knowledge, the advancement of civilization, and the cause of truth."*

The probable prevalence of the Suttee at the present time in the tributary, allied, and independent States of India, and in the Asiatic Islands, is a subject of much interest. It may be presumed, that this unnatural custom being abolished within the Territories of the Hon. East India Company, the respective Governments will be led to promote its suppression wherever their influence can be exerted.

An interesting Paper, read before the "*Institute of France*," gives the following information respecting Hindostan. *Allies and Tributaries* of the British Government in India:—"The Nizam, inhabitants, ten millions; the Rajah of Nagpour, inhabitants, three millions; the king of Oude, inhabitants, three millions; the Guicowar, inhabitants, two millions; the Rajah of Mysore, inhabitants, three millions; the Rajah of Sattarah, one million and a half; Travancore and Cochin, one million; Rajahs of Jeypore, Bicanere, &c., Holkar, the Seiks, the Row of Cutch, and a multiplicity of other chiefs—total inhabitants, fifteen millions. *Independent States.* The Rajah of Nepaul, inhabitants, two millions; the Rajah of Lahore, inhabitants, three millions; Sind, inhabitants, one million; the dominions of Sindia, inhabitants, four millions." Happy day when British and Christian influence realizes the abolition of the Suttee, and every inhuman custom among these numerous tribes and nations.

In *Nepaul*, an independent State north of Bengal, the rite of Suttee has existed, and it may be feared is still practised. Hamilton, in his account of this State, observes:—"The higher ranks, when not compelled by the most urgent necessity, con-

ceal their women, and their widows ought to burn themselves with their husbands' corpse, *the custom being more prevalent than in most parts of India, the vicinity of Calcutta excepted.* In Nov. 1816, the Rajah of Nepaul, while the ministers and principal persons of the Court were deliberating, regarding the expediency of having him vaccinated, died of the small pox, at the early age of 21 years. One of his Queens, one of his concubines, and *five* female attendants were burnt alive along with the corpse. The last words of the unfortunate Queen were collected, and treasured up; as whatever a Suttee utters is supposed to be prophetic.* The Calcutta John Bull, in Jan. 1824, contained the following appalling fact.—“General Bheem Syre’s eldest nephew, Vizier Singh, arrived at Nepaul in November, and died Dec. 3d. The following day the body was burnt, and along with it, *two of his wives and three slave girls!* the latter had not the honour of being burnt on the same pile, but had one to themselves. The brother of the deceased, with his nephew in his arms, lighted the funeral fires—such being the custom! *Suttees are not unfrequent in the valley.* A curious one took place some months ago, of a woman burning herself with her seducer, who had been killed by her husband. *So much for religious ordinances!*”

“By accounts lately received from the *Hill country, twenty-eight females were burnt with the remains of one of the Rajahs;* there appear to have been two other women who escaped; one was pregnant, the other resisted all opportunity to be burnt. How can we expect that these horrid practices will cease among the neighbouring heathen princes, while they are countenanced by the British Government!”† Surely the conduct of Britain, in suppressing this horrid rite in her eastern dominions, will lead to its extirpation in every part of Asia.

The writer of “*Sketches of India,*” observes;—“In the middle of the hills of *Upper Tibet*, (beyond Depra,) are many rude piles of stones four or five feet high, erected in the simplest manner. On a few of them moss had gathered and imprinted age and decay. On inquiry I learned that these were the monuments of Suttees, and that in these peaceful regions, *they were very frequent.*”‡

The Asiatic Journal contains an account of a Suttee, in the little Independent Territory of *Angria*, contiguous to Bombay, subsequent to the abolition of the practice in the other Presi-

* Ham. Hind., vol. ii. pp. 672, 684, 689.

† Proceedings of Manchester Meeting relative to Suttees, May 1827.

‡ For a description of a Suttee in Tibet, see p. 68.

dencies of India.—“The widow of a native of Bombay, in Aug. 1830, determining to perform the rite of Suttee, proceeded from Bombay to Allybagh, in *Angria’s* territory, where she ordered a pile to be erected. She refused to accept the dress which is usually given by *Angria*, to Suttees coming to his country. Having performed the religious ceremony preparatory to self-immolation, she approached the pile with courage, accompanied by a crowd of people, and the horsemen and other retinue furnished by *Angria*: and as she was about to ascend the pile, she took a pinch of snuff, and gave her nose-ring and ear-rings to her son, who was standing by her. She requested that the posts supporting the shade over the pile, (which are usually cut down, and thus shorten the sufferings of the Suttee,) might on no account be cut away.”*

The Suttee probably still exists among the *Jahrejas* of Guzerat and Cutch. Col. Walker thus described its prevalence in 1808 :—“It is remarkable that it is the practice of these rakkhees, to perform Suttee with deceased *Jahrejas*, which is but rarely done by their wives. When *Rao Lacka*, the grandfather of *Rao Raydim*, the present chief of Cutch, died, *fifteen rakkhees burnt at his funeral pile!* Two of these women were Mahomedans of the country, and another a *See-deen*; the rest were Hindoos of different castes, *but not one of Rao Lacka’s wives sacrificed herself on this occasion*. This deviation from the general Hindoo practice is merely the effect of another custom, as there is no law against a *Jahreja* wife burning with her husband, and she sometimes voluntarily devotes herself to the flames. This ceremony is less expected from the wife than the rakkhee; and these unfortunate females conceive it a point of honour to consume themselves with their lords, being often inspired with a dreadful emulation to become the first victim. It may be mentioned as another extraordinary deviation from the general custom of Hindoos, that, in the district of *Hulwud*, *the wives of the lowest castes invariably burn with their husbands*, which may be the reason that the *Jahreja* women excuse themselves; and, as it is only people of rank who keep rakkhees, instances of this nature are not frequent.”†

Sir John Malcolm, in his account of *Malwa*, in 1821, makes the following deeply interesting, but brief reference to the prevalence of the Suttee in the adjacent states :—“It is consolatory to state, that those shocking scenes which *still*

* *Asi. Journ.*, April 1831, p. 188.

† *Par. Papers on Infanticide*, 1824, p. 41.

occur on the death of the princes of Jaypore, Joudpore, and Oudipore, to swell whose funeral honours numbers of unwilling females are forcibly thrown upon the pile, have long been unknown in Malwa."*

Crawford's "History of the Indian Archipelago," states the existence of the sacrifice of women, among the inhabitants of the Island of Bali.—"In Bali, this practice is carried to an extent unknown even in India. When a wife offers herself, the sacrifice is termed *Satya*; when a concubine, slave, or other domestic, *Bela*, or retaliation. A woman of any cast may sacrifice herself in this manner; but it is most frequent with those of military and mercantile classes. Women of the servile class seldom sacrifice themselves; and never of the sacred. It mostly occurs on the death of princes and persons of rank." The Rajah of Blelliry stated, that when the body of his father was burnt, 74 women sacrificed themselves with it. In 1813, 20 women sacrificed themselves on the funeral pile of *Wayaham Balanteg*. The female domestics of a chief, in numbers sacrifice themselves, as well as his wives."

"In 1633 the Dutch sent an embassy to the Sultan of Motaram, who saw an execution of this kind. The Queen was dead. The narrative states, 'The same day about noon, the Queen's body was burnt without the city, with twenty-two of her female slaves. The body was drawn out of a large aperture made in the wall. The female slaves destined to accompany the dead went before, according to their ranks; those of the lowest rank taking the lead, each supported from behind by an old woman, and carried on a badi† skilfully constructed of bamboos, and decked all over with flowers. There were placed before a roasted pig, some rice, some betel, and other fruits, as an offering to their gods; and these unhappy victims of the most direful idolatry, were thus carried in triumph to the sound of different instruments, to the place where they were to be, in the sequel, poniarded and consumed by fire. Each, there, found a particular scaffold prepared for her, nearly in the form of a trough raised upon four short posts, and edged on two sides with planks. After moving three times round in a circle, at the same pace at which they arrived, and still sitting in their litters, they were forthwith taken out of the vehicles, one after another, in order to be placed in the troughs. Presently five men and one or two women approached them, pulling off the flowers with which they were adorned, while at each occasion, holding their joined hands above their heads, they raised the pieces of the offering, which the other women, posted behind, laid hold of and threw upon the ground, as well as the flowers. Some of the attendants set loose a pigeon or a fowl, to mark by that, that their soul was on the point of taking its flight to the mansion of the blessed.'

At this last signal they were divested of all their garments, except their sashes, and four of the men seizing the victim, two by the arms which they

* Report on Malwa, Feb. 1821. Par. Papers, vol. v. p. 44.

† A kind of litter.

held out extended, and two by the feet, the victim standing, the fifth prepared himself for the execution, the whole being done without covering the eyes.

Some of the most courageous demanded the poniard themselves, which they received in the right hand, passing it into the left; after respectfully kissing the weapon, they wounded their right arms, sucked the blood which flowed from the wound, and stained their lips with it, making, with the point of the finger, a bloody mark on the forehead; then returning the dagger to their executioners, they received a first stab between the false ribs, and a second from the same side under the shoulder blade, the weapon being thrust up to the hilt, in a slanting direction towards the heart. As soon as the horrors of death were visible in the countenance, they were permitted to fall prone on the ground; their limbs were pulled from behind, and they were stripped of the last remnant of their dress, so that they were left in a state of perfect nakedness.

After this, the nearest relations, or others, washed the bodies, which were then burnt to ashes. The dead body of the Queen was then brought forward, which was also consumed. The bones of the Queen only were preserved, the rest having been gathered up and thrown away. When a prince or princess of the royal family dies, their women, or slaves, run round the body, uttering cries, or frightful howlings. The King designates next day, who are to be slaughtered. A woman whose husband dies is not obliged to follow this barbarous custom; yet those who do not offer themselves are shut up in a convent, and should they escape, and be taken, are then poniarded, dragged through the streets, and the body then cast to the dogs. At the funeral of the King's two sons, who died just before the Queen, forty-two women of one, and thirty-four of the other, were poniarded and burnt. On such occasions, princesses of the royal blood leap at once into the flames. The first wife of the younger of these two, having been married but three months, and very young, wished to be excused, and asked her father whether she ought to devote herself. Her father persuaded her to devote herself, and the wretched young woman leaped into the flames. On the death of the reigning King, 100 or 150 devote themselves to the flames, and then none are poniarded."*

A recent account of the Island *Bali*, or *little Java*, furnished by some Missionaries who visited it in 1829, shews that the Suttee exists among its rude inhabitants:—

"There are instances of the widows of the lower class choosing to burn with the dead body of their husbands, but these are very rare; whereas, *when a king dies, it is the invariable custom, for several of his widows to burn with him.* At the death of a king, his wives of royal blood, are asked if they will follow him, as they term it, into the other world, and on their assenting they are put to live apart, and are allowed to eat and drink the richest viands, to dress in the most costly apparel, and to visit their friends and relations as much as they please, in order that they may enjoy all this world's delights previous to their going out of it. The king's body is consumed separately, and a distinct pit of fire is prepared for each of the women who choose to burn. Here they part with their ornaments, and scatter presents among the people; after which, taking a creese, they wound themselves slightly in the arms, and smearing themselves with the blood, mount the scaffold, and precipitate themselves into the pit. In the last year, *thirteen* women, some of them blooming and young, were burnt alive in *Baliling*, upon occasion of the

* *Histoire General des Voyages*, vol. xvii. p. 52, &c.

death of the old king. Some of them are said to feel their hearts fail, when they see the fire ; but the stage is so constructed, that by tilting up the end of the board, they are precipitated into it, whether they will or not. If by any means they escape, they are creased on the spot. The women are induced to take this resolution, from the degradation which threatens to await them should they refuse ; and from the certainty of their being creased in private if they be of royal blood : for it would be an indelible dishonour on the whole nation, if the royal widows were to go astray.”*

The reader will hear with surprise, that a rite similar to the Suttee has been found to exist among the sable Yarribanians, in *Africa*. The Landers, when at *Jenna*, in April 1830, discovered that, “it is the custom there, when a Governor dies, for two of his favourite wives to quit the world on the same day, to ‘bear him company.’” The travellers state, in their interesting narrative :—

“To-day, one of these unfortunates was discovered in her hiding-place at the present governor’s, and the alternative of a poisoned chalice, or to have her head broken by the club of the fetish-priest, was offered her. She has chosen the former mode of dying, as being the less terrible of the two, and has come to our yard, to spend her last hours in the society of her faithful slaves. These address their mistress by the endearing name of mother. Poor creatures ! As soon as they learned her misfortune, they dropped their spinning ; the grinding of corn was also relinquished ; their sheep, goats, and poultry were suffered to roam at large without restraint ; and they abandoned themselves to the most excessive grief. But now, the arrival of their mistress has added, if possible, to their affliction. . . . Females have been coming all day to condole with the old lady, and to weep with her ; so that we have heard and seen nothing but sobbing and crying from morning till the setting of the sun. The principal males in the town have likewise been here, to pay their last respects to their mistress ; and so has her grave-digger, who has just risen from prostrating himself on the ground before her. Notwithstanding the representations and remonstrances of the priest, and the prayers of the venerable victim to her gods for fortitude to undergo the dreadful ordeal, her resolution has forsaken her more than once. She has entered our yard twice, to expire in the arms of her women, and twice has she laid aside the fatal poison, in order to take another walk, and gaze once more on the splendour of the sun and the glory of the heavens, for she cannot bear the idea of losing sight of them for ever ! She is still restless and uneasy, and would gladly run away from Death, if she durst ; for that imaginary being appears to her in a more terrible light than our pictures represent him, with his shadowy form and fatal dart. Die she must, and she knows it ; nevertheless she will tenaciously cling to life till the very last moment. Meanwhile her grave is preparing, and preparations are making for a wake at her funeral. She is to be buried here in one of her own huts, the moment after the spirit has quitted the body, which will be ascertained by striking the ground near which it may be lying at the time, when, if no motion or struggle ensues, the old woman will be considered as dead. The poison used by the natives on this occasion destroys life, it is said, in fifteen minutes.

“The reason of our not meeting with a better reception at Laatoo, when we slept there, was the want of a chief to that town, the last having followed

* *Asi. Journ.*, Nov. 1830, p. 242.

the old governor of Jenna to the shades, for he was his slave. Widows are burnt in India, just as they are poisoned or clubbed here; but in the former country, I believe, no male victims are destroyed on such occasions. The origin of this abominable custom is understood to have arisen, from a dread on a part of the chiefs of the country in olden time, that their principal wives, who alone were in possession of their confidence, and knew where their money was concealed, might secretly attempt their life, in order at once to establish their own freedom, and become possessed of the property. That, far from having any motives to destroy her husband, a woman might, on the contrary, have a strong inducement to cherish him as long as possible, the existence of the wife was made to depend entirely on that of her lord; and this custom has been handed down from father to son even to the present time. But why *men* also, who can have no interest to gain on the death of their prince, should be obliged to conform to the same rite, is not near so easily accounted for. The present governor of Jenna must of necessity go down to the grave on the first intelligence of the demise of the king of Yarriba; and as that monarch is a very aged man, the situation of the former is not the most enviable in the world.

"Previous to her swallowing the poison, the favourite wife of a deceased chief or ruler destroys privately all the wealth, or rather money of her former partner, in order that it may not fall into the hands of his successor. The same custom is observed at Badagry also; and although the king's son may be of age at the period of his father's death, he inherits his authority and influence only. He is left to his own sagacity and exertions to procure wealth, which can seldom be obtained without rapine, enslavement, and bloodshed.

"The old queen-dowager, like Prior's thief,

"Often takes leave, but seems loath to depart: '

although her doom is inevitably sealed, she has been more cheerful to-day than yesterday, and seems determined to spin out her thread of life to its utmost limit. Spies are now set over her, and she is not permitted to go out of the yard.

—"Nothing deserving particular notice has occurred to-day. We have had the customary visit to our yard, of a long line of women, who come every morning, with rueful countenances and streaming eyes, to lament the approaching death of the old widow. They weep, they beat their breasts and tear their hair, they moan, and exhibit all manner of violent affliction at the expected deprivation. Perhaps their sorrow is sincere, perhaps it is feigned. At all events, their transports are ungoverned and outrageous; the first woman in the line begins to cry, and is instantly followed by the other voices; the opening notes of the lamentation are rather low and mournful,—the last wild and piercing.

"The principal people of the place, finding the old lady still obstinately bent on deferring her *exit*, have sent a messenger to her native village, to make known to her relatives, that, should she make her escape, they will take all of them into slavery, and burn their town to ashes, in conformity to an established and very ancient law. They would therefore strongly advise the relatives of the old woman, for their own sakes, and for the sake of the public, to use all their endeavours to prevail upon her to meet her fate honourably and with fortitude. A deputation is expected from the village tomorrow, when, no doubt, after a good deal of crying and condoling, and talking and persuading the matter will eventually be decided against the old lady. It is understood, that she has bribed a few of the most opulent

and influential inhabitants of Jemma with large sums of money, to induce them to overlook her dereliction from the path of duty, and that by their representations she has obtained the tacit consent of the King of Katunga to live out the full term of her natural life. But the people for many miles round, horror-struck at such impiety and contempt for ancient customs, have risen to enforce the laws of the country against her.”*

The necessity and propriety of persevering exertions till this horrid practice is extirpated from the world, is evident. The rite of Suttee was prohibited by Lord Bentinck, in the Bengal Presidency, in Dec. 1829. In Jan. 1830, a petition was presented to his Lordship, by a deputation of respectable natives of Calcutta, opposed to the Regulation; a similar petition was presented from the interior. In the reply his Lordship observed,—“If the petitioners should still be of opinion that the late Regulation is not in conformity with the enactments of the Imperial Parliament, they have an appeal to the King in Council, which the Governor General will be most happy to forward.”† A few days afterwards, two counter petitions were presented, expressive of thanks for the abolition of the Suttee practice; one signed by about 300 native inhabitants of Calcutta, presented, on their behalf, by Baboos, Callynath Roy, Huree Hur Dutt, Ram Mohun Roy, and others; the other from the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, signed by about 800 persons. The following is the Native Address, which was read in Bengalee by Callynath Roy, and afterwards in a translation into English by Huree Hur Dutt. The Native Petition, and Lord Bentinck’s reply, appear worthy of preservation, and cannot fail to interest the humane.

“To the Right Hon. Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, &c.

“My Lord:

“With hearts filled with the deepest gratitude, and impressed with the utmost reverence, we, the undersigned native inhabitants of Calcutta, and its vicinity, beg to be permitted to approach your Lordship, to offer personally our humble but warmest acknowledgments for the invaluable protection which your Lordship’s government has recently afforded to the lives of the Hindoo female part of your subjects, and for your humane and successful exertions in rescuing us for ever, from the gross stigma hitherto attached to our character as wilful murderers of females, and zealous promoters of the practice of suicide.

“Excessive jealousy of their female connexions, operating on the breasts of Hindoo princes, rendered those despots regardless of the common bonds of society, and of their incumbent duty as protectors of the weaker sex, insomuch that, with a view to prevent every possibility of their widows forming subsequent attachments, they availed themselves of their arbitrary power,

* Landers’ Expedition to the Niger. Eclectic Rev., May 1832, pp. 377—379.

† Asi. Journal, July 1830, p. 136.

and, under the cloak of religion, introduced the practice of burning widows alive, under the first impressions of sorrow or despair, immediately after the demise of their husbands. This system of female destruction, being admirably suited to the selfish and servile disposition of the populace, has been eagerly followed by them, in defiance of the most sacred authorities, such as the *Oopunishuds*, or the principal part of the *Veda*, and the *Bhugrut Geeta*, as well as of the direct commandment of *Munoo*, the first and the greatest of all the legislators, conveyed in the following words: 'Let a widow continue till death, forgiving all injuries, performing austere duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure' &c. (Ch. v. 51. v. 8.)

"While, in fact, fulfilling the suggestions of their jealousy, they pretended to justify this hideous practice by quoting some passages from authorities of evidently inferior weight, sanctioning the wilful ascent of a widow on the flaming pile of her husband, as if they were offering such female sacrifices in obedience to the dictates of the shastras, and not from the influence of jealousy. It is, however, very fortunate that the British Government, under whose protection the lives of both the males and females of India, have been happily placed by Providence, has, after diligent inquiry, ascertained that even those inferior authorities, permitting wilful ascent by a widow to the flaming pile, have been practically set aside; and that, in gross violation of their language and spirit, the relatives of widows have, in the burning of those infatuated females, almost invariably used to fasten them down on the pile, and heap over them large quantities of wood and other materials adequate to the prevention of their escape—an outrage on humanity which has been frequently perpetrated under the indirect sanction of native officers, undeservedly employed for the security of life and preservation of peace and tranquillity.

"In many instances, in which the vigilance of the magistrate has deterred the native officers of police from indulging their own inclination, widows have either made their escape from the pile, after being partially burnt, or retracted their resolution to burn when brought to the awful task, to the mortifying disappointment of the instigators; while, in some instances, the resolution to die has been retracted, on pointing out to the widows the impropriety of their intended undertaking, and on promising them safety and maintenance during life, notwithstanding the severe reproaches liable thereby to be heaped on them by their relatives and friends.

"In consideration of circumstances so disgraceful in themselves, and so incompatible with the principles of British rule, your Lordship in Council, fully impressed with the duties required of you by justice and humanity, has deemed it incumbent on you, for the honour of the British name, to come to the resolution, that the lives of your female Hindoo subjects should be henceforth more efficiently protected; that the heinous sin of cruelty to females may no longer be committed, and that the most ancient and purest system of Hindoo religion should not any longer be set at nought by the Hindoos themselves. The magistrates, in consequence are, we understand, positively ordered to execute the resolution of government by all possible means.

"We are, my Lord, reluctantly restrained by the consideration of the nature of your exalted situation, from indicating our inward feelings by presenting any valuable offering as commonly adopted on such occasions; but we should consider ourselves highly guilty of insincerity and ingratitude, if we remained negligently silent when urgently called upon by our feelings and conscience to express publicly the gratitude we feel for the everlasting obligation you have graciously conferred on the Hindoo community at large. We, however, are at a loss to find language sufficiently indicative even of

a small portion of the sentiments we are desirous of expressing on the occasion; we must, therefore, conclude this address with entreating that your Lordship will condescendingly accept our most grateful acknowledgments for this act of benevolence towards us, and will pardon the silence of those who, though equally partaking of the blessing, bestowed by your Lordship, have, through ignorance or prejudice, omitted to join us in this common cause."

The following was his Lordship's reply :

" It is very satisfactory for me to find that, according to the opinions of so many respectable and intelligent Hindoos, the practice which has recently been prohibited, not only was not required by the rules of their religion, but was at variance with those writings which they deem to be of the greatest force and authority. Nothing but a reluctance to inflict punishment, for acts which might be conscientiously believed to be enjoined by religious precepts, could have induced the British Government at any time to permit, within territories under its protection, a usage so violently opposed to the best feelings of human nature. Those who present this address are right in supposing, that by every nation in the world, except the Hindoos themselves, this part of their customs has always been made a reproach against them, and nothing so strangely contrasted with the better feelings of their own national character, so inconsistent with the affections which unite families, so destructive of the moral principles on which society is founded, has ever subsisted amongst a people, in other respects, so civilized. I trust that the reproach is removed for ever; and I feel a sincere pleasure in thinking, that the Hindoos will thereby be exalted in the estimation of mankind, to an extent in some degree proportioned to the repugnance which was felt for the usage which has now ceased."*

The Hindoos in Bengal, inimical to the abolition, determined to appeal to the King in Council; and a European (it is presumed professing himself a Christian !) was found, who undertook to advocate their object. To meet the expense of the undertaking a considerable sum was subscribed, and this renegade Christian embarked for England, to prosecute the revival of the unnatural rite of widow burning. The enlightened Hindoos were not backward in the representation of their sentiments in England, relative to the propriety of the Suttee abolition. The legal authorities against the rite were put together at great length from their most celebrated shastras. A Gentleman, who was proceeding to Europe, undertook the charge of them, free of expense, declaring, "he esteemed himself sufficiently happy in having witnessed the extinction of female Immolations."† Ram Mohun Roy also was the bearer of a Hindoo petition, in favour of the abolition, which was presented to the House of Lords, in July 1831.‡

The Appeal to the King in Council, against the Regulation abolishing the Suttee, was heard June 23, 1832, and the two following Saturdays. The author addressed letters, contain-

* Asi. Jour., July 1830, pp. 138—140. † Asi. Jour., Dec. 1830, p. 185.

‡ Asi. Jour., May, p. 20, and Aug. 1831, p. 229.

ing extracts from Menu against the rite, to Lords Brougham and Russell, and to the Hon. E. Ellice, M. P. by him to be laid before the Council for the Hon. East India Company, which was done. The Evening Mail, July 9th, thus speaks of the third meeting of the Privy Council:—"The Lords of His Majesty's most Hon. Privy Council, held a meeting on Saturday, at the Council chamber, Whitehall, to resume the hearing of an Appeal from the Hindoo inhabitants of India, against an order of the Governor General and the Supreme Council of Bengal, abolishing the rite of *Suttee*. The Lords present were, the Lord President, the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, the President of the Board of Control, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Paymaster of the Forces, Earl Amherst, Sir L. Shadwell, and Sir H. East; the Rajah Ram Mohun Roy was present. Mr. Greville, and the Hon. W. Bathurst, attended as clerks of the Privy Council. Mr. Sergeant Spankie resumed his address on the part of the East India Company, in support of the powers possessed by the Governor and Council to issue the order in question. Dr. Lushington rose to reply on the part of the appellants, and pointed out the spirit of discontent, which, according to the evidence of those most conversant with the feelings and customs of the Gentoo nation, would be excited, should their Lordships sanction this interference with one of their most sacred rites. Dr. L. concluded at three o'clock, when counsel withdrew. Their Lordships afterwards remained a considerable time in deliberation, and will submit the result to His Majesty in Council for his approbation." A few days after, a Privy Council was held by the King, at which the report of the Lords of the Council, on the petition from certain Hindoos, against the order of the Government of Bengal, abolishing the *Suttee*, heard at three different sittings, was taken into consideration by the King in Council, when it was ordered—that the petition be dismissed! Thus the important object of the abolition of *Suttees* has been happily effected, and the efforts of the few Hindoos in Bengal, who desired the continuance of this murderous rite, rendered abortive.

The Government in India should now be stimulated to promote the abolition of this rite in the tributary, allied, and independent states, and in the Eastern Islands. Representation and remonstrance from its Functionaries, would go far to effect the extirpation of this custom in every part of the East. This object should be steadily and sedulously pressed upon their attention. The expression of public opinion in this country

is very influential. The Hon. Court of Directors, in a public letter to the Governor General, in 1827, remarked, relative to the abolition of the Suttee, "You will have perceived, from the public channels of intelligence, that this is a subject which has excited a strong interest in the public mind of this country."* Let every philanthropist exert himself to promote the annihilation of this and every inhuman practice in Hindostan. Britain is eminently qualified for such a work, may she know and act agreeably to her high destiny. "Who that sees Great Britain yet upon her throne, after a conflict in which she has survived the united assaults of the European nations, and has equally triumphed over the arts and arms of her oriental enemies—who that beholds her 'sitting as a queen,' and, after having humbled the Tyrant of Europe, and raised the nations he had oppressed, now legislating in peace, for her own remote empire in the East;—who that beholds her enriched by commerce, and ennobled by conquest, will hesitate to pronounce, that this is peculiarly the time to interpose for the deliverance of her own subjects from the oppression of a sanguinary superstition, and to prove to the world that she has herself been preserved amidst surrounding ruin, for no ordinary purposes?"† And what are those purposes, but being the eminently honoured means, of promoting the universal diffusion of the principles of that Gospel, by which the language of prophecy shall be fulfilled:—"All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord: and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Thee. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

* Par. Papers, vol. vi. July 1828, p. 21.

† Poynder's Speech, on Human Sacrifices in India, 1827, p. 214.

A VOICE FROM INDIA;
OR,
THE HORRORS OF A SUTTEE.

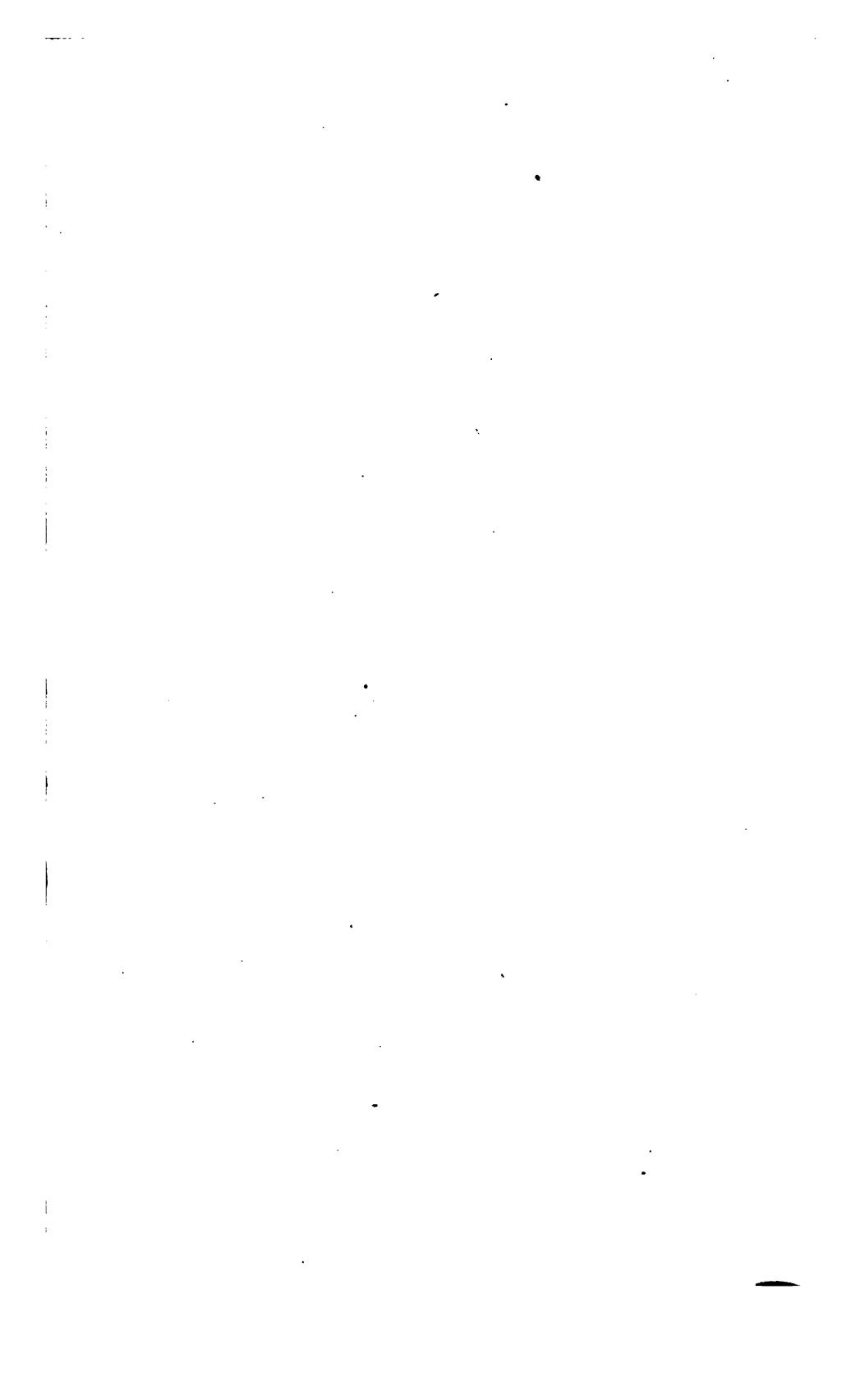
WHAT means that gloomy funeral pyre,
On Ganges' banks its tall head raising,
And those red gleams of murky fire,
E'en now around its broad base blazing?
What mean those wild and frantic yells,
As from a thousand throats resounding,
With drums and trumpet's awful peals,
From distant hills and woods resounding?

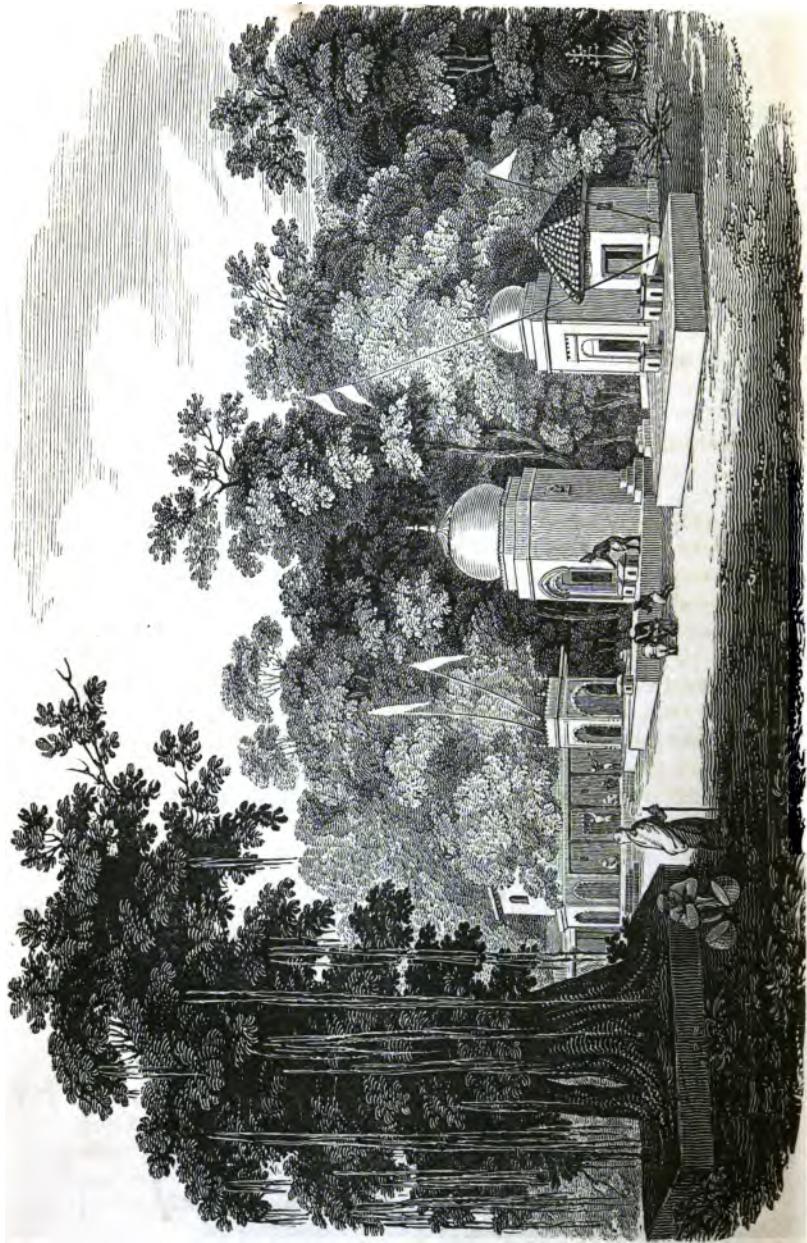
Ah! 'tis a dark and murd'rous deed,
Which cruel Brahmuns there are doing,
Well may the heart turn sick, and bleed,
While such a dreadful theme pursuing!
For see! on that detested pile,
By her lord's corpse the widow lying,
While Moloch, with a fiendish smile,
Looks on, and views his victim dying.

See how she writhes! hark to her screams,
As now the lurid flames enfold her!
But all is vain, no pity gleams
In the stern face of one beholder!
Her kindred stand with hearts of stone,
Cased by the demon Superstition;
Hear her last agonizing groan,
Nor heave a sigh at her condition!

Ye British matrons, husbands, sires,
Your souls with soft compassion glowing,
O! haste to quench the horrid fires
Whence human blood is daily flowing!
With your loved King and Country plead,
Implore the Senate of your nation,
That Hindostan may soon be freed
From scenes of such abomination.

And send, O! send the Gospel forth
To the dark haunts of superstition!
That they may learn a Saviour's worth,
And find in him sin's true remission.
Arise, thou Sun of Righteousness!
On heathen lands pour forth thy splendour;
Then love and peace their homes shall bless,
And their steel'd hearts grow soft and tender.





HINDOO TEMPLES AT GORUCKNAUTH.

BOOK V.

S L A V E R Y.

CHAP. I.

Introductory remarks—origin, nature, and evils of Slavery in India.

A LATE highly respected writer on India, has stated, relative to slavery in the East,—“Though *no slavery legally exists in the British territories at this moment*, yet the terms and gestures used by servants to their superiors, all imply that such a distinction was at no distant date very common. ‘I am thy slave;’ ‘Thy slave hath no knowledge,’ are continually used as expressions of submission and ignorance.” From this extract, and others of a similar kind which might be made from different writers, it is evident that the nature and extent of slavery in India are imperfectly understood.* A voluminous collection of Papers on this subject, containing nearly 1,000 folio pages, was ‘ordered by the Hon. House of Commons to be printed, March 12th, 1828;’ and it is important that their contents should be generally known. Of these papers it has been remarked, ‘An attempt to digest such a mass of documents into a narrative, or to reduce them into any symmetrical shape, is hopeless;’ the Author has not been thus discouraged in his investigation of them; but, being convinced that slavery in India is a subject of considerable interest, he has devoted much time to the perusal of these Papers, and hopes his labours may be beneficial to the interests of suffering humanity in India. While so many works are extant on West India Slavery, the Author is acquainted with but one on Slavery in India,† and that a small pamphlet recently

* See an article on *East Indian Slavery*, in the *Friend of India*, (Quar. Ser.) Dec. 1823.

† *East India Slavery* by Saintsbury, 1829. See also *East and West India Sugar*, 1823. Hatchard.

published. To bring the real state of India before the British public must be beneficial; and, under this conviction, the Author submits his humble labours to the candid attention of his readers.

J. Richardson, Esq., Judge and Magistrate of Zillah Buncleecund, in his valuable communication to the British Government in India, on the subject of slavery, in March 1808, very justly remarks,—“The humane abolition of the slave trade in England has added lustre to the enlightened wisdom of the British senate; and enrolled, to the latest posterity, the name of Wilberforce amongst the benefactors of mankind. That slavery should ever have been authorized, in any civilized community, is as astonishing to the mind, as disgraceful to human nature. The great Author of creation made all men equally free. By what act then can that freedom be forfeited or given up? Surely liberty can be forfeited by no act that does not militate against the general security and well-being of society. Nor has man more right to sell or give up the natural freedom of his person, than he has to lay down his natural life at pleasure; much less can he have any title to dispose of the liberty of another, even of his child. That *slavery is an infringement of the law of nature cannot be disputed*. The most respectable authority proves that, it is in its own nature invalid. Blackstone, speaking of the law of nature, says, ‘this law of nature, coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding all over the globe, in all countries, and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this; and such of them as are valid, derive all their force and authority mediately or immediately from this original.’ The most strenuous defenders, of this imposition of the powerful on the weaker part of mankind, pretend not to maintain its propriety but on ideas of political utility. Impartial and minute inquiry into its effects would at once remove this specious veil, by which the principle is sometimes hidden; and the system, decorated in the eye of sensible and virtuous men under mistaken notions of human expediency, proves the uniform tendency of slavery to be depressive of every emanation of the mind, and highly destructive to our species.”*

The origin of slavery in India, as it exists among the Hindoos, is involved in considerable obscurity. Its rise among the Mahomedans is evidently to be traced to the triumph of

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, 1828, p. 299. There is much truth in the observation—“He who loses his liberty, loses half his virtue.”

their arms. The following extracts, from the Parliamentary Papers on slavery in India, afford some information upon a subject interesting to every humane mind. These Papers commence with the following Regulation for punishing decoits or robbers, and shew one source of slavery in the East.—“ That whereas the peace of this country hath for some years past been greatly disturbed by bands of decoits, who not only infest the high roads, but often plunder whole villages, burning the houses and murdering the inhabitants: And whereas these abandoned outlaws have hitherto found means to elude every attempt which the vigilance of government hath put in force, for detecting and bringing such atrocious criminals to justice, by the secrecy of their haunts, and the wild state of the districts which are most subject to their incursions; it becomes the indispensable duty of government to try the most rigorous means, since experience has proved every lenient and ordinary remedy to be ineffectual: that it be therefore resolved, That every such criminal, on conviction, shall be carried to the village to which he belongs, and be there executed for a terror and example to others; and, for the further prevention of such abominable practices, that the village, of which he is an inhabitant, shall be fined according to the enormity of the crime, and each inhabitant according to his substance; and that, *the family of the criminal shall become the slaves of the State, and be disposed of for the general benefit and convenience of the people, according to the discretion of the government.* Aug. 1772.”*

“ If we may judge (says the Editor of the Asiatic Journal, in a review of the contents of the Papers on East India Slavery,) from a subsequent minute and regulation of the Bengal Government (1774), this proposal was not listened to; for therein, not only is the stealing of children or selling any Hindoo as a slave (without a regular deed) forbidden, but it is proposed to abolish slavery altogether, after the first generation then living, owing to ‘*the great increase of late years of this savage commerce, and in order to prevent hasty strides towards depopulation.*’ Further inquiry however seems to have convinced the Bengal Government, that there were *districts where slavery was in general usage*, and the abolition of which might impede cultivation. The Government observes, that the opinions, of the most creditable Mussulman and Hindoo inhabitants, condemn the usage of selling slaves, as re-

* Par. Papers, p. 2.

pugnant to the particular precepts both of the Koran and the Shaster."*

The Provincial Council of Patna, in Aug. 1774, address the Governor, Warren Hastings, Esq., on this subject as follows:—"We find that there are two kinds of slaves in this province, Mussulman and Hindoo; the former are properly called Mualazadeh, and the latter Kahaar. *Slaves of either denomination are considered in the same light as any other property, and are transferrable by the owner, or descend at his demise to his heirs.* They date the rise of the custom of Kahaar slavery from the first incursions of the Mahomedans when the captives were distributed by the general among the officers of his army, to whose posterity they remained. All other slaves have become so by occasional purchase, as in cases of famine, &c. The Kaboléh must be signed by the mother or grandmother, and not by the father. Children also born of slaves are *the property of the owner of the woman, though married to a slave of a different family.*"†

The Collector at Trichinopoly, in the Madras Presidency, in reply to the inquiries of the Government, addressed to a number of Collectors on the subject of slavery in their respective districts, describes the origin of *pullers* or agricultural slavery as follows:—"It is, I apprehend, indisputable, that in the earliest ages of Hindoo government, agricultural and domestic slavery existed to an indefinite extent. The practice was sanctioned by prescription, and upheld by law: but it will be found that the terms of bondage, and the nature of the services required from the slaves, differed essentially in almost every district. No distinct information can be obtained at what period agricultural slavery commenced. It is now impossible to trace, whether this establishment took its rise from the voluntary submission of the indigent to the wealthy, or whether the pullers were originally captives taken in war. But, as this species of bondage is generally the concomitant of barbarous governments, it must of necessity have been a very ancient institution of the Hindoos. Under their arbitrary government, the distinctions of cast were scrupulously maintained; and, adverting to the circumstance of the meerassidars in Trichinopoly being Brahmuns, it scarcely excites surprise that *agricultural slavery should exist here unchanged and undiminished.*"‡

* Asi. Journ., Nov. 1828, p. 559.

† Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 5. ‡ Par. Papers, p. 892.

The late Sir Stamford Raffles, Lieut. Governor of the Island of Java, in 1812, gives the following information, respecting the origin of slavery in the Eastern Isles:—

“ Macassar and its neighbourhood may be considered as a principal source from which slaves have been exported; and without entering into any discussion of the origin and causes of this state of society, which, in a general point of view, must be referred to backwardness of civilization and prevalence of native authority, it must be observed that, in consequence of its being the favourite source of revenue among those chieftains, it will require much caution in attempting any measures to restrain, where argument could be of no avail, and force would be inconvenient. In my instructions to Captain Phillips, on his proceeding to Macassar, I directed his attention in a particular manner to this interesting subject; but I regret to find from his report, that at present there is little prospect of his favourable interference. In short, he seems decidedly of opinion that, ‘as men-stealers are very common over the country, if he prohibited their selling their stolen property at Macassar, they would still carry on the trade in the Boui territory;’ where, though so immediately under the eye of the Resident, the Rajah would no doubt maintain his right, equally with that which he exercises at pleasure, of life and death.

“ The native laws, usages, and habits, regarding slavery, are in many instances so various and contradictory, and it is so difficult to trace them to any authentic source, that is universally admitted, that I am fearful very little light will be obtained from them. Prisoners of war are in many cases considered as the property of the conqueror, and consequently sold as slaves. The families of criminals, who may be executed for particular crimes become likewise a droit of the chief; and in many cases criminals are pardoned on condition of being sold into slavery. Throughout the whole of the Eastern Islands, debtors become responsible in their services to their creditors, and it does not appear, that there is any generally acknowledged law among them, to prevent the chief of a family selling his wife and children into slavery. The desperate manner in which the Bugguese crews are known to defend themselves at sea, is accounted for by the numerous crew, who are all separate adventurers on a borrowed capital, having left their families hypothecated for the debt, who become slaves to the creditor, in the event of the debtor parting with the property under any circumstances without his life.

“ The Dutch law being blended with the Roman, and the colonial law founded on both, slavery has been fully recognised as legal by the European government; while the universal prevalence of Mahomedanism renders it legal with every native administration, and as such it appears, without any occasional difference of opinion, to have been always viewed. Slavery on the island of Java, is exclusively confined to domestic purposes, and may be considered rather as a regulated domestic servitude, than that detestable system which the legislature of Great Britain have, to the credit of humanity, so vigorously suppressed in the West Indies. *Slavery, however, under any shape, or if it bears only the name, is so repugnant to every principle of enlightened administration, and so inconsistent with your Lordship's* benevolent plans, that I fear I should not stand excused, in my defence of such a system, under any modifications or circumstances whatever.*”†

* Lord Minto. † Par. Papers, p. 154—156. For an account of the Slave Trade at the Island of Nias, near Sumatra, see an interesting article from the Singapore Chronicle, in the Imp. Mag. Jan. 1830, pp. 48—54.

The rise of slavery in Penang, or Prince of Wales' Island, is thus described in a letter from the Judge and Magistrate in Jan. 1802, to the Marquis of Wellesley, then Governor General of India:—

“ My Lord Marquis:—In a case which lately came judicially before me a question arose, ‘ Whether civil slavery, that is, a right of one man over the person and fortune of another, was to be considered as established at Prince of Wales' Island.’ I was not ignorant that slavery, limited and unlimited, had been tolerated. I know that emigrants, both from the Malay Peninsula and from the Eastern Island, who had become inhabitants of Prince of Wales' Island, have been permitted to retain in slavery, those whom they had brought as slaves to this place. Some of these, indeed, are in utter slavery, while others are only in limited servitude. The latter is the condition of those who are styled slave debtors, and these are people that voluntarily become slaves to their creditors till their debts are paid. But all this passed, *sub silentio*; for, after a careful search, I have not found any regulation of the local government, or any order from the Governor General in council, authorizing the establishment of slavery, limited or unlimited, at Prince of Wales' Island. This right, if any such in fact exists, rests therefore *simply on a usage of fourteen years*. Thus circumstanced, having no authority to guide my judgment, my delicacy increased in proportion to the interests on which I was called to determine; and, in this case, subordinate to the question of civil slavery, arose two other questions. The first a question of fact, ‘ Whether the father of A. ever had been a slave at Quiddah?’ The second a question of law, ‘ What was to be the condition of A. now resident at Prince of Wales' Island, whether born of one parent who was free, and of another, who was enslaved, or born of parents who were both slaves, and now resident at Prince of Wales' Island.

“ I was desirous of avoiding the determination of this case, and remitted it to the Lieutenant Governor; but, in deference to his particular request, I gave my opinion, that *the evidence did not prove that the father ever had been a slave, but that it inclined to shew that the mother had been a slave at Quiddah, and I thought the son should follow the condition of his father*. I was led to this opinion, from a consideration that it is the old law of villanage in England, and, although I know it was contrary to the maxim of the civilians, *partes sequitur ventrem*, yet the latter authority had no weight with me; first, because slavery had not yet been established by authority; next, because I could not see any local circumstance requiring its establishment; and, lastly, because *a state of slavery is, in its own nature, bad, neither useful to the master nor to the slave, nor to the state under which they live*. The Lieutenant Governor, on the contrary, was of opinion that the evidence proved both parents of A. were slaves, and under the regulations for the administration of justice on this island, ultimately decreed, that A., resident in this island, should be delivered up as a slave to Hakim Sullee, Captain Malay, resident also on this island.

“ By this decree slavery is now recognised and established by the local government of this island; and therefore, in addition to the observations which I have had the honour of submitting to the consideration of your Excellency in council, I feel the necessity of representing that regulations are now requisite, in which the right that a master is to possess over the person and fortune of his slave, at Prince of Wales' Island, should be explicitly defined; and I hope that your Excellency in council will take into consideration *the case of the offspring of slaves*, and particularly of those, who are born of

one parent who is free, while the other is a slave. Nothing can be presumed on the moderation or justice of Mahomedans who possess slaves. By their usages the virtue or honour of female slaves is at the mercy of their master! I could hope that the right of the master was by law expressly limited to the bounds of humanity. I have no other apology to offer, than my conviction, that the subject matter of my letter is of the first importance, to the interests and prosperity of this rising colony."*

The nature of slavery in India will appear from the following extracts. The Governor General, in 1775, transmitted to the Hon. Court of Directors, extracts from a translation of the Hindoo Laws, by N. B. Halhed, Esq. From this code it appears that slaves are divided into *fifteen* classes, viz.—

- “1. Whoever is born of a female slave, and is called Gerhejat.
- 2. Whoever is purchased for a price, and is called Keereeut.
- 3. Whoever is found *any where by chance* and is called Lubdehee.
- 4. Whoever is a slave by descent from his ancestors, and his called Dayavaupakut.
- 5. Whoever hath been fed, and hath had his life preserved by another during a famine, and is called Enakal Behrut.
- 6. Whoever hath been delivered up as a pledge for money borrowed, and is called Abut.
- 7. Whoever, to free himself from the debt of one creditor, hath borrowed money from another person, and, having discharged the old debt gives himself up as a servant to the person with whom the present debt is contracted; or whoever, by way of terminating the importunities of a creditor, delivers himself up for a servant to that creditor, and is call Mookhud.
- 8. Whoever hath been enslaved by the fortune of battle, and is called Joodih Peeraput.
- 9. Whoever becomes a slave by a loss on the chances of dice, or other games, and is called Punjeet; according to the ordinations of Perkashkar and Pareejaut, and according to the ordination of Chendeesur, it is thus, that by whatever chance he is conquered, and becomes a slave, he is called Punjeet—approved.
- 10. Whoever of his own desire says to another, “I am become your slave,” and is called Opookut.
- 11. When a Chebtere, or Bice, having become Sinassee, apostates from that way of life, the magistrate shall make him a slave, and is called Perberjabesheet.
- 12. Whoever voluntarily gives himself as a slave to another for a stipulated time, and is called Gheerut.
- 13. Whoever performs servitude for his subsistence, and is called Bheekut.
- 14. Whoever, from the desire of possessing a slave girl, becomes a slave, and is called Berbakut.
- 15. Whoever of his own accord sells his liberty, and becomes a slave, and is called Bekreet.”†

Sir R. Chambers, on the trial of the commander of a Danish trading vessel, for procuring native children, and exporting them as slaves, in 1789, stated *the only cases in which slavery was lawful under the Mahomedan Government*.—“Infidels,

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 429, 430.

† Par. Papers, pp. 7, 306.

taken prisoners in war, fighting against Mussulmans, were considered the slaves of the captors; and the slavery extended to their children. In cases of famine, publicly declared, it was lawful for farmers to sell their children; and persons of more than *fifteen years of age*, might sell themselves to obtain a subsistence. But that in these *four cases*, (the only existing ones under the Mahomedan Government,) the condition of slavery was put under many legal restrictions, and that it was *unlawful for a Mussulman to sell his slave*. That the exportation of subjects of a Mussulman government to be sold to a state of slavery was unknown; and, he believed, that it was the first time such an offence had been committed under the British flag, and he trusted it would be the last. He wished it to be understood that, if a similar offence should ever unhappily be again tried before the court, the punishment would be more severe.”*

The nature of slavery, Hindoo and Mussulman, will appear by the following extract, from the valuable communications to the Bengal Government, of the Magistrate of Bundlecund. This gentleman observes,—“Previously to my submission of the draught of the Regulation directed to be submitted to the court of Nizamut Adawlut, I deem it of essential importance to the elucidation of the subject, to offer a few remarks, *on the laws of slavery as they now exist in that part of Hindostan*, which it has pleased God to allot to the government of the British nation. For the sake of perspicuity, I shall transcribe the questions put to the Mahomedan and Hindoo law officers officially, for the purpose of procuring *a declaration of law on the subject of slavery*, according to their respective codes,—insert their answers, and,—offer such remarks as present themselves to my judgment, or as seem applicable to the subject.

Questions put to the Mustee by the Nizamut Adawlut.

First Ques. “*What description of slaves are authorized by the Mahomedan law?*”

Ans. “All men are by nature free and independent, and *no man can be a subject of property, except an infidel inhabiting a country not under the power and control of the faithful*. This right of possession which the Moslems have over Hurbus (infidels fighting against the faith) is acquired by *Isteela*, which means, *the entire subduement of any subject of property by force of arms*. The original right of property, which one man may possess over another, is to be acquired

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 21.

solely by Isteela, and cannot be obtained in the first instance by purchase, donation, or heritage. When, therefore, an Imaum subdues, by force of arms, any one of the cities inhabited by infidels, such of them as may be taken prisoners become his rightful property, and he has the power of putting them to death or making them slaves, and distributing them as such among the ghazees (victorious soldiers), particularly when fighting against infidels; or he may set them at liberty in a Mussulman country, and levy the capitation tax; should he make them slaves, they become legal subjects of property, and are transferrable by sale, gift, or inheritance. But if, after captivity, *they should become converts to the faith (Islam), the power of death over them is thereby barred, though they would continue slaves*; for, slavery being the necessary consequence of original infidelity, the subsequent conversion to Islam does not affect the prior state of bondage to which the individual has been regularly rendered liable by Isteela, provided this be clearly established. From this it is evident that the same rules are applicable to the slaves of both sexes. If slaves are afterwards sold, or given away, by the Imaum, or by the ghazees, who shared at the distribution, or if they should become the property of another by inheritance, they then become slaves under the three different classes of purchase, donation, and inheritance.

"If a female should bear offspring, by any other than by her legal lord and master, whether the father be a freeman or a slave, and whether the slave of the said master, or of any other person, in any one of these cases, such offspring is subject to slavery, and these are called *khanazad* (born in the family); but, if the children be the acknowledged offspring of the right owner, they are then free, and *the mother of them* (being the parent of a child by her master) *becomes, at his decease, free also; and this rule is applicable to all their descendants to the latest posterity*. The practice among free men and women of selling their own offspring, during the time of famine, is exceedingly improper and unjustifiable, being in direct opposition to the principle above stated, viz. *that no man can be a subject of property, except an infidel taken in the act of hostilities against the faith*. In no case can a person, legally free, become a subject of property; and, *children not being the property of their parents, all sales or purchases of them, as any other articles of illegal property, are consequently invalid*. It is also illegal for any free man to sell his own person, either in time of famine or though he be oppressed by a debt which he is unable to discharge. For

in the first of these cases a famished man may feed upon a dead body! or may rob another; and a distressed debtor is not liable to any fine or punishment.

"We are not acquainted with the principal or detailed circumstances, which led to the custom prevailing in most Mussulman countries of purchasing and selling the inhabitants of Zangui-bar, Ethiopia, Nubia, and other Negroes: but the ostensible causes are, either that the Negroes sell their own offspring, or that Mussulman or other tribes of people take them prisoners by fraud, or seize them by stealth from the sea shores. In such cases, *they are not legally slaves, and the sale and purchase of them are consequently invalid.* But if a Mussulman army, by order of an Imaum, should invade their country, and make them prisoners of war by force of arms, they are then legal slaves; provided that such Negroes are inhabitants of a country under the government of Infidels, and in which a Mussulman is not entitled to receive the full benefit and protection of his own laws. With regard to the custom, prevailing in this country, of hiring children from their parents, for a very considerable period, such as for seventy or eighty years, and under this pretext making them slaves, as well as their produce also, under the denomination of *kharazad* (domestic slaves), the following laws are applicable;—*It is lawful and proper for parents to hire out their children on service, but this contract of hire becomes null and void when the child arrives at the years of discretion, as the right of parentage then ceases.* A free man, who has reached the years of discretion, may enter into a contract to serve another, but not for any great length of time, such as for seventy years; as this also is a mere pretext, and has the same object of slavery in view, whereas the said free man has the option of dissolving any contract of hire under either of the following circumstances:—It is the custom, in *contracts* of this nature, for a person hired on service to receive a compensation in *money, clothes, and food*, as the price of hire; any day therefore that a servant receives such a compensation, he is in duty bound to serve for that day, but not otherwise. The condition of contract of hire requires that the return of profit be equal to the price of hire, and this cannot be ascertained but by degrees, and in course of time. The contract of hire, therefore, becomes complete, or fulfilled according to the services or benefit actually rendered in return for the price of hire received, and the person hired has consequently the option of dissolving the contract at any moment of the period originally agreed for.

"It is unavoidable and actually necessary in contracts of a different nature, such as in rent of land, &c., that the lessee should not have this power; but reverting to contracts of hire for service for a long period, the nefarious practices of subjecting free men to a state of bondage, under this pretence, it appears expedient to provide against such abuses; and with this view to restrict the period for service in all contracts of hired freemen to a month, one year, or the utmost to three years, as in cases of Ijanawugh, a form of endowment. It is customary also among the Zanane Towaf, (women who keep sets of dancing girls,) to purchase female free children from their parents, or by engagements directly with the children themselves; exclusively of the illegality of such purchases, there is a further evil resulting from this practice, which is, the children are taught dancing and singing for others, and are also made prostitutes, which are extremely improper, and expressly forbidden by the law."

Remarks.—"From the reply it is evident that, by the Mussulman law, no man can have the right of property over another human being except a Mussulman, and even he can acquire that right over an infidel only, inhabiting a country not under the power and control of the faithful; and that this right, which Mussulmans have over infidels fighting against the faith, is acquirable by Isteela, which means the entire subdueinent of any subject of property by force of arms; the right of property, therefore, which one man may possess over another, is to be acquired, in the first instance, by Isteela. It follows that all persons in a state of bondage, over whom the right of property has not been obtained by Isteela, or the offspring of parents over whom the above right was not acquired, are, by the Mussulman law, free; and that it is the duty of the Hakim, respecting persons claiming their freedom, over whom the right of property derived from Isteela cannot be legally established or traced, to declare such persons of either sex free by a legal recorded decision, which shall secure to them the future enjoyment of that freedom.

"Slaves sold or given away by the Imaum, or the ghazee (conquerors or victorious troops) who shared at the distribution, or if afterwards they become the property of another by inheritance, continue slaves under the different rights of purchase, donation, and heirship. It appears by the Mussulman law that the offspring of a female slave, whether by a free-man or slave of any description, except by her master, such offsprings are slaves, and are called *khanazad* (born in the family). If, however, the offspring shall be acknowledged by the master, they shall be free, and the mother also, at the death of her owner, becomes free; and this also *emancipates their descendants to the latest posterity*. It may be inferred from the provision here noticed, &c., that, *to entitle the child to freedom, and the mother to emancipation, on the death of her lord, his acknowledgment, and that he is the father, the offspring of the slave is necessary to give the law force*. Here the principles pursued by European legislation are reversed, and there are many obvious motives that may induce the owner to deny his being the father of the child.

"It is declared by the Mussulman law, as here developed, that a *free man cannot sell his own person*. The law officer here states his unacquaint-

ance with the circumstances which led to the prevalence of the custom in most Mussulman countries, of purchasing and selling the inhabitants of Zanguibar, Ethiopia, Nubia, and other Negroes: they are evidently not legally slaves by the Mussulman law.

"A free man arrived at the years of discretion, may contract to serve for a reasonable, not a great length of time, such as seventy years; but it is here stated, that the said free man, so contracting, is to receive a compensation, and is compelled to serve for that day for which he has received compensation, but not otherwise; the person hired has consequently the option of dissolving the contract at any moment of the period originally agreed for. It is observable, that this is contrary to the nature of all contracts, which are, or ought to be, specific and mutual; but the Mussulman law assigns reasons, in the subsequent paragraph of the answer on which I am remarking, explanatory of the causes which render this contract different from others, such as rents, &c., where the lessee has not this power, and those reasons are more enlightened, and shew a greater anxiety for the personal liberty of the individual, than is commonly to be found among the laws of Mahomed.

"Here is stated a custom existing amongst the Zanane Towaf, (women who keep sets of dancing girls,) of purchasing female free born children from their parents or others, or making engagements with the children themselves, to be taught the practice of dancing and singing for others, and also for the purpose of being made prostitutes, which are allowed to be extremely improper and expressly forbidden by the law. *The extent of the above evil would be best ascertained by a few appropriate queries put to the several magistrates, but more especially to those of the large cities: the result would at once open the eyes of government to an evil which loudly calls for the interference of the Legislature, on every principle of humanity, morals, and policy.*"

Second Ques. "*What legal powers are the owners of slaves allowed to exercise upon the persons of their slaves, and particularly of their female slaves?*"

Ans. "The rightful proprietor of male and female slaves has a claim to the services of such slaves to the extent of their ability. He may employ them in baking, cooking, in making, dyeing, and washing clothes; as agents in mercantile transactions; in attending cattle, in tillage, or cultivation; as carpenters, ironmongers, and goldsmiths; in transcribing; as weavers, and in manufacturing woollen cloths; as shoemakers, boatmen, twisters of silk, water drawers; in shaving; in performing surgical operations, such as cupping, &c.; as farriers, bricklayers, and the like; and he may hire them out on service in any of the above capacities; he may also employ them himself, or for the use of his family in other duties of a domestic nature, such as in fetching water for washing on evazoo (religious purification), or anointing his body with oil, rubbing his feet, or attending his person while dressing, and in guarding the door of his house, &c. He may also have connexion with his legal female slave, provided she is arrived at the years of maturity, and the master or proprietor has not previously given her in marriage to another."

"There is nothing objectionable in the duties here stated to be lawfully demandable from slaves of both sexes. The obvious immorality, and the great impolicy and inhumanity of the licentious authority stated in this answer, requires no comment. The law officer, although he has stated in part the truth, has not embraced the whole truth: the Islamite has the power, by the Musulman law, of exercising, with his female slaves, licentious intercourse, at the mention of which modesty recedes with blushes and humanity shrinks with horror!"

Third Ques. "*What offences upon the persons of slaves, and particularly of female slaves, committed by their owners or by others, are legally punishable, and in what manner?*"

Ans. "If a master oppress his slave by employing him on any duty beyond his ability, such as insisting upon his carrying a load which he is incapable of bearing, or climbing a tree which he cannot, the Hakim or ruling power may chastise him. It is also improper for a master to order his slave to do that which is forbidden by the law, such as putting an innocent person to death, setting fire to a house, tearing the clothes off another, or prostituting himself by adultery and fornication; to steal or drink spirits, or to slander and abuse the chaste and virtuous; and, if a master be guilty of such like oppressions, the Hakim may inflict exemplary punishment by *Fazir* and *Ucqubut Shukool Allah*, literally, the right of God, and meaning on principles of public justice.

"It is further unlawful for a master to punish his male or female slave for disrespectful conduct, and such like offences, further than by *sadeeb* (slight correction), as the power of passing sentence of *tazeer* and *gizes* is solely vested in the Hakim. If, therefore, the master should exceed the limits of his power of chastisement, above stated, he is liable to *tazeer*. If a master should have connexion with his female slave, before she has arrived at the years of maturity, and, if the female slave should in consequence be seriously injured, or should die, the ruling power may punish him by *tazeer* and *Uqubut Hagool Jillah*, as before defined."

"It will be allowed, that the spirit which enumerates and limits the employments which a master is hereby forbidden to extort from his slaves, under the penalty of being liable to exemplary punishment by the Hakim, on principles of public justice, is humane and proper, and might be sufficient for the purpose of good order and government, were it possible that the spirit of the law could be carried into effect. To any man acquainted with the manners and customs of the natives, no argument is necessary to prove that the reverse is the case. It is hardly necessary to remark on the degree of suffering that an illiterate, wretched, and desponding slave will submit to from his lord, whom, from infancy perhaps, he has been accustomed to look upon, with trembling anxiety, as the sole arbiter of his fate, upon whose pleasure all the little happiness, or rather the absence of misery, which he

hopes to experience, entirely depends. Is it likely that a slave under such circumstances should dare to apply to the ruling power for redress?

"If a master, excited by lust, unrestrained by shame, or by habit, shall have connexion with a female slave before she has arrived at the years of maturity, if the female slave should in consequence be severely injured or die, what is the consequence? The ruling power may punish him as before defined. Shall a British government sanction so horrid a law?"

Fourth Ques. *"Are slaves entitled to emancipation upon any and what maltreatment, and may the courts of justice adjudge their emancipation upon the proof of such maltreatment? In particular, may such judgment be passed upon proof that a female slave has, during her minority, been prostituted by her master or mistress, or that any attempt of violence has been made by her owner?"*

Ans. "If the master of male or female slaves should tyrannize over them by treating them unjustly, stinting them in food, or imposing upon them duties of an oppressive nature; or if a master should have connexion with his slave girl before she has arrived at the years of maturity, or should give her in marriage to another, with permission to cohabit with her in this state, such master sins against the divine laws, and the ruling power may punish him; but, the *commission of such crimes by the master does not authorize the manumission of the slave, nor has the Hakim any right or authority to grant emancipation.* Adverting to the principle upon which the legality of slavery is originally established, viz. *that the subject of property must be an infidel, and taken in the act of hostilities against the faith; and also to the several branches of legal slavery arising from this principle, as by purchase, donation, inheritance, and khanazadee;* whenever a case of possession of an unlawful male or female slave should be referred to the Hakim for investigation, it is the duty of the Hakim to pass an order, according to the original right of freedom of such individual, to deprive the unjust proprietor of possession, and to grant immediate emancipation to the slave.

(Signed and sealed)

*Soorajoddeen Ullee
Mahomed Rashed."*

"The purport of this question is, whether on any and what maltreatment a slave is entitled to emancipation on proof, and whether the courts of justice are entitled to pass such judgment, particularly on females prostituted by their master or mistress during their minority, or on any attempt of violence being made. From the reply to this question, it appears that acts of oppression, and even violation of the person of a female slave, before she is at the years of maturity, by the master, or the crime of giving

her at that age in marriage, are declared, as they truly are, crimes against the divine laws, and the ruling power may punish by stripes; but it is to be observed that, by the Mussulman law, the commission of these crimes by the owner does not entitle the wretched slave to manumission, nor has the ruling power a right to grant her emancipation!!

“Humanity, which is shocked at the idea of its being a question whether or not British legislation shall sanction so diabolic a law, under the impressions of horror which every humane mind must feel at the depravity of such inhuman laws, is relieved by the perusal of the next sentence. Adverting to the principle upon which the legality of slavery is originally established, viz. *the subject of property must be an infidel, taken in the act of hostilities against the faith*; and also to the several branches of legal slavery which shoot from this root or principle,—purchase, donation, inheritance, and khanazeed; whenever a case of possession of an unlawful male or female slave, that is to say, who is not himself or herself under the original description of an infidel taken in the act of hostilities against the faithful under an Imaum, or descended from a person of the above description, over whom the right of property has not been obtained by one of the modes described, shall come before the ruling power, to pass an order according to the original right of freedom of such individual, and to deprive the unjust proprietor of possession, and to grant an immediate emancipation.”

Similar questions put to the Hindoo Pundit by the Nizamut Adawlut.

First Ques. Ans. “There are fifteen different sorts of male and female slaves.” See p. 285, in this Volume.

Remarks.—“Of the injustice and unreasonableness of the whole of the description of slaves sanctioned by the Hindoo law on the acknowledged principles of natural freedom, or on principles of expediency and humanity, few I conceive will doubt; and to enter into argument to prove this self-evident perversion of the laws of nature and of God, written in the hearts of all enlightened men, would be a waste of intellect. I am confident such wide-spread degradation of the human race can never be authorized by an enlightened British Government.”

Second Ques. Ans. “The owner of a male or female slave may require of such slave the performance of impure work, such as plastering and sweeping the house, cleaning the door, gateway, and necessary; rubbing his master’s naked body, *bunudome nehanu*, with oil, and clothing him; removing fragments of victuals left at his master’s table, and eating them; removing urine and human ordure; rubbing his master’s feet and other limbs, &c. In cases of disobedience or fault committed by the slave, the master has power to beat his slave with a thin stick, or to bind him with a rope: and, if he should consider the slave deserving of severe punishment, he may *pull his hair or expose him upon an ass*; but, if the master should exceed this extent of his authority, and inflict punishment upon his slave of a severer nature than above stated, he is liable to pay a fine to the Hakim or ruling power,

of a thousand puns of *khar mahozrens*, eight thousand cowries. This is declared by Menu, according to Patnakar Behbad, Chinta, Munnie, and other authorities."

"The facility and impunity with which power can tyrannize over a wretch in a state of bondage and absolute dependence is evident; and what is the punishment if, against all chance or hope, the tyrant is brought to trial, and even to conviction? A pecuniary fine!"

Third Ques. Ans. "A master has no right to command his male or female slave to perform any other duties besides those specified in the answer to the second question, or authority to punish his slave further than in the manner before stated; and if he should exceed this discretionary power, in either case, he is liable to the same penalty, viz. one thousand puns of cowries. This is declared by Menu and Besbie."

Fourth Ques. Ans. "The commission of offences, of the above nature by the master, does not affect the state of the slave; and the ruling power has not the right of granting his manumission; but if it should be established in evidence, before the Hakim, that any person having stolen or inveigled away, a child or slave, had afterwards sold him to another, or that any person had compelled another into a state of slavery by violence, the ruling power may then order the emancipation of such child or slave; and if a master, or any other person by permission of the master, should cohabit with a slave girl before she has arrived at the years of maturity, and this fact be proved, the ruling power may sentence such offender to pay a fine of *fifty puns* of cowries, but cannot emancipate the slave girl!"

"Whenever a slave girl has borne a child by her master, *such slave, together with the child, becomes free, and the ruling power should sanction their emancipation.*

"This is the law declared by Jak Bulk Mannoo and Kutoobun, according to Mittuchora and other authorities.

(Signed)

*Chattoor Bhooj Necarutun
Chiterput Oapadhea."*

"It does not appear that the commission of any, or all of the offences supposed in the fourth question, affect the state of bondage in the sufferings of the wretched slave, nor by the Hindoo law has the ruling power the authority of emancipating the injured bondsman, even under all the above maltreatment; but a treacherous inveigling away of a child and selling it as a slave, or subjecting to slavery by violence, are declared illegal, and the ruling power may emancipate such child or slave. Should however a master, or any other by permission of the owner, cohabit with a slave girl before she has arrived at the years of maturity, and the fact be proved, the ruling power may sentence the offender to fifty puns of cowries. Here a crime, most

monstrous, by which the laws of nature are outraged, is punishable by a pecuniary fine! I suppose for the benefit of the ruling power."

"The foregoing being the Mussulman law, as expounded by the law officers, and the Mussulman law being that by which we govern in cases of life and limb, surely it ought to be extended to personal freedom; for from personal freedom alone can life or limb, the first gifts of nature, acquire their due value. The foregoing, I think, will be admitted, and investigation will render it evident, that *at the present moment, of the many thousands male and female slaves held in bondage in the Company's dominions, and subject to the grossest usage, prostitution, and every other depravity, under the pretence of slavery being sanctioned by the Mussulman law, not a single man or woman exists, to whom the right of property, on the principle laid down by that law, can possibly be established!* The mode, therefore, of remedying the gross evils that exist, is as easy as it is obvious. Enforce the spirit and letter of the Mussulman law as it applies to slaves, and as far as that portion of the inhabitants of our Indian possessions are concerned, you remedy the evil, and give the blessing of liberty to thousands, without infringing a particle of the Mahomedan religion; on the contrary, so far as this regulation is connected with the Mussulman religion, you only check a licentious deviation from the principles of law and religion on the point in question."*

The practice of kidnapping children, for the purpose of selling them as slaves, appears to have been very prevalent in various parts of India. Respecting a case of this kind at Midnapore, on the borders of Orissa, in 1794, the Magistrate, R. Bathurst, Esq., thus expressed his indignation of the crime.—"To that part of the *futwa* which respects Shazaddee, equity and humanity alike prompt me to object in the strongest terms. Her crime is of a nature to break asunder the tenderest ties, and to consign its innocent victims, either rudely torn, or cruelly seduced from their parents' home, to hopeless slavery, to experience in the course of it, too probably, no wages but stripes, no relief but death. Such is the complexion of her guilt. What says the *futwa*, which, regulated by Mussulman justice, weighs, it would seem, in the same scale of moral turpitude, the stealing of a cur dog and the kidnapping of a child? Thirty-five strokes with a rattan and four months confinement, which if changed to hard labour and imprisonment for life, although still disportioned to the

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 309—317.

extent of her offence, might, perhaps, operate to deter others from the practice of similar enormities."*

The nature of slavery in Canara, under the Madras Presidency, is thus described by J. G. Ravenshaw, Esq., Collector, in 1801:—"There are three distinctions of the Daerds or slaves,—*the Moondaul, Mogare or Magor, and Mavey Daerd*: the former two differ from the latter in the way of food;—neither of them will eat the flesh of a cow or bullock; or go near the place where one has died or been killed, till the carcase is removed; the Mavey Daerd, though he will not kill the animal, will eat its flesh after it is dead. If one dies at the house of a Moondaul or Magor, a Mavey is sent for to remove the carcase. In the Moondaul and Mayer sects, property descends from uncle to nephew; *a father gives up his children to their uncle*. In the Mogare sects, property descends from father to son. A Mogare and a Moondaul will eat together, though it is not common; if, however, they do, the form of taking away the dishes or pans they eat out of, washing and returning them clean to the party who gives the repast, is invariably observed. They never intermarry by consent; but if a Moondaul runs away with a Mogare, the latter sect assemble, call on the Moondaul, and, after reprimanding him for the crime he has committed, make him pay a fine for the offence, and give a repast to the whole party; when they have eaten, the Mogare is considered as having relinquished her cast, and being made over to the Moondaul. Neither of these sects associate with the Mavey Daerd.

"If a *Moondaul* goes to a landlord, or other person, and says he wants to marry through his interests; if the person consents, he gives him from three to four pagodas to pay the expense of the ceremony; the Daerd, as soon as married, brings his wife to his landlord's house, and both are bound to serve him and his heirs as long as the husband lives. The landlord is considered as bound to give the man, per annum, two cloths, each five cubits in length; and the woman two, each of eight cubits length, one to cover the lower and one the upper part of their frame, the estimated expense of which is one and a half rupees; the man is to receive one and a half, and the woman one hami of rice per diem, besides one mora of rice per annum between them; this allowance is called 'mogu.' This couple have *no claim over any children they may have born: they are the exclusive property of their uncle*. If he agrees to their remaining with their father till they are

* Par. Papers, p. 52. See also pp. 242, 243.

grown up, and their father consents to keep them, this may be done; and if, when grown up, their father's owner gives the males money to marry, they are bound to serve him and his heirs as long as they live. If, however, their uncle does not agree to their remaining with their father when young, he takes them, and his master pays them according to the work they do. As to the daughters, if their uncle agree, they may remain with their father, till some person comes with their uncle's consent to ask them in marriage; they are then given up and bound to serve their husband's owner. In the event of the husband's death, his master has no right whatever over the mother and children, who become the property of, or for whom the children's uncle is bound to provide, and they are bound to serve his master if he has work for them. If a man wants to marry a second time, his master supplies him with money; in consideration of this extra expense, he stops the 'mogu,' or allowance of one mora of rice per annum. A man receives no daily allowance for himself and family during his master's harvest, but, in lieu thereof, he gets an *eleventh part of as much grain as is cut, thrashed, and stacked by the whole of them*; when this work is done, they receive their daily subsistence as usual. The sect may be called *a life property on the male side*; they are never sold, though they sometimes mortgage themselves, and their owners may also mortgage them.

"The *Mogare* are bought and sold, and hence *they and their male heirs are bound to serve their master and his heirs for ever*. Females remain with their fathers till married, after which their owners have no claim on them; they become the property of their husband's master. The average price of a man and his wife, if purchased together, is *from four to five pagodas*. These *Mogairs* receive the same daily allowance of rice and cloth as the *Moondauls*, but they get no annual allowance, the piece of land and the two trees they get are supposed more than to equal this; and in addition to it, if their master can afford it, he frequently gives them a bullock. The owner pays only as many of the family as work for him. This sect are sometimes mortgaged, as well as sold.

"If a person purchases a man and woman of the *Mauray sect*, and marries them, they and their male heirs are bound to serve him and his heirs for ever; the purchaser pays the expense of the marriage. If the man dies, and the woman marries again, the children she may have by her new husband are all the property of her owner, by reason of his having purchased the woman; but he has no claim whatever on the

new husband. When these people are not purchased, but merely bind themselves to the service, on account of some person having paid the expense of their marriages, as the Moondauls do, the same rules are observed as with them; but there are many of these sects, who belonging, or being, as it were, an appurtenant to an estate, are bought and sold therewith; they enjoy the same privileges and allowances as those of the same sect who are purchased without an estate. The landlord can neither sell nor mortgage them, nor can they, without the landlord's consent, mortgage themselves or children.

"In many of the foregoing cases, an owner is bound to give daily subsistence to as many only of the family of his Daerds as he employs; if he has more than he requires, he may lend them out to other people, who pay him the mogu, or annual allowance of one mora of rice, as a sort of acknowledgment that the Daerd he employs belongs to him. Daerds cannot go to work for another person without their owners' consent, and they are bound to return whenever he may have work for them. This is the result of an inquiry I was induced to make into the customs of the people, in consequence of many complaints having come before me of Daerds being ill-treated by their masters. The little labour has been amply repaid, from a consciousness of my having done justice to many of them, which I should not have considered myself competent of doing without a knowledge of their manners and services."*

"The utmost to which the sale of slaves is tolerated in Malabar," says J. H. Baber, Esq., Judge and Magistrate in the North Zillah in 1812, "is domestic slavery, and this exclusively confined to those born in a state of bondage. Formerly this degraded race of men were the exclusive property of the Hindoos of Malabar, but in course of time, from necessity and other causes, they were transferred and sold to the Mopillas, but it was never bargained that they were to be made proselytes. A Pooliar sold or transferred could not be removed out of the district, his place of nativity; in consequence the social tie amongst them was still preserved; even the women, though sold, are never separated from their husbands, whom they still follow, however often they may change their masters; the owner of the female, however, *still maintaining his claim to her and to her offspring, whose right is thus perpetuated from generation to generation.* In some districts, *the offspring are divided between the owners*

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 548—550.

*of the father and the mother, but they are never separated from their parents until adults.”**

The evils of slavery are innumerable. “To remedy the evil,” says one of the Judges in India, “it appeared to me highly necessary that it should be ascertained and acknowledged, and its extent fully understood.”† The propriety of this appears from the want of information respecting slavery in India. The following extracts from the valuable Papers on this subject, it is hoped will rouse the attention of Britain, to the state of slavery in her eastern dominions.

“No progress in arts or science can be expected,” says the worthy Judge of Bundlecund, “from unhappy beings whose daily reflections press their forlorn condition upon their thoughts. The rudest cultivation of the earth is performed with reluctance, by wretches whose miseries know no end, but in the moments of repose. Perhaps exposed to the burning heat of a vertical sun, immersed to the knees in water, stagnate and unwholesome, respiring a vapour inimical to existence; perhaps buried alive in mines replete with noxious minerals and baneful air, which slowly consumes the human frame. Or if (which is the summit of a slave’s good fortune) they meet with a more lenient lord, still their comforts are embittered by the dread of a change. The stroke of death, or the pressure of misfortune, may transfer them with their former master’s cattle or his lands, to a less tender lord; devoid of any established mode of providing for, or bringing up a family, and fearful of entering into the marriage state, having no protection or security that their dearest and most tender connexions will not be set at nought by the capricious lust of pampered power, population suffers.

“In Hindostan slaves are kept for show, or employed in the meanest and most laborious offices of servitude. In ancient times slaves were bred to trades; to cultivate the sciences and other philosophic studies, and some of this class distinguished themselves by their abilities, and contributed to enlighten mankind. But how much more speedily has general improvement increased, since the establishment of freedom through the principal parts of Europe. The freest nations have ever been the first to dispel the clouds of error, and brighten the dawnings of knowledge into the meridian splen-

* p. 567. See p. 897. This state of society is prevalent in the Indian Archipelago. See a description of Malay Slavery by the Acting President of Fort Marlborough in 1813. Par. Papers, pp. 203—206.

† Par. Papers, p. 308.

dour of truth. If any thing can add to the horror which the idea of slavery raises in every human breast, it is the reflection that, by the Mussulman law respecting female slaves, the master is not only legal lord of their persons for purposes of laborious services, but for sensual gratification; even such as his unnatural passions may impel his brutality to indulge. It is not less shocking to reflect that women, who have spent their youth and worn out their persons in the grossest debauchery, when their faded beauty no longer produces their wonted luxuries, and even their former paramours in guilt turn from them with disgust, purchase female children for the avowed purpose of the most licentious life. These females, were such injurious practices prevented by *the abolition of all slavery*, would become useful members of the community, and add to the prosperity of the state, by the increase of their species.

"Under systematic slavery the minds of mankind are inevitably debased. Children being educated amongst, and attended by these wretches, imbibe their dispositions, and, having the examples of their parents always before their eyes, learn to consider those under them as a distinct race, unworthy of the rights of humanity. The first efforts of imitative cruelty are viewed by the parents without reprehension, their own minds having undergone the same perversion by the same tuition, and the practice of maturity having deadened their feelings; so that I fear, not unfrequently this early discovery of vicious inclination is considered by the fond, but mistaken parent, as a sure presage of spirit and future greatness. View the manners of those nations who tolerate slavery, and say whether this reasoning is not warranted by reality."*

Sir William Jones, in a charge to the grand jury at Calcutta, in 1785, described the miseries of slavery existing at that period, even in the metropolis of British India. "I am assured, from evidence which, though not all judicially taken, has the strongest hold on my belief, that the condition of slaves within our jurisdiction is, beyond imagination, deplorable; and that cruelties are daily practised on them, chiefly on those of the tenderest age and the weaker sex, which, if it would not give me pain to repeat, and you to hear, yet, for the honour of human nature, I should forbear to particularize. If I except the English from this censure, it is not through partial affection to my own countrymen, but because my information relates chiefly to people of other nations, who likewise

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 298—300.

call themselves Christians. Hardly a man or a woman exists in a corner of this populous town, who hath not at least one slave child, either purchased at a trifling price, or saved, perhaps, from a death that might have been fortunate, for a life that seldom fails of being miserable. Many of you, I presume, have seen *large boats filled with such children, coming down the river for open sale at Calcutta*; nor can you be ignorant that most of them were stolen from their parents, or bought, perhaps, for a measure of rice in a time of scarcity; and that the sale itself is a defiance of this government, by violating one of its positive orders, which was made some years ago, after a consultation of the most reputable Hindoos in Calcutta, who condemned such a traffic as repugnant to their shastra. The number of small houses, in which these victims are pent, makes it indeed very difficult for the settlement at large to be apprized of their condition; and, if the sufferers knew where or how to complain, their very complaints may expose them to still harsher treatment—*to be tortured, if remanded, or if set at liberty, to starve*. Be not discouraged by the difficulty of your inquiries; your vigilance cannot but surmount it; and one great example of a just punishment, not capital, will conduce more to the prevention of similar cruelties, than the strongest admonition or the severest verbal reproof. Should the slave-holders, through hardness of heart, or confidence in their places of concealment, persist in their crimes, you will convince them, that their punishment will certainly follow their offence, and the most hardened of them will, no doubt, discontinue the contest.”*

In 1810 a claim was preferred before the court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, for the restoration of some slaves who had escaped from Nepaul, and sought an asylum in the British territory. Nine slaves were stated to have been purchased for 226 rupees. This sum was given by the British Government, and the slaves liberated. The depositions of two or three of them shew the cruel nature of slavery in Nepaul.

“Jeewee acknowledged that he was a slave, but alleged that, being employed in cultivating, and receiving nothing from the prosecutor, he had run away. He represented that *if he should now return to the hills, the prosecutor would cut off his ears as a punishment for his offence*.

“Dhunsree acknowledged that she was the slave of the prosecutor, saying, that she *having killed her own child, was brought by the prosecutor before Meer Singh Tappa, who gave her to him to keep as his slave, that this was*

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 10. For an affecting account of a slave girl seized at Serampore, see pp. 48—60.

the usual punishment for murder in the hilly country: she added, that, having received nothing from the prosecutor to eat, she had run off.

"Joonhee and Lamee also acknowledged that they were slaves, and alleged the same reason for having run away from the prosecutor.

"Oodhree, witness, deposed that Meer Singh Tappa had given Nathee and Dhunree to the prosecutor's son as payment of his monthly allowance; that Nathee had formerly been the slave of Shoobur Suen, and that Dhunree, *having killed her own child*, had been given by Meer Singh Tappa to the prosecutor, whose slave she had now been for three years. With respect to the other four persons, the prosecutor not having given them any present, they had therefore run off. He further stated, that *it was the custom of the hilly country that, if any woman put to death her new-born infant, she was reduced to slavery by the ruler; but, if she be able to give her value to her master, he may free her; and, in case of a dispute regarding the amount of the purchase money, it is to be settled on the oath of the master.*" It is added, "that if the slaves were delivered to the prosecutor, *he would certainly put them to death, on getting them to their own country.*"*

The misery of arbitrary servitude is depicted in a very affecting manner, in the Par. Papers relative to thirty-five natives of Bengal, who, in 1813, were found in the service of Mr. W. Browne, at Sydney, New South Wales; they were discharged by the colonial magistrates, and restored to their native country, at the expense of the British Government in India.† A few of their depositions before the magistrate are given.

"Chotee Lutchman, servant of Mr. Browne—I complain of want of food; I sometimes got rice, sometimes ottar and wheat, and dhal and corn, the same as the rest; I have been ill-treated while I was employed in the store. Mr. O'Brien tied a rope to me to awake me in case of alarm; I did not like it, and objected to it; Mr. O'Brien persisted in it, and then he gave me a rope's-ending. I used to do all sorts of work for him; I got a thrashing for throwing some straw out, which offended Mr. O'Brien, in consequence of which I went up to the farm; Mr. Browne ordered me back to Sydney, but as it rained he allowed me to remain till next day. I got drunk, for which Mr. P. Browne put me for three days on short allowance. I ran away in the bush; I was not flogged for it. I have worked on Sunday's for myself; if the others go home, I want to go also, but if they stop I will not. I had two bottles of rum charged to me; it was watered. I have lost my cast for eating victuals of Europeans, because I could get nothing else.

"Keereim, a table waiter of Mr. Browne's, sworn on the *Koran*, saith—I have to complain of bad and insufficient food. Mrs. Browne agreed I should be her table waiter, but, since I have been here, I have been put to the work of a groom and chamber-maid, and cooking the dog's victuals. I have often received a thump on the face, and a box on the ear, on frivolous occasions. I was once sent for by Lieutenant M'Quarie to prepare his hookah for him. I was told by the ladies to go in my cap; Mr. Browne asked me why I did so, and gave me five or six blows with his fist; I ran behind a cask, where I was so severely beaten that two men came and lifted me up, gave me water, took me in the kitchen, and nursed me. I was so beaten

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 119, 120. See pp. 243, 244.

† See pp. 267—296.

that I lay behind the cask for an hour; Mrs. Browne called out of the window, 'Give the rascal two or three more kicks.' Mr. Browne once gave me fifteen strokes with a horse-whip, because I did not get his breakfast ready in time; I still bear the marks. Both Mr. Brownes were up at the farm, and I was ordered by Mrs. B. to remove their chamber-pot; I refused to do so, and she made me do it, by which I have lost my cast. I applied for my provisions to the man who gives them out; he kicked me for asking for them. I came to Sydney to complain to Mr. Browne, and I was sent to the watch-house, brought before Mr. Wentworth, and by him discharged. Mr. Browne said he would investigate it; he came up, and gave the men a club to beat me with. I agreed for twenty seers of food per month; I have never received that quantity while I was in Sydney; I have received rice and ottar, but at the farm I had nothing but damaged corn; Mrs. Browne said, 'Shall I feed these hogs upon rice?' Sometimes we had buttermilk, but always three parts of water; Mrs. Browne once said, 'You hog, you give me all the little potatoes, and keep all the large ones yourself?' I once received some good flour, but generally bad; I gave it to the dogs, and complained to Mrs. Browne, when she gave me some rather better. I want to go home, but, if I had been well-treated, I would have remained twenty years.

"The memorial of Chamine Dongrine, and of Charon Munny, respectfully sheweth:—

"That both memorialists engaged with Mrs. Browne of Calcutta, to serve her in New South Wales, and have both been employed on Mrs. Browne's farm; but, by reason of cruelty and ill-usage on their mistress's part, they pray humbly, but earnestly, to be released from such agreement. The former memorialist has to complain, that she was employed at field labour, such as commonly is done by men in this colony; and, having been put to bed of a male infant, she was ordered to return to work by Mrs. Browne, *on the fifth day after the child was born!* Upon remonstrating that she was not sufficiently strong, Mrs. Browne withheld her victuals; thereby compelling her to go reaping wheat, the infant lying on the ground of the store-room locked up, *which occasioned its death at twenty-one days old, for want of milk!*

"Your memorialist, Charon Munny, has to represent, amongst a continued length of ill-treatment, that, having been forced to carry a large brazen vessel of great weight, she then being heavy with child, miscarried; the next day Mrs. Browne ordered her to work, such as carrying large logs, and other loads. Relying fully on the justice and humanity which distinguish every court under British administration, your petitioners submit their hardships to your consideration, should the same appear to require such redress as they ask."*

Of the state of slavery in Malwa, in 1821, Sir John Malcolm observes,—"Male slaves are few in Malwa, and are generally treated more like adopted children than menials. The case is very different with females, who in almost every instance are sold to prostitution; some, it is true, rise to be favourite mistresses of their master, and enjoy both power and luxury, while others are raised by the success in life of their sons; but these are exceptions. The dancing women, who are all slaves, are condemned to a life of toil and vice, for the

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 274—276, 281.

profit of others, and some of the first Rajpoot chiefs and zemindars in Malwa, who have from 50 to 200 female slaves in their family ; after employing them in all the menial labours of their house during the day, send them at night to their own dwellings, where they are at liberty to form such connexions as they please ; but a large share of the profits of that promiscuous intercourse, into which they fall, is annually exacted by their masters, who adds any children they have to his list of slaves. The female slaves in this condition, as well as those of the dancing sets, are not permitted to marry, and are often very harshly treated ; so that the latter, from this cause and the connexions they form, are constantly in the habit of running away. If discovered, they are always given up, provided the deed of purchase can be produced ; which with them, above all others, must be registered at the cutwall's chabootre at the period the slave is bought.

"It is not the habit of the native governments of Malwa, to take any cognizance of the punishment which masters inflict upon slaves, except such extend to their life, when they are responsible ; they are in some cases cruelly treated, but this is not general ; it is indeed against the interest of the master to do so, when there are so many opportunities of escaping from his authority. The state of Malwa for the last thirty years has been favourable to the species of slavery described, and that province is filled with the mixed progeny of these unfortunate women. This traffic must however now decrease, as the Gwarriahs and others who carried it on, can no longer steal or conceal children with that confidence of impunity which they had long done. A few years ago, no man dare leave his own district to inquire after his wife and daughter ; the whole country can now be traversed in safety. From this cause, and the discoveries of guilt which have recently been made, the stealers of women and children have taken alarm ; while the restitution to their relatives of slaves, bought by them at high prices, must deter future purchasers."*

The Committee appointed by the Government of Prince of Wales' Island, in 1808, to report on the propriety of the abolition of slavery, advert to one of the many evils of this state of society in the following terms :—"Allowing that the abolition of slavery might have the effect to retard the increase of the population, by partially preventing the arrival of settlers, it would benefit the island in another respect more essentially —by effectually putting a stop to the infamous practice (still

* Par. Papers, pp. 415, 416.

existing, notwithstanding every effort and regulation of Government) of purchasing females for the purpose of hiring them, and compelling them to ply as public prostitutes, and enable many industrious Chinese and others to obtain wives, whom this infamous practice has hitherto prevented (the great gain resulting from it, enabling the bawds to purchase these females at most extravagant prices); and consequently by connecting these Chinese and others more permanently, through the medium of families, with the settlement, will not only much improve the character of the community, but tend ultimately to afford a more certain source of increase of population than from casual residents."*

The evils of slavery in the Island of Nias, near Sumatra, are forcibly depicted in an article from the Singapore Chronicle:—

"The circumstances that attend the traffic of slaves are no less revolting to humanity, than those which marked it on the coast of Africa. The unhappy victims torn by violence from their friends and country, and delivered, pinioned hand and foot, to the dealers in human flesh, are kept bound during the whole course of the voyage—a precaution which is found necessary to the safety of the crew. Instances have occurred, where the captives have seized a moment of liberty, to snatch up the first weapon within their reach, stab all whom they encountered, and complete the scene by leaping overboard, and voluntarily seeking a watery death! The sudden change of diet to which they are subjected on board a ship, added to the confinement and dejection of mind, prove fatal to many. Of a cargo of *thirty* slaves, *twenty* have been known to perish before the conclusion of the voyage; and on a moderate calculation it may be estimated, that, of the total number purchased, *one-fourth* never reach their destination.

"On the scenes of violence that take place in the country itself, in the search of victims, it is needless to dwell; they can be better imagined than described. We shall relate one well authenticated instance, given by an eye-witness. A plan had been laid to attack a single insulated house, inhabited by a man, his wife, and children, and to seize the whole family. At the appointed hour the house was surrounded; the man no sooner discovered his situation, and saw that there was no escape, than he locked himself in the inner apartment, drew his *kris*, killed first his wife and children, and then plunged it into his own breast, preferring death to a life of slavery!

"Independently of the habits of cruelty and rapine, which the slave trade tends to infuse, the exorbitant profits it holds out, create an aversion to the slower advantages of legitimate commerce and agricultural labour. In order to convey their produce to the sea-ports, the inhabitants of the interior are obliged to unite in parties of several hundreds, all completely armed, and, with their loads of rice on their backs, descend in order of battle to the shores to dispose of it; such is the general insecurity and distrust, that the husbandman goes armed to his labour in the fields, they select the most difficult situations for their villages, and construct their houses with every precaution against surprises."†

* Par. Papers, p. 441. † See Imp. Mag., Jan. 1830.—For an account of the misery of slavery in the Isle of France, see Memoir of Mrs. Judson, p. 81, respecting a Burmese female slave; see also p. 306.

Slavery in Cape Colony, is thus described by a modern writer:—"The timid silent step with which the young slave girl enters the room—the subdued tone in which the message is delivered—her looks of apathy, where all the warm stirring blood of youth seems tamed down;—and when I have gazed upon dark lustreless eyes that were born to flash, and upon the listless form that was born to bound, I could not but feel, that the being before me was bowed down—that all the energies which *liberty* would have called forth, were crushed beneath the severity of her lot. In travelling, when stopping at a Boor's house, I remember thanking a slave girl for some trifling service, when she turned to her companion, with a look of more than surprise, and they both burst into uncontrollable laughter—laughter, that to my ear, "had no mirth in it;" for it told of a state in which blows might follow the non-performance of any command; but to which thanks were an unknown sound. All this is characteristic of slavery, and strikes an Englishman from its strong contrast with the respectful, yet cheerful manners of the servants of this country."

Many pages of the Par. Documents on East India Slavery are occupied in detailing the state of the slaves in Malabar; especially in the investigation of the conduct of a Mr. Browne, of Anjarkandy, towards his slaves (see pp. 560—790). A few extracts only can be given of the examinations of these slaves, taken by the Magistrate of Zillah North Malabar.

"I was with five children who were tending cattle, and while at play two mopillas seized me and took me that very night to Alloppi, where they gave me to Assen Ally, who sent me in a moonchoo to Mahe; thence I was sent to Anjarkandy, where they made me eat Pooliars' food; before, if I should be defiled by Pooliars, I must wash myself. I am not willing to return to Anjarkandy, if I can be admitted again to my cast; I wish to go to my country. My house name is Tekkadati.

"My tambooran is Panakada Canden; I was asleep at night when Panarambil Pamikaree seized and brought me away, and gave me to Ayecagata Shuk Moidun, who gave me to a Sahib at Cochin; thence I was put in a moonchoo and landed at Chetwa; whence Coony Pareay and Bappen brought me by land to the Sahib, at the Bangsaul of Anjarkandy, twelve other poliars who were also brought with me, are now here.

"I was at work, when, without the knowledge of my tambooran and poolian (husband), myself and two of my children, Dampan and Kanda, were seized by Eddacatta Vudeen, mopla and some others, and brought to Cochin, detained there eleven days, and then given to Walladara who brought us in a manchoo and landed us at Chitwa. Besides myself there were eleven others, whence two moplas of Mahe, named Coony Parray and Bappen, brought us to Anjarkandy, and made us stay with a Sahib; those eleven that were brought with me are present here."*

* Par. Papers, pp. 605, 609, 613.

"Nothing can be more abject and wretched (says T. H. Baber, Esq., Magistrate in Malabar, in 1813,) than the condition of that degraded race of mortals, the slaves of Malabar, *'whose huts (to us the words of Mr. Francis Buchanan in his tour through Malabar) are little better than mere baskets, and whose diminutive stature, and squalid appearance, evidently shew a want of adequate nourishment.'*"*

"The slave alone (says Mr. Græme in his Report of Malabar, 1822) has his *sieve of a hut* in the centre of the rice lands ; but on the coast at least, he is an industrious, and not an unintelligent being, in good condition, and nothing deficient in bodily frame. In the interior, *he is a wretched, half-starved, diminutive creature, stinted in his food, and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, whose state demands that commiseration and amelioration which may confidently be expected from the humanity of the British Government*, provided it can be shewn, that a change for the better can be effected without hazarding an evil of any formidable magnitude ; without incurring the risk of general discontent, or exciting a worse feeling towards the objects themselves, by an unsuccessful endeavour to mitigate their ill treatment. The slaves of Malabar, known generally by the name of *chermurs*, are *entirely praedial, or rustic*, being engaged only in the cultivation of rice lands and plantations. I except, of course, the Mussulmans, who may be domestic slaves, and live in the houses of their masters, and partake of all the privileges of their religion. This kind of slavery is a social fraternity, and is a step to the best comforts, and the highest honours of life among Mussulmans. It is totally dissimilar, in every essential point, to the servitude of the chermur, which is the most prevalent designation of the slaves of Malabar."†

"In the Calicut district, there is an anomaly in the general system among the Paliur, the Kulladee, and the Kunnakur, which are the only three casts of slaves residing there. There is a mixture of the two customs of *mukkatayum* and *murroo mukkatayum*, that is, the one or the other does not obtain separately in different families in the district, but in all the families throughout the district the inheritance partakes of the two modes ; and, *half of the children are considered to go with the mother, and consequently to belong to her proprietor, and half to be attached to the father, and therefore to be the property of his master. Where the number may not admit of an equal division, the odd number is reckoned*

* Par. Papers, pp. 760, 761.

† p. 914.

to be the mother's! The wife of a Palium, and of all the casts who observe the *murroo mukkatayum*, may be sold separately, and may therefore belong to a different master from the master of her husband, but she cannot be separated from her husband; she must be allowed to remain with him; she is purchased separately in consideration of her future offspring, which, by the custom of *murroo mukkatayum*, *would become the property of her purchaser*. In the other casts, the females are not separately saleable, neither the wife nor her female children. The daughters become the temporary property of the masters of their husbands; but this right of property ceases upon the death of the husband, and the wife returns to the house of her father. The rules of Malabar prescribe that a slave of the cast of Poleyam, Waloovan, and Brayen, shall remain *seventy-two* paces from a Bramin and from a Nair, and *forty-eight* from a Tean. A slave of the Kunakur cast *sixty-four* paces from a Bramin and Nair, and *forty* from a Tean; and the other casts generally *forty-eight* paces from a Bramin and Nair, *twenty-four* from a Tean! In the northern division these rules are deviated from in practice, in favour of the slaves; whilst in the southern division, they are thought to be exceeded in strictness.*

One of the Malabar Magistrates, in 1823, suggested that, on account of "certain instances of cruelty practised on slaves by their masters, the forfeiture of the right of property over slaves should be made the penalty for ill usage."—Slaves appear occasionally to have their noses cut off by their cruel masters. "Adverting (says one of the Judges) to the facts elicited during the foregoing trial, *it will no longer be denied that cruelties are practised upon the slaves of Malabar*; and that our courts and cutcherries are no restraints upon their owners or employers. Whatever doubts may exist with regard to the exact period of the death of the Cherooman Koorry Noryady, or to the immediate cause of his death, there can be none as to the fact, of *his nose having been amputated, as well as those of three other slaves belonging to the same owner*; and that, although the case had come before the Magistrate, no steps have been taken to bring the perpetrators of such horrid barbarities to justice. Upon the latter head it may be argued that the slaves themselves preferred no complaint: but, if it is to depend upon the slaves themselves, to seek for the protection of the laws, their situation must be hopeless indeed; for, having no means of subsistence, inde-

* Par. Papers, p. 920.

pendent of their owners or employers, their repairing to and attending upon a public cutcherry is a thing physically impossible; and even though those provisions of the regulations, that require all complaints to be preferred in writing, were dispensed with in favour of slaves, and they were exempted from the payment of tolls at the numerous ferries they would have to pass, and though an allowance were made to them by government during their detention at the cutcherries and courts, unless *forfeiture of the right of property over slaves* was the penalty for ill usage, their situation would only become more intolerable than it was before they complained.*

The last page but one of the Par. Papers contain the following remarks respecting the misery of slavery in British India. "The second Judge makes mention of two cases tried in Canara, wherein the accused were charged with causing the death of their slaves by severe chastisement, which, he states, induced him to make inquiry at Mangalore, regarding the prevailing custom in instances where the slave of one master marries the slave of another; and particularly whether their respective owners can prevent them from living together. The second Judge remarks that the frequent absence from his 'master's work, which occasioned the deceased's chastisement in one of the above cases, was owing to visits to his wife, who resided at a distance on her master's estate, *who would not allow her to live with her husband.*' He was told that it is usual for the female slave to reside with her husband, and, if his residence be at such a distance as to prevent her from coming to work daily at her master's house, the master of the husband must indemnify her owner by the payment, annually, of half a moorah of rice; but, if the master should employ the female at his own house, he must employ also her husband, whose owner he must indemnify by the payment annually of one moorah of rice. The Judge offers his opinion that the Magistrate should correctly inform himself on this point, and be required under the authority of Government, after due notice given, to enforce the obligation on the part of the owners, to allow their married slaves to live together. The court of Foujdaree Adawlut are of opinion that the interference here proposed to be exercised by the Magistrate, could not be put in practice without the enactment of a Regulation for that purpose; and they are not prepared to suggest provisions with this view which would be free from objection; should, however, the Honourable the Governor in

* Par. Papers on Slavery, p. 928.

council deem it fit to give effect to the humane recommendation of the Judge, it may be in the power of the provincial court, in communication with the Magistrates in the provinces of Malabar and Canara, *to devise a mode to prevent the separation of married slaves, without any violation of rights, which the established usages in this respect confer.*"*

This chapter may be closed, by contrasting "the effects of slavery, with those of voluntary servitude, under a system of liberty," as described by the Judge of Bundlecund.

SLAVERY.

"1. It is the constant object of the master, to get the greatest quantity of labour at the cheapest rate; consequently he stints the slave in food and raiment. It may be urged, by clothing and feeding well, the slave would be strong, and better able to endure fatigue, but it is the constant practice of avarice, by short-sighted policy, to counteract its own wishes: a trifling immediate advantage being generally preferred to much more essential objects, if more remote.

2. It is the uniform endeavour of the slave to mitigate the hardship of his lot by evading toil, which brings him no advantage.

3. The slave, finding himself subject to capricious treatment and change of masters, will seldom add the cares of providing for a family of children to his other woes, and consequently avoids marriage.

4. In their old age, it is the master's interest to get rid of the feeble, who eat but cannot labour; consequently the worn down slave is neglected, and perishes for want of care, having no family or children to ease the pains of sickness, or prop the weakness of decline, by the soothing attention of filial duty.

5. In times of scarcity and famine, the master must starve his slaves,

1. The same object actuates the master here also, but the servant being free to stipulate, his interest counteracts that of the other, and the contest reduces and establishes the price of labour to its just rate; that is, it allows the servant to provide for himself and family, and leaves the master a competent profit.

2. It is the general wish of servants to satisfy their masters, that they may not lose their employment; or, if their services are no longer requisite, to entitle them to a recommendation.

3. The servant knowing he can dispose of his earnings as he pleases, and being provided with a fund for the provision of a wife, &c., will marry; thus the state reaps benefit by the increase of population.

4. Under voluntary servitude, by the time old age approaches, many have saved a little from the rewards of their services, to assist in softening the hardships of sickness and debility, &c.; and almost all, having married and added to the general stock of industry and riches, have some children to soothe the evening of life. Though this may have little weight in the scale of political reasoning, it ought to have some in that of humanity.

5. In scarcity, a servant is not harder to subsist than a slave; he

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 935, 936.

send them to plunder, or emancipate them. The latter, his avarice will never permit.

6. When slaves can sell themselves or their children, numbers are induced to flock to great towns and cities, where many die from disappointed expectation, who would otherwise pick up a scanty subsistence in scattered villages.

7. It would appear to be the advantage of masters, to promote the rearing of their slaves. This, like many other theoretic ideas, is found to be fallacious, and contradicted by fact. The expense of rearing, and the loss incurred by the indispensable attendance of the parents on their offspring, has always made proprietors prefer recruiting casual diminutions of their slaves by purchase; even in Rome, where slavery was universal. How much more will masters avoid such trouble and expense in India, where I have seen, in a time of local scarcity only, a stout lad of fourteen or fifteen years old, sold for the trifling consideration of two rupees, scarcely a month's wages for the meanest servant.

8. Women of bad fame purchase females for the most public prostitution, which are thereby lost to the community.

9. Children are sometimes sold into bondage by the villainy of others, in the case of death or absence of parents, instances of which are not uncommon.

10. The sanction of slavery, not many years ago, gave birth to an infamous traffic, and as injurious to our government as disgraceful to those concerned, diminishing our resources, by depriving us of subjects."

"The effects of slavery are as plainly injurious, as the benefits of freedom are obvious and undoubted."*

will not eat more, and, having his wages, he is better enabled to evade the effects of famine, by making timely provision for its approach.

6. Were slavery abolished, this evil could not happen: knowing they could not sell themselves or children, they would not be tempted to cities in such numbers; having only a precarious charity to rely on, they would substitute many modes of supplying a mere sustenance, from berries, herbs, &c.

7. Were voluntary servitude substituted for slavery, avarice, real or mistaken, could not affect population.

8. Abolish the unnatural law of slavery, and the evil could not occur.

9. Nor this.

10. Nor this.

CHAP. II.

Nature and success of efforts for the abolition of the Slave Trade in India—melioration of Slavery by the Hindoos, Mussulmans, French, Dutch, and British.

The abolition of the Slave Trade, by the British nation, was attended with very salutary effects in British India. It is pleasing to trace the influence of just and humane principles in the abolition of the Slave Trade in our Eastern dominions; and the nature of the efforts, though partial, to meliorate the existing state of slavery in those extensive territories.

Lord Cornwallis, Governor General of India, in a letter to the Court of Directors in 1789, states his detestation of slavery, and his purpose to suppress it as far as he was able.—“An infamous traffic has, it seems, long been carried on in this country by the low Portuguese, and even by several foreign European seafaring people and traders, in purchasing and collecting native children in a clandestine manner, and exporting them for sale to the French islands, and other parts of India. I have, at different times, taken steps to prevent the continuance of practices which are so shocking to humanity, and so pernicious to your interests. And, in order to deter all persons under the authority of this government, from being concerned in that species of trade, I lately directed that a commander of a country vessel, who carried off some children last winter, should be *prosecuted criminally* before the Supreme Court; and I have likewise published a proclamation, to give notice that any person living under the Company’s protection, or in any shape under the authority of this government, who shall be convicted of carrying on, or aiding, or abetting the barbarous traffic that I have mentioned, will be certain of meeting with the most exemplary punishment.

“There are many obstacles in the way against abolishing slavery entirely in the Company’s dominions, as the number of slaves is considerable, and the practice is sanctioned both by the Mahomedan and Hindoo laws. I have, however, a plan* under consideration, which I hope to be able to execute without doing much injury to the private interests, or offering great violence to the feelings of the natives, and which has for its object the abolition of the practice under certain limi-

* “No further notice of the plan, here adverted to by his Lordship, has been traced upon the records of the Bengal Government.”

tations, and the establishing some regulations to alleviate, as much as may be possible, the misery of those unfortunate people during the time that they may be retained in that wretched situation.”*

A Proclamation was made in the same year, and was “published in the English and country languages.” Referring to the period at which it was issued, this document must be read with considerable interest. See the Proclamation at the foot of the page.

“PROCLAMATION.—Whereas information, the truth of which cannot be doubted, has been received by the Governor General in Council, that many Natives, and some Europeans, in opposition to the laws and ordinances of this country, and the dictates of humanity, have been for a long time in the practice of purchasing or collecting Natives of both sexes, children as well as adults, for the purpose of exporting them as slaves in different parts of India, or elsewhere: and whereas the Governor General in Council is determined to exert to the utmost extent the power vested in him, in order to prevent such practice in future, and to deter, by the most exemplary punishment, those persons who are not to be otherwise restrained from committing the offence: his Lordship hereby declares, that all and every person or persons, subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, or in any respect to the authority of this government, who shall in future be concerned directly or indirectly in the above mentioned inhuman and detestable traffic, shall be prosecuted with the utmost rigour, in the Supreme Court, at the expense of the Company, and, if British born subjects, shall be forthwith ordered to Europe; or, if such person or persons be not subject to the Court’s jurisdiction, he or they, upon information being given to the Magistrate of the place or district in which the offence shall have been committed, shall be apprehended by him and kept in confinement, to be dealt with according to the laws of the country.

“And also, that no one may plead ignorance hereof, the Superintendents of the police for the town of Calcutta, and the magistrates of Adawluts, in the several parts of the country, are hereby required to give immediate notice of this proclamation in such manner as shall render the knowledge of it universal to persons of all description, and *to repeat the same on the first day of January in every year*; they are further directed to pay the strictest attention to the Regulations contained in it, and to take the most active steps in their power to enforce them.

“And that all persons offending against this proclamation may be brought to punishment for the same, and the unhappy sufferers rescued from misery, a reward of *one hundred sicca rupees* is hereby offered for the discovery of every offender, to be paid on his conviction before the Supreme Court of Judicature, or before the Magistrate of the District, and of *fifty rupees* for such person of either sex, who shall be delivered from slavery, or illegal confinement in consequence of such discovery. The money will be paid to the informer or informers on his or their application to the Secretary of government, and presenting to him a certificate of the conviction of the person or persons committing the offence, of which such informer or informers made discovery.

* Par. Papers, p. 13.

It is pleasing at this period to see the French authorities in India co-operating with the British, in suppressing this trade in human beings. "We understand," says the Calcutta Gazette in Sep. 1789, "Monsieur Montigny, Governor of Chandernagore, has lately issued a proclamation prohibiting all persons within the jurisdiction of the French Government, from purchasing or transporting any of the Natives of these provinces as slaves; and, in order more effectually to prevent this infamous practice, a reward of forty rupees is offered to any person who shall give information of the offender, besides the sum of ten rupees to be given to each slave who shall be released in consequence. Both sums to be paid by the offender. The master attendant of Chandernagore is also directed to see that no Native be embarked, without an order signed by the Governor; and all captains of vessels trading to the port of Chandernagore are strictly prohibited from receiving any Natives on board. Nothing can reflect greater honour on the humanity of Monsieur Montigny, and the liberal policy of the French Government, than the above order; and we have no doubt this co-operation with the measures already taken by our own government, will put an effectual stop to this odious traffic."*

"The Governor General in Council further recommends to British commercial houses, and private merchants, to assist, as far as depends upon them, in carrying these regulations into effect, by taking the most effectual means in their power to prevent the commanders of their ships or vessels, or of ships or vessels consigned to them, or otherwise placed under their directions, from carrying away natives of this country in order to sell them for slaves.

"The master attendant of this port is hereby forbidden to grant in future an English pilot to any ship or vessel, the commander of which shall not have previously declared upon oath, that there are not then on board, and he will not, during his continuance in the river, consent to receive on board, any natives to be exported as slaves, with an intent to dispose of them at some foreign place, or whom he has any reason to imagine will be disposed of as such after they leave this country.

"And the master attendant is hereby directed to give notice to all the native pilots, that if they should pilot out any vessel, having on board natives of this description, knowing or believing them to be such, the privilege of piloting will be taken from them for ever, and their names and offence registered. And, that no one may plead ignorance of this order, it is hereby directed that it be placed constantly in view at the Banksaul, in the English and country languages.

Proclaimed at Fort William, in Bengal, this 22nd day of July, 1789.

By order of the Governor General in Council,
(Signed) E. HAY, Secretary to the Government."†

* Par. Papers, pp. 18, 19. See also in 1791, pp. 34, 487, 493, 520.

† Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 22.

Some free Natives of Bengal having been taken to St. Helena, and sold as slaves, the practice was prohibited by authority. The Hon. Court of Directors, in a Letter to the Governor General in 1793, observe—"It having been stated in the letter to you from the Governor and Council of St. Helena, in July, 1791, that they have heard of other complaints of the Natives of Bengal, who were free, having been unjustly sold on that Island, we direct that you cause an advertisement to be issued for the discovery thereof, and that you take the most effectual means for liberating such as may be under this unfortunate predicament; and for putting a stop to a practice so disgraceful to humanity, reporting your proceedings for our information."* To secure the return of Native servants, proceeding from Bengal to Europe, it was determined by the Government that a bond of 1000 rupees should be given for each individual. "The humane purpose of this bond," says the Hon. Court, in 1796, "is sufficient to ensure our approbation of the measure."

The murder of a slave, under the Bengal Government, is made a capital offence. In 1799 was issued "*A Regulation for certain Modifications of the Mahomedan Law in cases of Murder.*" It enjoins—"In every case of wilful murder, wherein the crime may appear to the court of Nizamut Adawlut to have been fully established against the prisoner, but the futwa of the law officers of that court shall declare the prisoner not liable under the Mahomedan law to suffer death by *kissans*, (or retaliation), solely on the ground of the prisoner's being father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, or other ancestor of the slain; or of the heirs of the slain, or one of the heirs of the slain, being the child, or grandchild, or other descendant of the prisoner; or of the slain having been the slave of the prisoner or of any other person, or a slave appropriated for the service of the public; or on any similar ground of personal distinction and exception from the general rules of equal justice; the court of Nizamut Adawlut, provided they see no circumstances in the case which may render the prisoner a proper object of mercy, shall sentence him to suffer death, as if the futwa of their law officers had declared him liable to *kissans*, or to suffer death by *seazut*, as authorized by the Mahomedan law in all cases of wilful murder, under the discretion vested in the Magistrate, with regard to this principle of punishment, for the ends of public justice."†

* Par. Papers, p. 45. By a recent Regulation all persons born on the Island are free.

† Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 76.

In 1796 a communication was addressed to the Governor of Bombay, from the Sultan and Chiefs of the island of Johanna, praying for assistance against the incursions of the French and the Madagascar people, who destroyed and enslaved the inhabitants. They offer to "give these islands to the Company," and that "whatever shall be produced in this country, half shall be for you and the other half for us." In consideration of the friendly treatment which ships invariably received, at Johanna, some assistance was given to these islanders.* In 1813 an application was made to Bombay, by the Sultan of Johanna, respecting some persons who had been carried from the island to the Mauritius by the French, and there reduced to slavery. The Hon. Court of Directors very humanely remark, upon the proceedings of the Indian Government,— "With respect to the circumstance alleged by the King of Johanna, of certain persons, his subjects, having been carried by the French to Mauritius, and there made slaves, we entirely approve of your suggestion to the Governor of the Mauritius, for the purchase of such individuals, if in a state of slavery; and likewise of your further application to the Governor of Mauritius, respecting several natives of our Indian provinces of both sexes, being in a state of slavery on that island, and requesting his assistance in obtaining their release, or in purchasing their freedom, and charging the expense to your Government."†

In 1811 an important "*Regulation for preventing the importation of slaves from foreign countries, and the sale of slaves in the Territories immediately dependent on the Presidency of Fort William*," was passed by the Vice President in Council. Copies of the regulation were ordered to be circulated among the officers of the Bengal Government, and also forwarded to those of Fort St. George, and Bombay. It was also resolved, that this "Regulation be sent to the political department, in order that a communication may be made to any of the Native States, which it may be deemed proper to apprise of the purport of the Regulation."‡

The Resident at Delhi, in 1812, C. T. Metcalfe, Esq., actively prosecuted the humane measures of the Government. He wrote to the Chief Secretary as follows:—"The slave trade, which has been prohibited for a considerable time in the other provinces in the British dominions in India, continued to exist in the district of Delhi subsequently to its abolition in

* See the letters, which are very interesting documents, pp. 82—84.

† Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 224.

‡ See p. 99.

other places, no local orders having been issued for its discontinuance; and, in consequence, the resort of slave merchants to this quarter was becoming more frequent than ever. Being convinced, that it was not the intention of Government, that this iniquitous traffic should be encouraged in any part of its territories; satisfied rather that it was, and is, its earnest desire to abolish so abominable a commerce; I consider myself to be only fulfilling the manifest intentions of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, *in putting a stop to the sale of human beings in the town and country of Delhi.* I have accordingly proclaimed the orders of Government for the abolition of the slave trade.*

The officers of the "Nepaul administration, in 1811 requested the co-operation of the British Government, in their measures towards an amelioration of the situation of the inhabitants of the mountains." The co-operation requested was cheerfully granted.†

The proceedings in India, are particularly worthy of notice, as it respects the bearing of the Act of Parliament, passed in the fifty-first year of his Majesty George III, commonly called the *Slave Felony Act*, or "*An Act for rendering more effectual an Act made in the forty-seventh year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, 'An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.'*" Two hundred copies of this important act were printed in Calcutta, and duly circulated. A Letter to the Chief Secretary at Fort St. George, and a similar one to Bombay, shew the sense taken of this act in India. See this important communication at the foot of the page.

"The exact nature of the traffic in slaves, mentioned by you to be carried on from Travancore, not being stated in your letter, the Governor General in Council is of course precluded from forming a judgment, whether that traffic falls within the purview of the Act of the 51 Geo. III. c. 23, intituled, "An Act for rendering more effectual an Act made in the forty-seventh year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, 'An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.'" With respect to that particular point, his Lordship in Council can only observe, that *he does not consider the provisions of the Act in question, applicable to the importation or removal of slaves by land.* It having been deemed proper, however, to consider maturely the measures which should be pursued by the local governments of this country, with respect to the above mentioned statute, the following is the purport of the resolutions adopted by the Governor General in Council on that subject.

"The provisions of the Act being highly penal in their operation, and its object highly important, the Governor General in Council has considered it proper to order a copy of it to be published in the Calcutta Gazette, for

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 101.

† Par. Papers, p. 115.

The Bombay Government, in 1813, issued a "Regulation for preventing the importation of slaves from foreign countries, and the sale of such slaves, in the territories immediately dependent on the Presidency of Bombay."* A difference of opinion upon the application of this act to India has been entertained; that of the Advocate General of Bombay, H. G. Macklin, Esq., is expressed in the following terms, in a letter to the Secretary to Government:—

"With great deference to the opinion of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, I think the Act extends to *importation by land as well as sea*. In the preamble it is recited, that it is fit such measures should be extended, to the effectual abolition of the slave trade wheresoever it may be attempted to practise the same; and, in the enacting part immediately following,—'If any person residing or being in any of the Islands, &c., or Territories under the government of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, shall, &c., carry away or remove, &c., as a slave or slaves, &c., any person or persons whatsoever from any part of

general information. In like manner, his Lordship in Council has directed copies of the Act to be forwarded to the local governments of Bombay, Java, of Prince of Wales' Island, of Mauritius, of Ceylon, and the Residents at the Moluccas, and at Fort Marlborough. On the same principle, copies of the statute will be forwarded to the magistrates of Chittagong and Cuttack (the only sea ports, excepting Calcutta, in Bengal), in order that in their capacity of Justices of the peace, under the law of England, they may aid in enforcing the provisions of the statute.

"The Governor in Council, at Fort St. George, is aware that a Regulation was some time ago passed at this Presidency, for preventing the importation of slaves from foreign countries. Inquiries will be made, with the view of ascertaining whether the provisions of that Regulation have been effectual in preventing that species of traffic; if not, a further Regulation will be passed without loss of time, establishing severer penalties for the infringement of the prohibition now existing under the Regulation above noticed, of the importation of slaves from foreign countries, in conformity to the spirit of the statute, to which the foregoing remarks allude. In like manner, the Governor General in Council begs leave to recommend that a Regulation be passed, at Fort St. George, for preventing the importation of slaves by land into the territories subject to that Presidency, under such penalties as the Governor in Council may deem fully adequate to the prevention of that traffic.

"The foregoing remarks, it is presumed, will inform the Governor in Council sufficiently of the construction annexed by the Governor General in Council to the Act of the 51 Geo. III. c. 29, and of the measures which it has been judged necessary to adopt at this Presidency. It is scarcely necessary to add, that his Lordship in Council is of opinion that similar measures should be adopted by the government of Fort St. George, with such modifications as local circumstances may suggest, without of course departing from the principle on which the measures above detailed are founded.

I have, &c.

G. Dowdeswell, Sec. to Government Judicial Department.
Fort William, Sept. 26th, 1812.†

* Par. Papers, p. 216.

† p. 137.

Africa, or from any other country, territory, or place whatsoever; or shall import or bring, &c., into any island, colony, country, territory, or place whatsoever, any such persons as aforesaid, for the purpose aforesaid; then in every such case, &c., the persons so offending, &c., are declared to be felons.'

" This enactment is taken verbatim from the statute, and appears to me, to comprehend every possible case of the importation (that is, the introduction) of slaves into British Territories. The act is highly penal, and I have great satisfaction in observing that his Lordship in Council is resolved to lay before the Hon. Court the difficulties which attend carrying the penal part of the statute into execution in India, where slavery is of a much milder feature than in the western hemisphere. The manumission of the slave will be sufficiently provided for by the regulation, and the King's Courts may act upon the statute in cases of aggravation or enormity."* It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the importance of this view of the subject. It is evident, that the abolition of the slave trade, both in the West and the East Indies, is not the abolition of slavery. It prevents the increase of slaves, but leaves those already in slavery nearly in the same state that they were.

A Proclamation against the slave trade was issued by the Government in Madras, in March 1790, similar to the one issued by the Marquis Cornwallis, in 1789.†

It is grateful to see the Dutch authorities in India, at this period, co-operating with the British, in suppressing the detestable traffic in human beings. The following letter was addressed to the Governor of Madras, in 1793:—" Favoured with your Honour's letter, we cannot indeed emphatically enough express our indignation and aversion, with regard to so horrible an event, as the exportation of 180 natives from Bimlipatam, as slaves, in a French brigantine bound to the French islands; which, however, according to the declaration that came enclosed, was surprised and taken at Pedir by the Malays, who killed all those that were on board of her, and did not escape out of their hands.

" To shew how much the exportation of the unhappy creatures merits our disgrace, we shall renew, in the strongest manner, our orders to our northern factories, to oppose such inhuman practice; not only in our subjects, but also with all possible diligence in strangers, in case they should think our territory a safe place for it; with a charge to deliver the unhappy creatures out of the hands of those who will not desist, but are refractory, either by good or forcible means, and to send them to one of your agents there, for the protection of their liberty, and the benefit of their support. We feel the propriety of your Honour's resolution, that such kidnapping may be prevented, to check it with exemplary punishment;

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 216, 217.

† See Par. Papers as above, pp. 469, 470.

and, in case any of our subjects transgress the orders instituted against it, they shall be seized and delivered over to justice, to be punished according to the exigency of the case."*

These extracts shew the efforts of the European authorities in India, with the occasional co-operation of the Natives, to abolish the Slave trade. The success experienced in these humane efforts should have encouraged them to attempt more than has yet been done;—not merely to meliorate, but to abolish slavery in the East. In consequence of the active measures described, many slaves were liberated, and their importation into India, by sea, in a great degree prohibited.

It is interesting to trace *the melioration of slavery in the East*. From the following extract of a translation of the Hindoo Laws, transmitted by the Bengal Government to the Hon. Court of Directors in 1774, it appears that the Hindoos admit various modes of enfranchising slaves.—

"Whoever is born of a female slave; whoever hath been purchased for a price; whoever hath been found by chance any where, and whoever is a slave by descent from his ancestors, these four species of slaves, until they are freed by the voluntary consent of their master, cannot have their liberty; if their master, from a principle of beneficence, gives them liberty, they become free.

"Whoever, having received his victuals from a person during the time of a famine, hath become his slave, *upon giving to his provider whatever he received from him during the time of famine, and also two head of cattle, may become free from his servitude*; according to the ordinations of Pachesputtee Misr, approved. Chendeesur, upon this head, speaks thus: That he who has received victuals during a famine, and hath, by those means, become a slave, on giving two head of cattle to his provider, may become free.

"Whoever, having been given up as a pledge for money lent, performs service to the creditor, recovers his liberty whenever the debtor discharges the debt; if the debtor neglects to pay the creditor his money, and takes no thought of the person whom he left as a pledge, that person becomes the purchased slave of the creditor.

"Whoever being unable to pay his creditor a debt, hath borrowed a sum of money from another person, and paid his former creditor therewith, and hath thus become a slave to the second creditor; or who, to silence the importunities of his creditor's demands, hath yielded himself a slave to that creditor, such kind of slaves shall not be released from servitude until payment of the debts.

"Whoever, by the loss of chance in any game, and whoever by the fortune of war is enslaved, these two persons, *upon giving two others in exchange, are released from their servitude*!

"If the slave of one person goes to another, and of his own desire consents to be the slave of that person, in this case he must still be the property of the person to whom he was first a slave. The mode of release for every kind of slave shall take place according to the ordination laid down for each.

* Par. Papers, pp. 537, 538.

“A Chehtree and Bige, who, after having been Sinasses (religious mendicants) apostate from that way of life, and are become the slaves of the magistrate, can never be released.

“If a Brahmin hath committed this crime, the magistrate shall not make him a slave; but, *having branded him in the forehead with the print of a dog's foot, shall banish him the kingdom.*

“Whoever hath yielded himself a slave for a stipulated time, upon the completion of that term, shall recover his freedom.

“Whoever performs a servitude for his subsistence, shall recover his freedom upon renouncing that subsistence.

“Whoever, for the sake of a slave girl, becomes a slave to any person, he shall recover his freedom upon renouncing the slave girl.

“Whoever hath become a slave, by selling himself to any person, he shall not be free until the master, of his own accord, gives him his freedom.

“If the master, from a principle of beneficence, give him his liberty, he becomes free.

“If a thief, having stolen the child of any person, sells it to another, or a man, by absolute violence, forces another to be a slave, *the magistrate shall restore such person to his freedom.*

“If the master of a slave should be in imminent danger of his life, and at that time this slave, by his own efforts and presence of mind, is able to save the life of his master, *the slave shall be freed from his servitude, and be held as a son.* If he choose, he may stay with his former master, or, if he choose, shall quit that place, and go where he will at liberty.

“Whoever is without a legitimate child, and hath a child from the womb of a slave girl, *that girl, together with her son, becomes free.*

“When any person, from a principle of beneficence, would release his slave, the mode of it is this: the slave shall fill a pitcher with water, and put therein *berenge-a-rook* (rice that has been cleansed without boiling), and *flowers and doub* (a kind of small salad), and, taking the pitcher upon his shoulder, shall stand near his master; and the master, putting the pitcher upon the slave's head, shall break the pitcher, so that the water, rice, flowers, and doub, that were in the pitcher, may fall upon the slave's body; after that, the master shall three times pronounce the words, ‘*I have made you free:*’ upon this speech, the slave shall take some steps towards the east, whereupon he shall be free.

“Whoever hath become a slave to any person, *the master is proprietor of any property which that slave may acquire, exclusive of the price of his own slavery, and exclusive also of any thing which may be given to him as a present.*”*

“I make no scruple,” says Sir W. Jones, in his charge to the Grand Jury at Calcutta, in 1785, “to declare my own opinion, that absolute unconditional slavery, by which one human creature becomes the property of another, like a horse or an ox, is happily unknown to the laws of England, and that no human law could give it a just sanction; yet, though I hate the word, the continuance of it, properly explained, can produce little mischief. I consider slaves as servants under a contract, expressed or implied, and made either by themselves or by such persons as are authorized by nature or law to contract for them, until they attain a due age to cancel or confirm

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 7, 8.

any compact that may be disadvantageous to them. I have slaves whom I rescued from death or misery, but consider them as other servants, and shall certainly tell them so, when they are old enough to comprehend the difference of the terms."*

In the province of Dacca many children were kidnapped, given away, or sold by their parents into slavery; a number of these were recovered, and restored to their parents or relations. The Collector of Dacca, in 1787, addressed the Superintendents of Police at Calcutta—"I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, accompanying *twelve* boys and *twenty-one* girls belonging to this district, under charge of Churreemeulah and three other peons, and which, in obedience to the wish of the Right Honourable the Governor General, shall be restored to their parents or relations, in the same manner as those transmitted to me two years since."†

It appears to be a received opinion among the Mahomedans, that murder may be atoned for by money, or by giving a slave. In 1790 two persons, named Mungaly Khan, and Assud Khan, were convicted of the murder of Nowaz Khan, and were ordered to make a pecuniary compensation to the plaintiffs, viz. Peranow the widow, and the brothers of the deceased. In conformity with the Nawaub's orders, they were called upon to pay "*the price of blood.*" The widow stated, "Mungaly Khan being unable to pay a pecuniary compensation, has *given to me his son, to be my servant for life.* Assud Khan has given me, in satisfaction of the murder, his share of the village of Caympoor." The other plaintiffs declaring, "In consequence of the poverty and distress of Mungaly Khan and Assud Khan, they remitted their claim to a compensation." The Governor General, Earl Cornwallis, and his council, disapproved of the proceeding, agreeing that—"The Naib Nazim be recommended not to admit of Mungaly Khan's making over his son as a slave for life to Peranow, and that he be requested to levy the amount of the compensation, which it may be determined to exact from Mungaly Khan, by the customary mode of process."‡

Ceylon has been a market of slaves from Bengal. In 1789, a "Captain Horrebow took on board at Fultah, 150 children, whom, previously to his departure, he purchased in Bengal: he transported them, under English colours, to Columbo, where they were sold as slaves. The Dutch Governor, Myn-

* Par. Papers, pp. 9, 10, and 710.

† p. 12.

‡ p. 27.

heer Van De Grave, in terms most honourable to himself, refused to permit their being landed; but Captain Horrebow found means to elude the vigilance of the Governor, and availed himself of an excellent market for his wares.* He "was sentenced to be imprisoned for three months, to pay a fine of 500 rupees, and to give security for his future good behaviour for three years; himself in a bond of 10,000 rupees, and two sureties in 5,000 rupees each."†

The state of slavery in Ceylon, anterior to its subjugation by the British, and the mitigation of it proposed by the conquering power, are ably stated in a communication to the Marquis Wellesley, Governor General of India, in 1800. A short extract only can be given:—

"The scandalous manner in which the unhappy persons, whom it is the principal object of the proposed regulations to protect, are treated in general by their masters and mistresses of every nation, cast, and religion, within these settlements, render it a positive duty of Government, to delay, as little as possible, the adoption of strong measures for their relief. Those which I propose are taken chiefly from the statutes of Batavia, particularly from one published in the year 1770, and which was in force at the time of our occupation of this Island (though never observed in practice). I have also recurred, in some instances to the civil law, on which the jurisprudence of Holland is founded; and, as the principal class of the proprietors of slaves are of the Mahomedan religion, I have adopted, and made general some of the admirable regulations by which the *Khoran*, and its commentators have softened the rigours of slavery, at the same time that they established its lawfulness.

"The principal point on which all codes, which have allowed domestic slavery, have universally insisted, *the clear and unequivocal definition of the slave, and of the means by which he or she may have been acquired*, was neglected in Ceylon, with the most barbarous indifference. Of more than a hundred cases that have been brought before me, the masters or mistresses of the beings claiming liberty, have not, in more than six or seven instances, produced slave bonds properly authenticated, or such as a Dutch tribunal, acting according to the Dutch laws, would have received. In many cases no papers are existing; in others simple testamentary devices, proving the opinion of the defunct as to his power over the slave bequeathed, have been insisted on, not as a collateral, but as a positive proof of the slavery of the person claimed under it; and, in the province of Baticalva, the assertion that a child was sold by his parents in a famine, was urged before me, as the right on which the greater part of the slaves in that province have been held for some time past, as well as their posterity. The practice of kidnapping at Cochin, was, for many years, notorious, but the reception of slaves from that place was subject to scarcely any restrictions on this Island; and those restrictions, I am afraid, were but ill observed. In short, *that institution, reprobated as it is by good policy, morality, and religion, exists here with all the aggravated horrors of uncertainty in its application, and cruelty in its exercise.*"†

The abolition of slavery in Ceylon is thus described by Sir A. Johnstone, in a letter to W. W. Wynn, Esq.—"As the

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 14.

† p. 21.

‡ pp. 84—92.

right of every proprietor of slaves to continue to hold slaves in Ceylon was guaranteed to him, by the capitulation under which the Dutch possession had been surrendered to the British arms, in 1794, the British Government of Ceylon conceived that, however desirable the measure might be, they had not a right to abolish slavery in Ceylon by any legislative act. A proposition was made on the part of Government by me, to the proprietors of the slaves in 1806, before trial by jury was introduced, urging them to adopt some plan of their own accord for the gradual abolition of slavery; this proposition, at that time, they unanimously rejected. The right of sitting upon juries was granted to the inhabitants of Ceylon in 1811. From that period I availed myself of the opportunities which were afforded to me, when I delivered my charge at the commencement of each session to the jury-men—most of whom were considerable proprietors of slaves—of informing them what was doing in England upon the subject of the abolition of slavery, and of pointing out to them the difficulties, which they themselves must frequently experience, in executing, with impartiality, their duties as jury-men, in all cases in which slaves were concerned. A change of opinion upon the subject of slavery was gradually perceptible among them; and, in the year 1816, the proprietors of slaves, of all castes and religious persuasions in Ceylon, sent me their unanimous resolutions, to be publicly recorded in Court, declaring *free all children born of their slaves from the 12th of August 1816*. This, in the course of a few years, must put an end to the state of slavery, which had existed in Ceylon for more than three centuries.*

The valuable co-operation of the Rajah of Kotah with the Resident at Delhi, in 1808, in the suppression of the *sale of children into slavery*, shews how much Europeans in India may accomplish for the interests of humanity.†

While the Island of Java continued in the possession of the British, the abolition of the slave trade, and the improvement of the condition of the slaves, was considered an object of importance. The importation of slaves into the Island, after the commencement of 1813, was prohibited by Proclamation; and instructions on the subject were sent to "the

* Ori. Her., vol. xvi. p. 136. "At a levee of Cingalese Chiefs, held at Kandy, Jan. 1832, the Governor, Sir. W. Horton, declared it to be the intention of Government gradually to abolish slavery throughout the Island, and called upon the Chiefs to afford their assistance in this benevolent work."—E. I. Mag., Sep. 1832, p. 291.

† Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 99, 100.

Islands depending on the Government."* Previously to the transfer of Java to the Dutch, the slaves were emancipated. Upon which the Hon. Court of Directors declared,—“We entirely approve of your proceedings, in emancipating the slaves at Java, previously to the transfer of that place to the Dutch, as we do of the option you gave to all the slaves, of being conveyed at the public charge to their native country.”†

The slave trade appears to have been very effectually suppressed under the Bengal Government, by the humane and vigorous efforts above described. The magistrates of the Bareilly Court, in 1812, state—“We have now the honour to submit attested copies of the answers received from *eight* out of the *nine* magistrates under our authority; from which it will be evident to Government that, since the promulgation of the Regulation above specified, the traffic in slaves imported from foreign countries is almost, if not entirely, suppressed in the districts of Bareilly, Moradabad, Cawnpore, Furruckabad, Etawah, Agra, Alligurh, and Seharunpore South.”‡ “But, it should be understood, *the slave owners still disposed of those who were actually slaves, as part of their real property.*”§

The British Government in India has abolished *the duty levied on the sale of slaves*, by the former Government of Kumaon, and suppressed the traffic in slaves in those countries bordering on Nepaul, which were brought under its authority by treaty in 1815. This duty or tax was for every male and female slave *two rupees eight annas*. “We cannot touch on this subject,” said the late Marquis of Hastings, “without adverting to a consequence of our having wrested the hill country from the Ghorkas, in which your Hon. Court will feel the most lively satisfaction. A slave trade of great extent has been totally extinguished; and the hapless families, from whom the Ghorkas used to tear away the children for sale, have now to look with joyful confidence on the security bestowed towards their offspring by the British Government.”||

In this part of India, an extraordinary practice existed, of *selling wives and widows*, which has been abolished.¶ The

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 185. See also pp. 168, 169.

† p. 266. ‡ p. 140. § p. 141. || p. 266. See Heber's Jour., vol. i. p. 492.

¶ “The people of *Laos* are in great dread of the Burmese, and the cruel system of border warfare and man-catching, to which our occupation of the Tenasserim provinces has put an end to the southward, still continues in force to the north, between *Laos* and *Ava*. It would appear that, as in Burmah, women are bought and sold at *Laos*. The price of one is ten head of cattle, or twenty-five rupees.”—Asi. Jour., Nov. 1830, p. 256.

Governor General, in 1826, wrote to the Court of Directors—“We took measures to furnish the Commissioner, without delay, with the form of proclamation approved by us, prohibiting the *sale of wives and widows by their husbands or late husband's family*. We need not repeat the expression of our determination to put down so barbarous and hateful a custom.”*

The *Calcutta Journal*, in March 1824, contained an article entitled, the “*Slave Trade in British India*.” An extract or two only are given :—

“Our readers are of course aware, that the nefarious traffic in human beings is equally forbidden by the letter and the spirit of British law in every portion of the British dominions, be their geographical position what it may, whether in the frozen regions of the north, or the scorching climate of the torrid zone; wherever the British flag waves, the disgraceful commerce is made criminal by British law; what then, will the humane and enlightened community of this magnificent capital of our Eastern possessions say, when they are told, that with all its glittering spires of the temples of a pure religion; all its splendid palaces, bespeaking the taste, the refinement, and the riches of their inhabitants; with all its colleges, and schools, and societies, to promote the propagation of knowledge, civil and religious; what will they say, when they learn that, amidst all these signs of veneration for Christianity, the philanthropy, the greatness, and the refinement of Britons and British subjects, in a British capital, it is disgraced by witnessing the lowest degradation of the human species?—that this great capital is, in short, at once the depot of the commerce and riches of the East, and the mart in which the mangled African is sold, like the beast of the field, to the highest bidder. It is known, too, that the Arab ships are in the habit of carrying away many of the natives of this country, principally females, and disposing of them in Arabia, in barter for African slaves for the Calcutta market! Can it be possible that such degrading, such wicked scenes are passing around us, and that the actors are suffered to escape unnoticed and unpunished? We fear the fact is too true; but we hope that the publicity thus given to it will lead to the prevention of such gross violations of law and humanity in future. We can conceive the difficulty of detection in these cases; but let all those who are aware of the illicit practices of these followers of Mahomed, remember that they are impiously called on as Christians, and as British subjects in particular, to bring to punishment these violators of law and humanity. Nature shudders at the thought of the barbarities practised by these abusers of God's noblest creatures, who are led by an accursed thirst of gold to brutalize the human species.”†

The Magistrates of Calcutta immediately addressed the Government upon the subject, acknowledging,—“Under the provision of Reg. X., 1811, a bond is taken from the commanders of a certain class of ships, previously to their being allowed to land their cargoes; and they are also required to give in a list of their crews and passengers. We must confess, however, that these are *very inadequate restrictions* to

* Par. Papers, p. 416.

† Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 378.

prevent the introduction of slaves into the town ; the penalty could only be enforced by the detection of the offence, which is attended with much difficulty."* Translations in the Persian and Arabic languages were made of an extract of the 51 Geo. III. c. 28,† for circulation among the merchants ; which measure was certainly of a decisive character.

Slaves appear still to be clandestinely imported into India. A Calcutta Paper, in June 1830, contains the following extract from a native paper :—" 'Jewellery, and other articles, to the value of four lacks of rupees, had been offered by a European jeweller for purchase by the king (of *Oude*), who took other merchandise in the shape of a batch of newly-imported *Abyssinians*, which had been offered for sale, and bought by his Majesty.' This demands, and we hope will receive investigation, and if it is properly conducted, and all the obstacles to the prosecution of the offenders are removed, we venture to predict that it will be found that the importation of slaves continues to be carried on, to an extent utterly disgraceful."‡

In 1821, the opinion of the Recorder of Prince of Wales Island was taken—"as to the legality of apprehending and sending back to Malacca a runaway slave." This important question was answered in a Letter to the Secretary of Government. "I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of yours, with a copy of a dispatch from the Governor of Malacca. I am not acquainted with the Dutch language, and therefore if there should be any circumstance in that part of the dispatch which varies the question submitted to me, from the Governor of Malacca's letter in French, I should wish to have a translation of it; but, as it is not probable, I do not delay my request, that you will communicate to the Honourable the Governor in Council, that in the absence of any treaty, *I am of opinion, that the slave in question cannot be legally secured and sent back to Malacca.*"§

A number of slaves, procured in the neighbourhood of Jugernaut's Temple in Orissa, in 1790, were liberated and the captain of the vessel severely reprimanded, and threatened that,

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 377.

† Par. Papers, p. 380. By a more recent Act of Parliament, 4 Geo. IV. c. 27, the traffic in slaves has been declared to be an act of piracy, and all British subjects who may be concerned in it, are liable to be dealt with accordingly.

‡ India Gaz., June 1830. Asi. Jour., Dec. 1830, p. 191. See Asi. Jour., March 1831, p. 123.

§ Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 462; see also p. 456.

"on committing a second offence, he should be punished to the utmost rigour of the law and sent by the first conveyance to England."* Some slaves from Ganjam were also set at liberty, and the slave trader directed to be "fined, the sum of 200 rupees (to be distributed amongst the natives liberated from the vessel under his command), imprisoned for three months, until he pays the fine, and that he be then publicly expelled the District."†

The sale of slaves, under the Madras Government, for the arrears of the State was not discontinued till 1819. The Secretary writes to the Collector of Malabar :—"The Board's proceedings on the general subject of slavery have been laid before the Government, whose final orders will hereafter be communicated to you; but, in the mean time, I am directed to desire, that *the practice of selling slaves, for arrears of revenue, may be immediately discontinued.*"‡

These extracts display the humane and vigorous efforts of the British functionaries in India to abolish the slave trade, and mitigate the evils of slavery. The state of slavery at the present period next demands attention. The following chapter will shew that much remains to be done, before every British subject in India is free.

CHAP. III.

The present state and extent of Slavery in Hindostan.

The nature and extent of slavery in the British territories in India, is a subject that cannot but be deeply interesting to every liberal and humane mind. The following extracts, from the valuable Papers on East India Slavery, will throw some light on a subject, upon which little information is possessed.

The Resident at Delhi, in 1812, C. T. Metcalfe, Esq., issued a proclamation *prohibiting the sale of slaves*. On this subject, the Governor General addressed the Court of Directors, in 1813 :—"We observed, that the proclamation not only prohibited the importation of slaves for sale into the assigned territories, but the sale of slaves actually within those territories previously to its promulgation; a measure which we

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 476. † p. 494. ‡ p. 873.

were not prepared to sanction. Odious and abominable as such a traffic is, although it must be admitted that the system of slavery in this country is infinitely mitigated, when compared with that against which the enactments of the legislature in England have been directed. *The laws, which have hitherto been enacted to restrain it, have been confined in their object, to THE TRADE IN SLAVES BY IMPORTATION OR EXPORTATION; but they have not been extended to the emancipation of persons already in a state of slavery, nor to the prohibition of their transfer by sale, to other masters within the country which they inhabit.*

"We informed the Resident that for these reasons, and from other considerations of much apparent weight, our views were limited to the prohibition of the further importation of slaves for sale into the territories of the Hon. Company; and we accordingly directed that the terms of the proclamation might be modified, so as to correspond with the enactment contained in Regulation X. of 1811. The consultation of the annexed date contains the Resident's reply to the instructions. He stated that a general opinion prevailed, among the natives, that the total abolition of the Slave Trade had taken effect in the ceded and conquered Provinces; that he had not found the prohibition of the sale of slaves had occasioned any surprise at Delhi; and that the people were not aware, that by the proclamation which he had issued, greater restrictions were in force in the assigned territory than in any other part of the country; and that should it be published, *that slaves of a certain description might continue to be sold, it would give a more formal sanction to the sale of slaves, than that traffic was ever believed to possess.* The effect of this erroneous belief, on the part of the natives, appeared to the Resident to be attended with salutary consequences; and he submitted, that it was not desirable the delusion should be removed, *by the publication of a formal sanction for the sale of any description of slaves.* We signified to the Resident, our concurrence in the grounds on which he had suspended the execution of our instructions, and, that the proclamation issued, should continue in full force and effect."*

But, though the sale of slaves was thus prohibited in the Province of Delhi, slavery is still continued. This is evident from the Resident's communication to Government:—"In issuing a proclamation for the abolition of the future importation and sale of slaves, I had no idea of infringing on the

* Par Papers, pp. 101, 102. See also p. 134.

rights of the actual proprietors of slaves. *The proprietors of slaves in this territory, notwithstanding that proclamation, retain all their rights over their slaves, except that of selling them or making them the property of another.* This is perfectly understood, in consequence of the decisions given in the court of judicature in trials between owners and slaves. I have more than once embraced the opportunity afforded by such trials, to explain publicly, that *slaves are still the property of their owners*, though not disposable property."*

The Magistrate of Bareilly in 1812, referring to the efficacy of the provisions of Regulation X. 1811, for preventing the importation of slaves from foreign countries, remarks ; "This traffic, I believe, has suffered a very material check since the promulgation of the Regulation, inasmuch as children are no longer brought down from the hills, and publicly exposed for sale, as formerly, within this district ; but, *children are still sold within the Company's provinces, by subjects of the British government, nor does the Regulation contain any prohibition of such sale.* Parents, prevented by poverty from rearing a large family, will dispose of their children to an advantage, when offered, rather than allow them to starve ; the feelings of nature will confine this traffic to cases of necessity only, and will act more forcibly than any legal prohibition in preventing abuses ; it may be much doubted, indeed, whether the condition of children imported from the hills was not, in most cases, much ameliorated by such importation."†

A Mr. Browne, the proprietor of an estate at Anjarakandy, in Malabar, claimed *the right of a master over some slaves*, as a part of the Mahomedan law, under which he considered the Provinces of the Madras Presidency to be governed. "I cannot (says the Chief Secretary of the Government in 1813) agree to the proposition, that these Provinces are, so far as relates to British subjects, governed by the Mahomedan law. In questions of civil right, they are governed by the laws of the different nations to whom justice is to be dispensed. In criminal prosecutions, the Mahomeden law is, for what reason I do not know, established over all the natives in the Provinces, but not over the British. They retain the rights of their birth, and ought also to retain all the relations connected with the British character, *to which it is equally abhorrent to be the master of slaves, as to endure slavery.* It is expressly provided, in the several statutes, that our law shall not interfere with the authority exercised by the heads of families

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 104.

† p. 141.

amongst the natives ; who, from local residence at the Presidencies, are made subject in general to the British laws, but *no such provision is made for British subjects as the masters of slaves!*" The Advocate General expressed the same opinion ; and this important position, that *a Briton in India cannot be a slave-holder*, was thus definitely determined by a letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government, Fort William, in 1813, to the Secretary of the Madras Government :—“The Advocate General, having stated it as his opinion that it is quite impracticable, as the law at present stands, for *any British subject, to support a claim to the person or services of any one residing within the limits of the British territories as a slave* ; and that opinion corresponding entirely with the sentiments entertained by the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council on the subject, his Lordship in Council thinks that every case of that nature, which may be brought before the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, should be regarded as an illegal and unauthorized assumption of power ; and that legal measures should be resorted to, should circumstances appear to require it, against any British subject so acting in violation of the law.”* The difference between the state of public opinion, feeling, and, we may add, law, in the East and in the West Indies, cannot fail to strike the attention of every reader. It is very justly observed, “the habitual exercise of the authority of a master over slaves, is peculiarly destructive to the national honour and character.”† When shall these just sentiments pervade the breast of every British subject !

Of Slavery in Dacca the Magistrate, in 1816, observes :—“I have to state in reply, for the information of the Court of Circuit, that I have found in this court several prosecutions for inveigling away children and other persons with various intents, and they are generally females : such cases, however, in this city and district, are not very numerous. The unfortunate persons who are sold for slaves, are generally little children (females), or grown up girls that are enticed away from their parents or other relations in the Mofussil. Persons already in a state of slavery are seldom, as far as I can discover from the records of the court, or from other information, inveigled away with a view of being sold ; but female slaves are often enticed away for other purposes, sometimes by men, and sometimes by women keeping houses of ill-fame. Both descriptions of offence are, I believe, *very*

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 148.

† p. 147.

prevalent, especially the former, though few of them comparatively come officially to the knowledge of the magistrate.”*

The registration of slaves was proposed by the Bengal Government to the Nizamut Adawlut in 1816, which intimates that the prevalence of slavery is considerable. “In preparing the draft of the proposed regulation regarding slavery, the Governor General in Council requests that the court will take into their consideration, the expediency of requiring, that *the future purchase or transfer of slaves shall be regularly registered*, and that any breach of the rules which may be framed for that purpose shall entitle the slave to demand and obtain his freedom.”†

Inquiry was made from Bombay, of the Supreme Government in Calcutta, in 1817, respecting the application of the 51st Geo. III. c. 23, relative to “the abolition of the slave trade, to domestic slaves, and the property of individuals in them; such slavery being known and legalized under the laws of both the Hindoos and Mussulmans, according to whose codes the courts are *bound to administer justice*.” To which it was replied;—

“On this point the Vice President in council observes, that none of the provisions of the Acts of Parliament passed for the abolition of the slave trade in any manner affect, or profess to affect, *the relation between master and slave, wherever that relation may exist by law*. Whatever therefore was the law, according to the Mahomedan and Hindoo codes (for those over whom they extend), on the subject of domestic slavery, before the passing of the Act of the 51st Geo. III. c. 23, continues to be the law still; more especially as those codes have been distinctly recognised and ordered to be observed by Parliament. At the same time it is not credible, that any intention existed to abrogate those codes, without reference to the established laws and usages of this country, and without repealing the Acts of Parliament, by which the observance of them is guaranteed to the natives. The native subjects of the British Government, residing in the territories subordinate to the several Presidencies have, in fact, the same authority over their slaves, and the same property in them, that they would have had if the Act in question had never been passed; and the several zillah and provincial courts are bound to receive and determine all cases of that nature, which are respectively cognizable by them, under the existing regulations.

“The other points adverted to, in the documents now under consideration, relate to the conduct which should be observed, on the occasion of applications being made by the subjects or governments of neighbouring states, with whom we are in amity, for the restoration of slaves who have taken refuge within the Company’s territories. On this point it may be remarked, that the construction which has been uniformly given by the Supreme Government to the Act of the 51st Geo. III. c. 23, viz. that it was only intended to apply to the importation or removal of slaves by sea, would not involve any alteration in the course of proceedings hitherto adopted in similar cases. *A slave, by entering the Company’s territories, does not become free*;

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 248.

† p. 249.

nor can he, who was lawfully a slave, emancipate himself by running away from one country where slavery is lawful, to another where it is equally lawful. The property in the slave still continues in the master ; and the master has the same right to have it restored to him that any native subjects of our territories could have, supposing that right to be established in the mode prescribed by the local laws and regulations.”*

The permission of the sale of slaves in the Deccan, appears from a letter in 1819, addressed by the Political Agent in Candieish, to M. Elphinstone, Esq., the Commissioner. “Application having been lately made to me for permission to purchase some slaves, I took the opportunity of investigating the circumstances, which I have the honour to report for your information. It appears that the slaves were young women and girls, in the possession of some Mahratta Wunjaries, who, upon being questioned, state that they purchased them in Berar, from the Tandas of the Rajpoot Brimjarrias, who said they had got them during a late scarcity, which took place in the Nirmut district. Upon further investigation, I understand that the practice of carrying off children from one part of the country, to sell in another part, is not unusual with these people. The women appear unwilling to be sold, though they complain of their scanty food, and of the treatment they experience from their present masters. Although your letter, in answer to a former application on this subject, informed me that no variation whatever was to be made in the existing laws regarding slaves, yet it appears to me possible, that may be intended to be applied merely to the proprietary right over slaves in actual possession, and of recovering such as may desert ; I request to be informed, if the practice of *carrying slaves about for sale*, of which several instances have lately been brought to my notice, is still to be permitted. In the mean time I have prohibited the sale of the young women in question, till I hear from you.” To which it was replied by the Commissioner :—“The sale of slaves, as described in the above mentioned letter, is to be permitted; but all attempts to carry off young people by force, will be punished in the severest manner.”†

“The mitigated kind of domestic slavery which prevails in the Deccan,” says W. Chaplin, Esq., “and has prevailed from time immemorial in most parts of India, appears to be of a description entirely different from the foreign trade in slaves, which is proscribed by recent Acts of Parliament, passed since the abolition of this traffic ; and, although it may perhaps, at a future period, be necessary to introduce

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 333, 334.

† p. 339.

some regulations to prevent the stealing or kidnapping of children, *I conceive that any restrictive measure, that should at once put a stop to the sale of slaves, would be an innovation, which would trench materially, not only on long established customs, but on the rights of private property.* Whether this species of servitude, or rather of mild bondage, is eventually to be continued under certain modifications, or to be abolished entirely, is a question which is probably now under consideration; but as the importation of slaves from the Nizam's frontier, in consequence of the scarcity which prevails there, has of late greatly increased, the subject of your letter will be referred for the decision of the Honourable the Governor in Council. Whatever evil may result from the continuance of the traffic, it is certainly, I think, the means at the present moment of much actual good, inasmuch as it has the effect of preserving the lives of numbers of parents and children, who would otherwise perish from famine."*—Poonah, Dec. 1819.

The difference of opinion and procedure of some of the Indian Magistrates, manifests the difficulty of legislation where slavery exists. This appears by some slave cases, stated by W. Leycester, Esq., Second Judge of the Bareilly Court of Circuit in 1815.—

"In one case, Enayt Khaun is taken up by the police darogah, of Bhudyke, and sent as a prisoner to the magistrate of Cawnpore, for importing two female slaves, and *the magistrate discharges him, and gives him the slaves.*

"In a second case, Ooda is taken up for importing a woman named Mauncocoer, by a police sower, and delivered over to the police darogah of Bindrabun. Ooda says he bought her for *twenty-one rupees* in the Ranna's country, and she admits it, and adds, she understands he means to resell her. The acting magistrate liberates the woman.

"In a third case, Sabet Khaun is taken up by a jemmedar, and delivered over to the darogah of Koria Gunje. It would seem he had been sent by Assud Alee Cauzee of Jelaneh, to purchase a slave in the vicinity of Cassepore and Roderpoore (*the market for slaves imported from the hills*); but on coming to Bareilly he falls in with Besharut Khan, a slave-dealer, who from his stock in hand sells to him a woman named Zuhorun, twenty years of age; but the Cauzee, thinking her too old, leaves her on Sabet Khaun's hands. The assistant magistrate liberates the woman.

"In a fourth case, Nurotum is taken up by the darogah of Nudjeebabad. It would seem that he had purchased a woman named Anundee, for *twenty rupees*, of an inhabitant of the hills. The assistant magistrate does not liberate the woman, but takes a recognizance from Nurotum to produce her, if any other claimant should appear.

"In a fifth case, Choonee, the head of a set of dancing girls, prosecutes Hyatt Alee Cutwaul of Amrooa, for detaining forcibly Munnuvur Jaun, one of her female slaves. Munnuvur Jaun says, she is not satisfied to remain

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 341, 342.

with Choonee, and the magistrate liberates her. Choonee appeals, and produces a deed of sale for the slave, executed by Shumshere, an inhabitant of the hills. The opinion of the law officer of the Court of Circuit is taken, who declares, '*the sale of a resident of this country illegal* ; and the order of the magistrate was confirmed.

"The first case was submitted by me to the Nizamut Adawlut, with a recommendation that the said Enayt Khaun should be punished, and the slaves discharged, or sent back, as required by the 10th Regulation of 1811 ; and the court in reply adjudge that, under the construction given to the provisions of the 10th Regulation, 1811, *the case in question does not fall within the operation of that Regulation* ; and, having referred to the court's orders, it would seem, that on a representation from Mr. Blunt, the court had decided that the regulation in question was 'applicable only to the importation of slaves for the purpose of being sold, given away, or otherwise disposed of.' "*

It appears, that when slaves have been imported, their owners have endeavoured to evade the law against the Slave Trade, by not immediately disposing of them ; on which it is very justly remarked,—"Is not keeping a person imported as a slave, to be a slave, a disposal of him ? and what is to be said to the notorious fact of females, so imported as slaves, being let out in retail for the purposes of prostitution, and any offspring they may have being sold, *agreeably to the daily practice regarding the indigenous slaves of the country, for the benefit of the slave master* ? This surely is a disposal of them and of their issue."† Is not this species of slavery equal in atrocity to the slavery of the West Indies ?

"Slavery in Malwa," says Sir John Malcolm, "is chiefly limited to *females* ; but there is perhaps no province in India where there are so many slaves of this sex. The dancing girls are all purchased when young by the *nakins*, or heads of the different sects, who often lay out large sums in these purchases ; female children and grown up young women, are bought by all ranks. Among the Rajpoot chiefs these slaves are very numerous, as also in the houses of the principal Brahmuns ; *the usage descends to the lowest ranks, and few merchants or cultivators with any property are without mistresses or servants of this description*. Male slaves are rare, and never seen but with men of some rank and property, with whom they are usually the confidential servants. There are a variety of ways in which slaves are procured in Malwa ;—numbers date their condition from a famine or scarcity, when men sold their children to those who were able to support them. A great number of the slaves of Malwa are from Rajpootana, where the excesses of the Mahrattas drove the inha-

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 342, 343.

† p. 344.

bitants to exile, and to such distress as to be compelled to part with their children. But, besides these sources of slavery, there are others of a more criminal nature. There are many instances of Rajpoots, and men of other tribes, particularly Soandees, selling the children whom they have by their slaves, and who are deemed to be born in a state of bondage. This takes place when the father is in distress, or when he is tempted by a large price. The sale of the offspring of these women by other fathers than their masters is more common. These slaves are not numerous; but the further demand is supplied by the Binjarries, who import females into and from Guzerat and other countries, whom they usually pretend to have bought; and by the tribe of Gwarriah, professed stealers of female children. When these slaves are bought, an inquiry is made as to their tribe, and the general answer (particularly from the Gwarriahs) is, that they are Rajpoots. The children are taught to make pretensions to high birth, and daily instances occur of whole families losing cast in consequence of their being too hastily credited. Females in Malwa, except in times of scarcity or general distress from any cause, are sold from 40 to 50, to 100 and 150 rupees; the price is accordant with their appearance. They have been, at times, an article of considerable commerce, many being annually sent to the southward, particularly to the Poonah territories, where they sold high. This trade, which has of late years decreased, was principally carried on by the Mahratta Brahmuns, some of whom amassed great sums by this shameless traffic.*

The Par. Papers contain more minute information, respecting the state of slavery under the Madras Presidency, than of the other Presidencies in India.—“In Malabar and Canara, where the land is very generally divided, and occupied as separate and distinct properties, *the labourer is the personal slave of the proprietor, and is sold and mortgaged by him, independently of his lands.* In the Tamil country, where land is of less value, and belongs more frequently to a community than to an individual, the labourer is understood to be *the slave rather of the soil than of its owner*, and is seldom sold or mortgaged, except along with the land to which he is attached; but in Telingana, where it is difficult now to trace the remains of private property in the land, this class of people is considered free. It has been stated by very competent authority, Mr. F. W. Ellis, the Collector of Madras, that in the Tamil country, the *parriyars* and *pullers*, most of whom are

* Par. Papers as above, Report on Malwa, 1821, pp. 414, 415.

slaves attached to the lands of the *vallaler*, as well as the *pulli*, who are generally serfs on the lands of the Brahmun meerassidars, sometimes claim meras, or *hereditary private property*, in the 'incidents of their villainage'; and that 'it is generally allowed to them and their descendants, on proving their former residence in the village, however long they may have been absent from it.' On the other hand, the late Magistrate in Malabar, in addressing Government respecting the sale of men, women, and children of the Pollar, Cherumakul, Panian, Kanakan, Kallady, Yocallan, and Nacady tribes, submits that, 'if the general question of slavery, as recognised by the local usages of Malabar, or by the Hindoo and Mahomedan law, is not affected by the laws made to abolish the Slave Trade—adverting to the *wretchedness and diminutive appearance of this description of natives*—it still appears to be a subject well worthy the humane consideration of the Right Hon. the Governor in Council, to enact such legislative provisions as will tend to ameliorate their condition, and prevent their being sold out of the talook, or, indeed, of the estate, the place of their nativity; and above all, from being exposed to sale by public auction, in execution of decrees, or in satisfaction of revenue demands.'*

It appears to have been common, *to dispose of the slaves on an estate as a part of the real property*.—"The Hindoo law (says the Collector of Malabar), on the subject of transfers of property, speaks of 'land and slaves employed in the cultivation of it,' and evidently contemplates those two species of property as one and the same, and as not properly separable from each other; and we find that not only in this, but in other countries, it has been usual to transfer the slaves who were a '*descripti glebae*' with the land itself. Indeed the attachment of the Hindoos to the lands which they have always occupied, and to the village where they have always resided, is proverbial; and to separate them from their native soil, might, under such circumstances, be considered an additional act of cruelty. A certain portion of the produce of the soil which they cultivate, is, in the Tamil country, allowed by the master for the maintenance of his slaves, whose duty it is to till the ground; and, unless they were transferred with the land, the new proprietor, when he obtained possession, might experience difficulty in carrying on the cultivation, and the former master might be deprived of the means of enabling him to afford subsistence to his slaves. The probability of

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 817.

being transferred with the land, gives them on this coast a sort of property in their huts and little spots of ground, which they can thus occupy without any great fear of being turned out, or transferred, contrary to their interests, feeling, and comfort. It must, however, be observed, that on the other coast *universally*, and even *generally* on this coast, *slaves are not necessarily sold with the land*, although the convenience of all parts seems to have rendered the practice common."

The apathy manifested by the Collector of Calicut in 1819, respecting the sale of slaves for default of revenue, shews the influence of the slave system upon the most respectable of the European functionaries of Government. "In attempting to ameliorate the condition of these slaves, care must be taken that we do not increase them. The partial measure, of declaring them not liable to be sold for arrears of revenue, will be a drop of water in the ocean; though, *why Government should give up a right, which every proprietor enjoys, is a question worthy of consideration.*"*

An extract of one of the *Rejected Police Regulations*, refused Registration by the Supreme Court of Bombay, in 1826, affords some idea of the state of slavery in that part of India, at the period referred to.

Of the Slave Trade and Slavery.

"All importation of slaves into this Island for sale is prohibited.

"The petty sessions shall in such cases emancipate the slave and send him or her back to the family, or to the place to which he or she was brought at the expense of the importer. When the slave is desirous of remaining, the importer shall pay him the money which would otherwise have been employed in defraying the expense of his return. The petty sessions may inflict further punishments in aggravated cases, not exceeding the fine of 500 rupees, and imprisonment for six months in default of payment.

"All children born of parents in a state of slavery in this Island, after the first day of January 1812, shall be free.

"The said court of petty sessions shall have power of summary conviction in all cases of persons enticing or conveying away any married females, or unmarried females under the age of thirteen years, out of the protection and against the will of the husband or father, or other person having the lawful protection and governance of any such female; for the purpose of her prostitution in any way, or for her disposal in marriage against the will of the person having such lawful protection or government as aforesaid; such offenders to be punishable by fine not exceeding 500 rupees; or in lieu thereof, as the case may seem to require, or in default of payment, imprisonment, with or without hard labour, as the case may seem to require, for any time not exceeding six months."†

The following copious extracts from the reports of *eleven Collectors*, to whom the Madras Government had addressed

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 846. See p. 435.

† See Ori. Herald, vol. xiv. pp. 515—533.

queries respecting the state of slavery in their respective districts, appear peculiarly interesting. The whole letter, from the Secretary of Government in the revenue department, contains fourteen folio pages, and bears date, April, 1819.

" In SALEM slavery does not appear to exist. The Collector observes, ' I can safely state that, in the manner referred to in these communications, there is no vestige whatever of slavery in this collectorate, nor has any such practice obtained from the time the country came into possession of the Honourable Company. During the Mussulman government, there were a few slaves belonging to certain Nunjah lands in the vicinity of the Cauvery, and there are now some descendants of these people; but they are as free as any other inhabitants. I have heard of one or two instances of a child being sold for the purpose of domestic slavery; but this is uncommonly rare, and such a circumstance as a person being sold as a slave has never transpired.'

" In MADURA and DINDIGUL slavery existed during the Mahomedan government. The slaves were sold at the pleasure of their masters, but they were not '*adscripti glebe* ;' not necessarily sold whenever the land was sold.

The Collector's words are, ' When a puller or pariah was unable to gain a livelihood, he was accustomed to offer himself or his relatives as slaves to the cultivating inhabitants, for a sum of money, varying from one to ten catty chuckrums, when a bond of slavery was drawn out and signed. If they married, *their children were considered the property of the owners*; they were employed in the cultivation of land, and were maintained by the owners, who frequently, for their services, would grant them a soluntrum, or allowance in grain, in addition to other allowances. If the proprietor of land was obliged to dispose of the whole of his lands, he still retained possession of his slaves, and disposed of them as he pleased, as they were not considered attached to the land thus sold. If an owner was unable to maintain his slave, he could let him out to others, by which means he frequently derived a maintenance both for himself and his slave; but the slave was obliged to return to his master whenever he required him, who could mortgage or sell him at pleasure. Since the assumption of the country, some slaves continued with their masters; others have left them, and have even enlisted as sepoys. I cannot discover that any puller has sold himself as a slave of late years. Indeed, *slavery seems gradually disappearing; which may be attributed to the knowledge, that it is not encouraged in the different courts of justice.* Some pullers cultivate their own lands, and have their own puttiams. Those who cultivate the lands of others, and who are not slaves, receive a regulated hire.'

" In COIMBATORE slavery is reported to exist, ' but in a very few villages.' The Collector observes, ' From all that I can learn, it appears certain that, *the owner has a right to sell his slave without the land; but that it is a right very seldom, if ever, exercised.* The highest price for a good slave is fifty rupees; the price, however, is seldom so high. The children of slaves are born slaves. On the birth of a child, the master presents the parents with cloths, and one or two rupees. The master is supposed to be vested with despotic authority over their slaves, and with power to punish them. An apprehension, however, that the exercise of such authority is not permitted by the British government appears generally prevalent, and rather operates to prevent the merchandise of slaves, as *they are considered to be less valuable, when free from the fear of punishment.* There appears reason for thinking that the slaves are, on the whole, better treated by their masters than the common class of free labourers. The master possesses a power, *not only over the person, but over the property of his slave;* and he may make

use of the cattle reared by the slave for agricultural purposes! The slaves are sold with the land; but, if they should object to serve another master, they are not forced to do so. This I take to be an indulgence of the master, not a right of the slave. The slaves have *a share of the produce allotted for their subsistence, about AN EIGHTH.* In some instances, land has been made over to the pullers, which they cultivate for their support. In many places, where slavery does not exist, a species of bondage is introduced, by the ryots undertaking to bear the expense of their puller's marriage, upon condition of the latter binding themselves to serve the ryots exclusively for life. Slavery may almost be considered as extinct in Coimbatore.'

"In TANJORE slavery exists; but, as in Madura and Dindigul, it is founded, in the first instance, upon voluntary contract. 'The slaves are never seized or sold for arrears of revenue. The slaves here are of two casts only, the Puller and Pariah; the origin of their bondage arises in a voluntary agreement, on their part, to become the slave of some other man more powerful than themselves, upon whom they thus impose a more strict obligation to protect and maintain them and their families, than if merely serving them as labouring servants. The Brahmuns, in consideration of their cast, do not receive bonds of slavery directly in their own name, but have them generally drawn out in that of some of their soodra dependents. When a bond of slavery has been given, it ceases not with the life of the party, but is binding upon the descendants of the original giver, who continue bound by the conditions of it. In return, the owner is obliged to find subsistence at all times, and under all circumstances, for the family of his bondsman; whom he can employ in any manner he pleases, although it is generally as a labourer in the fields. The bondsman does not reside in his master's house, nor form any part of his family, but has a house provided for him along with the others of his cast, to which a back yard of eighty goontals rent-free is attached, the same as other labourers. *The master has the power of selling the slave, but he cannot sell him to any one who will carry him to a distant part of the country, without his own consent.* If the master, through poverty or other cause, fails or becomes unable to subsist his bondsman and his family, he is at liberty to seek employment as a free labourer, but is liable to be reclaimed at any time by his master, when he may be in a condition to fulfil his part of the agreement. When lands are sold, in any way, it is always independent of the bondsmen, if any, upon it. If they are likewise to be sold, separate deeds of transfer are passed. If not, they continue attached to their former masters. No persons of this description have ever yet been considered as seizable property, or sold for an arrear of revenue; nor do I believe ever by a judicial decree in any civil cause; nor have I ever known this species of property recognised by the officers of government, although it is by the natives themselves, in their transactions with each other.

"On the part of the bondsman, his rights are subsistence and protection for himself and family from his master, with liberty to seek it elsewhere, as a free agent, if not found him; and the right of not being removed by sale to a distant country from the place of his birth. With regard to himself, personally, his treatment from his master is the same as that of his other labourers, which is, in general, of a mild nature; but he is not more liable to personal punishment than others, in consequence of his state of bondage; and any cruelty or abuse of authority on the part of the master, towards his bondsman, would be complained against, and punished with equal strictness, as if committed upon a free man. The Board will perceive that the condition of these people differs very little from that of the common labourers. The disadvantage to the bondsman is, *the power of being sold or transferred to other masters;* and this is not very frequent, as it is the last property, ge-

nerally, which is disposed of by a person in distressed circumstances. The advantages are, the more effectually securing subsistence and protection to themselves and families, particularly in times of trouble or difficulty, than it is binding on masters in general to bestow upon common labourers; and this without rendering their condition in any degree intolerable, towards the amelioration of which, the equity and mildness of the British Government have greatly operated, in respect to rendering the conduct of masters to their servants indulgent. I do not find that the system of slaves attached to the soil, and transferrable by purchase as appendages to the land, obtains here.'

"TINNEVELLY. 'From all the information I have been able to collect, I understand, *it is usual, in this district, for slaves to be sold or mortgaged either with the land or separately, as the proprietor pleases, or his wants require;* and that there is no particular rule, or general custom, by which the conduct between the master and slave, and between slave and master, is governed, further than that the master has, at all times, the command of his slave's labour, and that the slave cannot work for any other person without the permission of his master.'

'In regard to the treatment of masters towards their slaves, it does not appear to be incumbent on them to afford a subsistence except when employed in their business; and then *it is on the lowest scale of allowance*, being generally no more than two measures of paddy per day. At other times their slaves are obliged to seek a livelihood at the hands of others, being bound only to return to their masters when the season of cultivation commences. Besides this allowance, which the slaves receive from their masters on working days, they are entitled, when the crops are reaped, to a small deduction from the gross produce, called here, 'Paroo,' which varies in different villages, but *amounts generally to about 23-8 per cent.* It is usual, when deaths occur among them, for their masters to assist them in the necessary funeral expenses; and on marriages, births, and festival days, to grant them presents, according as their circumstances will admit; but these acts are quite voluntary on the part of the masters, and the slave can claim nothing more than a bare subsistence while he works, and his *solun-trum*, as above described, at the time of harvest.'

'All punishment of the slave by the master, if this power ever existed, and was recognised in former times, seems to be at an end; and there is no instance, within my experience in this district, of a slave complaining of ill-treatment from his master. The fact, indeed, appears to be, that the slave is so necessary to the cultivation, and labourers are so scarce, that the proprietors find it their interest to treat them well; and the slaves, in time, become so attached to the village in which they are settled, that they seem not to consider their situation, nor shew any desire to be free. In calling upon the tehsildars for an account of a person's property, to know whether he is a fit security for another, it is usual, if he possess slaves, to include them, a male slave being estimated in value from 3 to 15 C. Chuckrums (R 6 $\frac{93}{256}$ to 31 $\frac{299}{256}$), and a female from 3 to 5 C. Chuckrums (6 $\frac{93}{256}$ to 10 $\frac{155}{256}$), but I have always rejected them in the account as unavailable property by the Sircar, and none have ever been sold in this district for an arrear of revenue.*'

* "The jemn value of a good Parier, as well as a good Addian (slave), is thirty rupees; Otti, twenty-seven and a half rupees; Kanom, fifteen rupees; and the jemn value of a less able one of either tribe, is twenty rupees; Otti, seventeen and a half rupees; Kanom, ten rupees; and Paneyam, eight rupees. The jemn value of children (male) of those sects is twelve rupees. The jemn value of a female slave, of any of the two tribes above mentioned,

“SOUTH Arcot. The slaves in this collectorate are mostly of the Paly and Pariar casta, and the majority of them are chiefly devoted to the pursuit of agriculture. The number of slaves in this district, of both sexes, including children, amounts to upwards of 17,000; and they appear to have been generally born in a state of servitude; through some contract of their fore-fathers. The Hindoo code of laws, religious and civil, seems to declare that the Soodra tribes are naturally born in a state of servitude; and, although some of the superiors of the sub-divisions of that tribe in modern days, have emancipated themselves from this degrading thralldom, yet the lower castes are always looked upon as natural slaves, the property of any person, who contributes to defray their marriage expenses, which is the ordinary way, at present, of constituting hereditary slavery. Previously to the assumption of the Carnatic, the owners of slaves were empowered to punish them, either by castigation or confinement, at their discretion; but that power, subsequently to the British administration, has ceased to be exercised. The possessions and acquisitions of slaves, are generally considered the property of their masters, who, however, usually relinquish them to the family of the slave. Slaves cannot enter into any matrimonial connexion without the consent of their owners, who, as they defray the expenses of the marriage, virtually revive the contract of hereditary bondage; for the offspring of slaves are always regarded as the property of their father's owner.

It is stated that the slaves of this district can be sold by their owners to any person, and to an alien village, and that no slaves are attached to any particular soil or village; but I am induced to believe that such a practice is at variance with the rights annexed to the state of real bondage; for in some Meerassi villages it is known that the Meerassisidars have advanced pretensions to possess an equal proportion of the slaves with their share of the villages, and I also believe that such a practice is hardly ever resorted to. The price of a male slave and family, when sold by their owner to another person, varies considerably, and ranges from *ten to fifty pagodas*. The owners of slaves are required to provide them with food and clothing, to defray their wedding expenses, and to assist them on the births of children, and in their funeral charges. The food differs according to the opulence of the owner, but is always sufficient for subsistence, or the owner permits the slave to serve elsewhere during his poverty. The clothing is very scanty, except when the slaves are chiefly employed for domestic purposes; and I cannot discover that the apparel is designedly calculated to portray the class of the wearers. The duties of slaves are to attend the cattle and agriculture, and to assist in domestic services, connected with the house or person of their owners.

as well as of their female children, is three rupees and eighty reas. The pattom of a good cherman of any of the two sects above mentioned, is three paddies of paddy; that of a less able one, two paddies; that of a boy, one paddy; and that of a female of those sects is also one paddy. The jemn value of a good slave of the Moopan and Naiken tribe, is sixty-four silver fanams; Otti, fifty-two; Kanom, thirty; and Verroom Pattan, four silver fanams, but the females of those tribes are not given on Pattom or by sale. The jemn value of a good Poolean slave is twelve rupees; Otti, ten rupees; and Kanom, six rupees; and the jemn value of a less able one, eight rupees; Otti, six rupees; Kanom, four rupees; and Verrom Pattom, one paddy of paddy. The value of a good Panian or Addian (slave), might be said to have increased, by five rupees, above the old price, but that of the Naiken, Moopan, and Poliar, continues still the same.” (Par. Papers, pp. 852, 853.)

‘It does not appear that *enfranchisement of slaves ever takes place*; yet as some owners have been reduced to indigence, and are unable to employ or subsist their hereditary slaves, those persons are ostensibly free, and labour for any person who will employ them. Cases of emancipation occur in the extinction of the owners’ families; and from this description of Soodras, who still sacrifice their liberties, modern slaves are constituted; for they are mostly very needy, and consent to perpetual and hereditary bondage for about twenty or thirty pagodas, which the cultivator advances for the celebration of the marriage ceremony. In no instance, I believe, do engagements exist, where a *labourer discharges such a loan by his manual labour*.’

“CHINGLEPUT. ‘The slaves employed in the cultivation of the lands, and to which this report principally refers, have, for the most part, their allowances regularly rendered; so much grain being granted to each labourer, and a proportionate subsistence to each of his children or others of the family. They are housed and clothed; and, during the principal festivals, certain allowances are made them both in money and articles required for their ceremonies. Their marriages are also performed at the charge of their masters; and, when reduced by infirmity, they are also supported by their proprietors. The condition of this description of people, composing the chief part of the Pariahs of the district, has, of late years, considerably changed. This may, in a great measure, arise from the vicinity of their situation to Madras, where this system is known to be abrogated. Many of them there obtain employment, and their proprietors would find it difficult to reclaim them; and the regulations have so far circumscribed the authority formerly exercised by the proprietors, that they cannot keep them under control,—when the power was vested in them of inflicting on them very severe corporal punishment, or confining them for the neglect of the duties assigned them: in former times the discipline exercised by the proprietors over their slaves was of a very severe description. The proprietors finding themselves very incapable of employing their services, or rather controlling them as arbitrarily as before, complain less of the loss of this description of property. The slaves are also possessed by many of the Vellairs, &c., who have long since established themselves in the cultivation of particular villages; but their situation, in such cases, is similar to those in the service of other soodras. *The sale of adami (slaves) has been, I believe, of late years, discontinued, or of very rare occurrence*; and in these parts no attachment of such property has ever been made on account of the dues of government.’

“TRICHINOPOLY.—‘In the wet districts of Trichinopoly, the number of pullers may be stated at 10,000, including those employed for the purpose of watching and feeding the cattle. In the dry districts, there are about 600; but pullers are only to be found in those villages where there is paddy cultivation. The pullers of the dry districts appear to be liable to the same rules, and to possess the same rights, as those of the wet districts. The services they perform are chiefly confined to the irrigation of the land in its several stages of cultivation; but their services are also occasionally required by their masters, in the menial offices of their household establishment. If a wall or pundall is required, *the pullers are obliged to erect it, without any further recompense than their established emoluments*. The pullers are usually sold with the land; but there are many cases in which they may be purchased independent of it. The price of a puller varies from *five to ten pagodas*, according to his age and qualifications. Their services are also occasionally mortgaged; a pullee, or female slave, is never sold; while it would appear that, *in Malabar, men, women, and children, are sold indiscriminately*.

'The pullers are supposed to be entirely supported by their masters, in sickness and in health. Their marriages are made at the expense of the meerassidars, as well as the expense of their funerals. They enjoy some little gratuity at every birth, and receive a certain established sum at the principal Hindoo festivals. I have noted a *list of the yearly emoluments a puller is properly entitled to receive*; and these emoluments, though small, I have every reason to believe, are scarcely ever withheld.*

'I have examined the pullers themselves, on the subject of their being well or ill treated, and asked them what course they would pursue if ill used. They replied, *they would seek other masters at a distance, that would treat them more kindly.* In corroboration of this fact I have never received a complaint, either in my fiscal or magisterial capacity, since my appointment to this district, from a puller against his master. The right of the puller is so distinctly defined by custom, and the interest of the meerassidars so substantially affected by the good conduct and health of the puller,—that it is hardly possible to suppose the meerassidars would be so blind to their own interest as to cause their pullers to abscond, or by harsh treatment reduce them to sickness. From what has been already stated, it will be found, that *agricultural slavery has existed in this district from time immemorial.*'

"CANARA.—"The origin of slavery in Canara is to be traced from extracts in an ancient book, called Sheehadry Pooranum, but by no means an authentic record. This treatise is stated to contain a fabulous narrative, which, when divested of its oriental imagery and metaphors, will be found to attribute the origin of slavery in Canara to the right of conquest.

* "The extent of cultivation to be made by a puller and by a pullee, is 150 cullums of paddy.

	Annual Emoluments.	ru.	an.
Warum of a puller culs.	8 5 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Do. of a pullee	6 6 $\frac{1}{4}$		
Batta at the commencement of each fusly for ploughing	15 0 $\frac{1}{8}$		
Soluntrums for sowing	2 4		
Reaping share a' 5 per cent.	0 6		
Thrashing do.	7 6		
Pongal feast	1 0		
Duparaly do.	1 0		
Gramadava do.	0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$		
	0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Total annual	26 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ fs.		
Proposed addition of warum a' 2 per cent.	3 0 0		
	29 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ fs.		
Contingencies estimated:			
For a marriage	4 0 rs. 8		
For a birth	0 2 fs. 2		
For a death	0 2 fs. 2		
	4 4 rs. 8 4		
Total	33 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ rs. 9 fs. 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ "		

'The right of sale was, and is still, the master's exclusive privilege, either with or without the land.' The price varies, and is settled amongst the purchasers and sellers. The usual rates are as follow:—

'For a strong young man, from twelve to twenty-six rupees.

'Do. a strong young woman, twelve to twenty-four rupees.

'Do. a child, never under four rupees.

It is customary to pass a bill of sale, on a bargain being made, or a mortgage bond. The transfer, by purchase or gift, (in charity, or to the pagoda), is attended with a short ceremony, between the seller or giver, and receiver, and the slave. The slave drinks some water from his brass basin, and calls out, *'I am now your slave for ever.'* The zillah court, has guaranteed this right by decrees, both on transfer of landed property, and on sale in execution of decrees. The master can lend his slaves out on hire. *'He can sell the husband to one person, and the wife to another!'* This is not often done, because neither of the purchasers can be sure of keeping his purchase. Care is always taken in purchasing not to carry the slave to any distant estate. *'The master can sell the children;'* but this is seldom done from the foregoing cause, the fear of desertion. The master, according to his means, feeds and clothes his slaves. *'He never pays them wages in money,'* but presents them on their marriages, or particular ceremonies, with a small sum. The quantity of food and clothing to a slave varies in every talook. It does not seem to be regulated by any rule, although it would appear that some original quantum obtained. The average may be thus estimated:—

	FOOD.	CLOTHING.
A man	$\frac{1}{2}$ Canara seer coarse rice, two rupees weight salt, a little beetel nut and leaf.	Two pieces of cauthey, six cubits. In some ta- looks, a coomby and roomal given.
A woman	1 seer.	1 do. seven cubits long.
A child	$\frac{1}{4}$ do.	1 do. four do.

'The salt, beetel, &c., is *optional*. It is also customary to give them congee from the master's house. I cannot learn that any want or cruelty is experienced by the slaves, the master being well aware that, on any ill-treatment, they will desert him; and that the trouble and expense attending their recovery would perhaps amount to the value of the deserters. *Slavery seems to be inconsistent with rights and privileges.* On these points I can only generally state, that the *dhers* of *Canara* possess none. The number of slaves of all descriptions, in *Canara*, has never been correctly ascertained; they may be estimated at 82,000.'

MALABAR.—In Malabar (exclusive of *Wynaund**) the number of slaves is estimated by the Collector at 100,000. 'They are,' says the Collector, '*slaves of the soil*, and are generally attached to the land of the proprietors of the

* "The landed proprietors of *Wynaund* are torpid to a degree; all the field work is done by slaves called *Paniers*, who are held in higher estimation than the slaves of the lower districts. They are admitted to the threshold of their masters' houses, and they are even employed in grinding rice for the use of the temples!" (Par. Papers, p. 924.) Hamilton thus describes the ceremonies of respect in Malabar:—"A *nair*, (soldier) may approach, but not touch a *Brahmun*. A *tair*, (cultivator) remains 36 yards off. A *puliar*, (slave) 96 steps off. A *tair* is to remain 12 steps from a *nair*; a *meliar* 3 or 4 steps farther, a *puliar* 96 steps. A *meliar* may approach, but not touch a *tair*. A *polier* is not to come near a *malear* or other cast. If he wish to speak to a *Brahmun* or other, he must stand at the above prescribed distances and cry aloud. Formerly a *nair* was expected instantly to cut down a *tair*,

ground on which they were born; but this is by no means considered an essential point, being frequently transferred by sale, mortgage, or hire. *In Malabar, as in the West Indies, a man's wealth is as much appreciated by the number of his slaves, as by any other property he may possess!* In one set they observe what is termed makkatye; in another they observe the marru makkatye; the former, being the common laws of kindred, the latter similar to the customs among the Nairs, in which inheritance goes to the sister's son, and this constitutes the value of a female of one cast over that of the male, and vice versa, a male being more valuable *where the progeny goes with him*. The marriage contract is made entirely among the parents of the parties, without any interference on the part of the proprietor; to whom, however, it is necessary to make the proposed connexion.

‘ No valuable consideration is given to the owner by the male for the possession of the female. *The contract may be dissolved at the pleasure of the parties connected;* in which event the husband takes off the marriage necklace (commonly composed of shells or brass ornaments), which makes the dissolution complete, and each is at liberty to form new connexions; but whilst the contract lasts I have had opportunities in my magisterial capacity, when an assistant in the courts, of observing a wonderful degree of jealousy and tenaciousness of family honour, when contrasted with the general appearance, habits, and apparently brutish stupidity of these castes. *The measure of subsistence to be given by the proprietor is fixed,* and he is bound by the prescribed customs of the country to see it served daily. A frequent failure on the part of the master to perform this duty, is sure to be attended with desertion to another, from whom they expect kinder usage; and, when this takes place, the recovery of them is attended with difficulties that are not easily overcome; for, independent of being obliged to have recourse to courts of justice, *months and years perhaps elapse before they can discover to what place the slave has absconded.* The proprietor feels it his interest to see them well treated, through apprehensions of the consequence of an opposite conduct.

‘ I do not recollect any instance of a churma having appealed to a court of justice for protection from the ill usage of his master; but instances are not wanting of persons having been brought to justice and to a severe account for the murder or wounding of a slave; and as it is universally known throughout Malabar that British justice considers the life of the lowest individual as valuable as the highest character in the country, and that as severe a retribution would fall on the head of the murderer of a slave as of a rajah, we may consider them as well protected by the laws as any other race of beings. In some respects, churmas may be considered in more comfortable circumstances than any of the lower and poorer class of Natives. An instance of a churma being a beggar is unheard of: they and their families are sure of having the means of subsistence, for if the owner should be unable to afford this, he will sell, mortgage, or hire his churma to another, on whom would devolve the duty, as well as interest, of affording him such subsistence, as to enable him to go through the labours of the day.”* †

or musna, (fisherman) who defiled him by touching him; and the same fate awaited the poliar or pariar who did not turn out of the road for the nair.” (Ham. Hind., vol. ii. pp. 278, 280.)

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 887—896.

† “ The churmas in Malabar are *absolute property; they are part of the live stock on an estate.* In selling and buying land it is not necessary that they should follow the soil; both kinds of property are equally disposable, and may fall into different hands. The churmas may be sold, leased, and mortgaged, like the land itself, or like any cattle or thing. The feumokar

To the above may be added the Report of the Collector of the NORTHERN DIVISION of Arcot.—“The slaves in the district are not numerous; exhibiting a total of 688, inclusive of men, women, and children. The practice of keeping them may be said to be confined to the five talooks of Arcot, Trevuloor, Cauvareeput, Poloor, and Suttawaid; for in Sholunigar and Wondawash (the two other talooks in which, according to the statement, slavery prevails) their numbers are very small indeed. They are ostensibly employed in agriculture, and the pasturing of cattle, although they may occasionally do house work; and the persons in whose service they are principally engaged, are the Rajah, Brahmun, and Vellumwar casts. Children, born when their parents are in a state of slavery, become slaves also. It does not appear to be accurately settled to whom the child of a slave belongs; in one talook, it was said to the master of the male, in another to the master of the female slave; the question, perhaps, has never been agitated; for the people who keep slaves, most likely *find it cheaper to buy than to rear them!* and the offspring, when left to their parents' charge, *who have barely sufficient to support themselves, die of absolute want!* They have not any particular marks whereby they may be distinguished, except it is their wretched appearance; they are fed and clothed and subsisted entirely by their masters; their food consists of *raggy*, the coarsest kind of grain, and their clothing is a common cumly. I cannot discover, though I was very particular in my inquiries on the point, that *they have any rights or privileges, and they are not possessed of any property, neither can they inherit any.*”*

The latter part of the Par. Papers refers to the *practice of stealing children*, which appears “very prevalent at Madras.” “I beg (says the Magistrate at Tinnevelly in Dec. 1825) to bring officially to notice a custom which is, I believe, more or less prevalent throughout the Madras territories, and, as far as my observation has gone, is very frequent in the district of Tinnevelly. The practice I allude to, is the sale and purchase of female children by dancing women, for the avowed purpose of bringing them up to a life of immorality. The custom is so notorious, and its tendency so evident, that no comment can be necessary; but I am apprehensive that, unless it be specially excepted from those purchases of children which are

may hire them for pattom or rent independently of the land, or he may sell them altogether with his estate. The pattom on a churma is four fanams a year; if they are disposed of on otty, their price is thirty two fanams; if on the attipit ola or jenmon, forty-eight fanams. The jenmokar, by the ancient laws of Malabar, is *accountable to no person for the life of his own churma*, but is the legal judge of his offences, and may punish them by death, if they should appear to deserve it. The kolloonavem can neither put to death a churma nor sell him, but he may chastise him. In the same manner as the soil the possession of churmas was originally confined to a particular class. They were then employed entirely in the labours of agriculture; but, although they were the first and sole cultivators in Malabar, it is not to be imagined that this is the case at present, since there are many kuddians of all casts, who cultivate their own lands.”—(Walker's Rep. on Malabar. Par. Papers, p. 866.)

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 873, 874.

now (under some circumstances) legal, an opinion may be entertained that such dealings are countenanced by law. A prohibition of such transactions could not be complained of as an infringement of any acknowledged rights; it would serve as a check upon child-stealing, which is occasionally practised under the pretence of purchase, and the public expression of the will of the Government could not but have a beneficial tendency to promote morality."*

The reply to this communication, by the Secretary of Government at Madras, it is presumed, cannot be read without feelings of strong disapprobation. "It is understood, from your letter, that in the opinion of the judges of the Foujdaree Adawlut, no new enactment is required upon this subject, because the selling or purchasing of children, for the avowed purpose of prostitution, may be punished under the law as it at present stands. The Governor in Council entirely concurs with the judges in deeming any enactment unnecessary; and is further of opinion, adverting to the nature of the institution of dancing women, and to its connexion with the ceremonies and observances, both religious and civil, of the great bulk of the people, that if it is at all expedient for the officers of Government to interfere, for the purpose of preventing parents or guardians from assigning children in the customary modes to be brought up to this profession, the interference requires to be conducted with the greatest caution. The remarks, to which reference is made, relate to the practice of selling children to be made slaves, and generally to the usages of the country with respect to slavery; and, it was observed, that that subject was one of much difficulty and delicacy. The subject now under consideration is of no less delicacy, and it seems to afford less inducement to interfere; for it is to be considered, that loss of personal freedom is not among the consequences of being brought up to be a dancing woman, and that the species of immorality which the interference would propose to redress prevails, is generally tolerated, in the most enlightened and most highly civilized nations of Europe, and is much more closely connected with general depravity and with misery in England than it is in India."†

The *present state of the melioration of slavery*—for the *abolition* of it is not attempted—appears in an extract of a letter from the Hon. Court of Directors to the Governor of Madras, in April, 1824. "In the districts subject to your

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 934, 935.

† p. 936. See also pp. 901—903.

Presidency the rights and obligations of master and slave appear to be very indistinctly defined: and this obscurity of the law we apprehend to be favourable to the slaves; for whatever the legal power of masters may be, their actual control over the liberties of those persons who are nominally their slaves appears to be but small. *We desire that you will be extremely cautious, in making any regulation for defining the relations of master and slave. It is our wish to improve the condition of the latter to the utmost extent, and we fear that, in defining the power of masters, acts of compulsion might be legalized, which by custom are not now tolerated, and the slaves might be placed in a worse condition than before.* We shall defer making any further remarks on the subject, till we receive a further communication from you.”*

To this, *nearly two years* after, the Governor in Council refers with approbation. “The opinions and views stated in these paragraphs coincide with those entertained by us.”† (Feb. 1826.) Thus the state of slavery in India, which at one time is represented as mild and scarcely needing attention, at another is considered of such a nature, that the Government is afraid to touch the subject—even to “define the relations of master and slave.” Is this the way to eradicate one of the greatest evils incident to mortal man? “Surely,” says the late Bishop Heber, “we are, in matters of religion, the most lukewarm and cowardly people on the face of the earth;”‡ and is it not equally true, as it respects the interests of humanity in India?

The extent of slavery in India, at the present period, it is presumed, cannot be ascertained by the Parliamentary Documents now before the public. No census or general registration of the slaves appears to have been taken; it is only, therefore, from occasional remarks by the Magistrates, or the more regular statements of some of the Collectors under the Madras Presidency, that any probable estimate can be taken of the extent of slavery in the British dominions in the East. By the publication of this first volume of Parliamentary Papers on Slavery in India, sufficient information is given to urge the full development of the nature and extent of this system, and to excite the friends of humanity to increased exertion, till Britain, in all her dominions, regards the divine injunction, “Let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke.”

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 901.

† Jour., vol. ii. p. 465.

† p. 901.

The second Judge of *Dacca*, in 1812, remarks, respecting that district,—“Inveigling away and selling slaves, has long been a prevailing offence, I believe peculiar to this district, and numerous prosecutions are consequently preferred for recovering them.”*

The same Gentleman observes respecting *Sylhet*,—“The odious practice of trafficking in slaves has long subsisted in that zillah, and doubtless many and various abuses have been committed under the cloak of an authorized commerce, or, at least, of such mercantile transactions not specially prohibited. The trade is carried on to a considerable extent, as is universally acknowledged; and, from the best information on the subject, it is computed, that *the number of slaves in the district amounts to about ONE-SIXTH of the whole population*; and this number *progressively increases*, as their offspring are also born slaves. It is impossible to form a correct calculation of the number of slaves annually exported from the district, but it is believed to be much less considerable now than formerly.”†

Of *Sylhet*, and the zillah *Backergunge*, the Magistrate, J. W. Sage, Esq., in 1816, observes, “During the ten months I was at Sylhet, I often heard that some persons gained a livelihood by enticing boys and girls (whose parents were free) from their houses in the district, and from the adjoining territories of Kackar and Jynteah, disposing of some to wealthy natives in the district, and carrying some for sale to other places. It is a common practice amongst the lower class of native women, on the loss of their husbands, or at the time of a scarcity of grain, both in Sylhet and this district (Backergunge) to sell their children; by which the mothers gain a livelihood, and the children are better taken care of by their new masters. Some mothers sell their female children to prostitutes; sales of that description are always made known to the police darogahs, whose duty it is to convey the parties instantly to the Magistrate, that they may be punished for so nefarious a transaction. There are some, whose families have been in a state of slavery for the last hundred years, and who, *when a sale of an estate takes place, are included in the purchase*; as however many suits are instituted in the Sylhet district for slaves, and appeals are admitted by the court of appeal, I do not suppose Sir R. K. Dick had it in contemplation to draw the attention of Government to that class of people. It might, in some measure, prevent illicit transactions, if every one,

* Par. Papers, p. 242.

† p. 244.

purchasing a child, was, under pain of a heavy fine and imprisonment, ordered to register such sale, and enter into an agreement at the court, at the time of registering, binding himself to produce at the court the boy or girl he may buy, whenever the Magistrate should call upon him.”*

“There are (says the philanthropic Judge of Bundecund, in 1808, J. Richardson, Esq.) districts under the Company’s dominions, (particularly *Ramghur*,) wherein, to my own knowledge, the greatest part of the cultivators and labourers are slaves. I have no scruple to avow, I deem this one great cause of the wild and uncultivated condition of the country, and the barbarous state of its inhabitants; for what human being will labour with good will, or a desire of improvement, when another enjoys the sole produce?”† This Gentleman further observes,—“By an enforcement of the spirit and principles of the Mussulman law, a total stop would be put to the horrid practice of slavery, which, almost incredible to state, *exists contrary to law and reason, throughout our dominions in India, to a degree scarcely to be believed*; not a Mussulman family, of even mediocrity, that has not numbers both of male and female slaves. The people about their persons, and the female attendants on their women, are almost all slaves; and, to my certain knowledge, they have slaves for the purpose of cultivation and field labour.”‡

“In *Nepaul*,” says Hamilton, “most of the domestic servants are slaves; and there are some Brahmuns who are slaves to Rajpoots, and, in high families, are employed as cooks (an office of great dignity), or in the service of public chapels. All other ranks are sold for common slaves, and persons of the best family have been degraded by the Raja, and given to *damais*, or tailors; by which they not only lose their liberty, but also their cast, which, to a Hindoo, is of much more importance, as in general among the higher classes, the cast of a slave is respected. It is reckoned very disgraceful to sell their children to any person of impure birth, or to an infidel, yet in cases of exigence it is frequently done, and the parents do not lose cast, which however they inevitably would, if they afterwards received their child into their house, even were he liberated by his master. All the female slaves, or *Keties*, not excepting those belonging to the Queen, are prostitutes, although the latter are allowed some privileges, and have considerable influence at court. In the day time they attend the Queen, and when she goes out, some of them,

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 247. † p. 300. ‡ p. 317.

armed with swords, follow her on horseback, and form her body guard ; on which occasions they are dressed and ride on horseback like men."*†

Hamilton, in his *Description of Hindostan*, thus speaks of slavery.—"Domestic slavery is very generally prevalent in Bengal, among both Hindoos and Mahomedans. More trusty than hired servants, slaves are almost exclusively employed in the house, for attendance on the members of the family, and in all the most confidential services. Every opulent person, every one raised above the condition of the simplest mediocrity, is provided with household slaves, and from this class chiefly, are taken the concubines of Mahomedans and Hindoos. In the lower provinces, under the Bengal Presidency, the *employment of slaves in the labours of husbandry is almost unknown*. In the upper provinces, beginning from *Western Behar* and *Benares*, the petty landlords, who are themselves cultivators, are aided in their husbandry by slaves, whom they very commonly employ as herds and ploughmen ; landlords of a higher class have in a few instances the pretensions of masters over a part of their tenants long settled on their estates, and reputed to be descended from persons who were the acknowledged slaves of their ancestors. Their claims to the services of these hereditary serfs, who are scarcely to be distinguished from the rest of the peasantry, are nearly obsolete and scarcely attended with any practical consequences ; but those employed in husbandry by the inferior classes of landlords are decidedly slaves. The employment of slaves in handicraft work is more rare, but not entirely unknown. It would be difficult to form a computation of the number of slaves throughout the country, and any steps towards the preparation of an accurate estimate would involve inquiries which cannot fail of exciting great alarm. Slaves are neither so few as to be of no consideration, nor so numerous, as to constitute a notable proportion of the population. The slave is more usually a favourite and confidential servant than an abject drudge ; and he is held superior to the hireling both in his master's estimation and his own."†

"A portion of the population of the district of *Tiperah* are slaves, and the custom of disposing of persons already in a

* Hamilton's *Hind.*, vol. ii. p. 680.

† vol. i. p. 105—107.

† "Domestic Slavery, which is very common in India, however mild, surely demands the reprehension of every individual who has a proper idea of the dignity of human nature. In some parts of India, children are as much an article of sale, as goats or poultry."—Ward's *View of the Hindoos*, 1820, vol. iii. p. 281.

state of slavery is common throughout the district. On these occasions regular deeds of sale are executed, some of which are registered in the court of justice ; and when an estate, to which slaves are attached, is sold privately, the slaves are commonly sold at the same time, although a separate deed of sale is always executed."*

"Among the domestics in *Rungpore* are both male and female slaves, especially towards *Assam*, and every where along the northern frontier. The people of *Assam* sell many slaves, and those of *Cooch Bahar* are not unwilling to carry on the same trade."†

"Slaves in *Dinagepore* are very few, and were mostly purchased during the great famine in 1769, and the scarcity of 1787, to keep them from starving; but they turned out so idle and careless, that their labour was found much more expensive than that of hired labourers."‡

"In the district of *Purneah* are various classes of slaves; of which one class costs from £1 15s. to £2 5s.; in another class a youth costs from £1 8s. to £2 5s., and a girl of eight years from 11s. to £1 15s. They are allowed to marry, and their children become slaves; but the family are seldom sold separately."§

"Real slaves of the male sex, in *Boglipore*, are called *Nufur*, and their women *Laundies*. They may be sold in whatever manner the master chooses, but they are not often brought to market. The slaves here are in general industrious, seldom run away, and are rarely beaten."||

In *Behar* "slaves of the description of *Nufur* and *Laundi*, are very numerous, often liberated, seldom sold, and frequently, owing to the poverty of their owners, left to find a subsistence for themselves. In *Gya*, and some other places, slaves are occasionally sold, and formerly fetched a *rupee* for each year of their age, until they reached twenty, when they attained their highest value; but in general the price has recently greatly risen!"¶

"Theft is common throughout *Ramghur*, but murder more prevalent among a particular class, which are the slaves possessed by persons inhabiting the mountainous and inaccessible interior, and of savage and ferocious habits. When petty disputes occur, these slaves are compelled by their masters to perpetrate any enormity, and are more especially employed for the purposes of assassination. Any hesitation or repugnance

* Hamilton's Hind., 1821, vol. i. p. 182. Of *Sylhet*, see p. 196.

† p. 207. ‡ p. 223. § p. 234. || p. 248. ¶ p. 258.

on the part of the slave, is attended with immediate death; which is equally his fate should he fail in the attempt. On the other hand, if he succeed, he is sought out by the officers of Government, and executed as a murderer. The usual police have hitherto been unable to seize the cowardly instigator, and if recourse be had to a military force, he retires into the jungles. On the occurrence of such an event, the whole country is thrown into confusion and rebellion, during which many unoffending persons lose their lives; and the troops, after many ineffectual efforts to execute the Magistrate's orders, return to their stations, worn out with fatigue, and their numbers thinned by the pestilential atmosphere of the jungles. Neither do the slaves attach the slightest idea of guilt to the murders they are thus delegated to commit; on the contrary, when seized, they always confess, and appear to expect applause for having done their duty."*

"Slaves are common in *Afghanistan*, mostly home-born, the rest imported. *Abyssinians* and *Negroes* are sometimes brought from Arabia through the ports of *Sinde*; the *Balooches* sell Persians, and other prisoners; and many Caffrees are purchased or made prisoners. The Caffree captives are generally females, and much sought after on account of their beauty.†

"Slaves are much employed in agriculture at *Malari* in *Kumaon*, and used to be purchased here by the Gorkhas."‡

Respecting *Assam*, contiguous to Bengal, Hamilton states,—"Capital punishments extend to the whole family of a rebel—parents, sisters, wife, and children; and it is probable, from these sources that the rafts are supplied, which are frequently seen floating down the Brahmaputra, past *Goalpara*, covered with human heads. All the domestics are slaves, and they are numerous; every man of rank having several, mostly procured among the necessitous, who mortgage themselves. Some are exported, and about 100, of pure cast, are annually sold in Bengal. The girls chiefly are bought by professional prostitutes, and cost from twelve to fifteen rupees. A Cooch boy costs twenty-five rupees; a Kolita fifty; slaves of impure tribes are sold to the Garrows."§

"The tract, at present occupied by the *Independent Garrows*, cannot be estimated at more than 130 miles in length, by thirty in breadth. Rungta, one of the principal Garrow

* p. 284. See an account of *Goomsur*, in the Northern Circars, vol. ii. p. 70.

† p. 543. ‡ p. 661.

§ Ham. Hind., vol. ii. p. 744.

Chiefs, died many years ago, and was succeeded by his son Agund, who is still alive, and is said to possess great wealth in slaves, brass pots, and human skulls! This chief attended the marriage of the Zemindar of Currybarry's son, when a palanquin was presented to him; which, having first deprived of the poles as useless, he entered, and was borne away over the hills, on the heads of his slaves. On the death of a highland chief, of common rank, the head of one of his slaves should be burned with him; but if he be a chief of great dignity, a large body of his slaves sally out from the hills, and seize a Hindoo, whose head they cut off, and burn along with the body of their chieftain."*

The Governor of *Penang, or Prince of Wales Island*, in 1807, very justly observes,—“Although domestic slavery, as practised by the Malays, meliorates, in a great degree, the situation of the slave, as permitted on this Island, when compared with that of the same class of people in other quarters of the globe—still, *slavery in its mildest form is degrading in the minds of Britons*; and hitherto only tolerated as a means of drawing population to an infant colony, which, from the now flourishing state of this Island, is no longer necessary, therefore derogatory to our national character, and should, in my opinion, cease to exist: at the same time every reasonable consideration is due towards their proprietors, so as to remunerate the one, without injustice to the other, or too suddenly interfering with ancient and authorized usages. This subject has, it appears, engaged the attention of the Hon. the Court of Directors, and they have more than once urged their Government here to adopt the necessary measures for effecting so humane and honourable an object, as the personal freedom of a considerable proportion of their subjects. I have consequently felt interested in the cause, and made such inquiries as enable me to state that there cannot be fewer than *three thousand men, women, and children*, in a state of bondage on this Island.”†

The state of the slave trade in *Pulo Nias*, in 1821, is described in “*The Life of Sir S. Raffles*.”—“The number of slaves taken from Nias, in each year, exceed 1,500. The circumstances attending this inhuman traffic, were of the most appalling nature. Sir Stamford Raffles, then Governor of Bencoolen, in the immediate neighbourhood, was anxious to do the utmost possible good for such a people. He warmly

* Ham. Hind., vol. ii. p. 762.

† Par. Papers on Slavery, p. 436; see also p. 454.

advocated the receiving this Island under the protection of the British flag, and the immediate suppression of the slave trade, and hoped so great a benefit, so easily obtained, would be met with approbation by all the wise and good. But the Court of Directors of the East India Company, 'had no hesitation in declaring, that his proceedings, with regard to Pulo Nias, were deserving of their decided reprehension ;' and, 'they were inclined to visit him with some severe mark of their displeasure for the steps he had taken,' and threatened to remove him from his government. After the transfer of Sumatra to the Dutch, the slave trade was resumed with greater vigour than ever, and numbers of these poor people have since been carried away to Batavia, and to the French Island of Bourbon."*

We have seen that the Suttee exists in the *Island of Bali*, or little Java, and it is painful to state, that slavery also is found, and a slavery encouraged by European governments.—

"Slavery may be said to exist on *Bali*, as all malefactors among the men, and all unfortunates among the women, become immediately the slaves of the king. Some of these he employs in working for him, and some he sends out to trade, on condition of their bringing him a certain portion of the profits ; some, when old and useless, or flagrant offenders, are *creesed out of the way* ; and some of better promise are sold to the Chinese, who dispose of them to the Dutch, or to French vessels, visiting the different sea-ports. Prisoners taken in war may be dealt with in the same way ; and poor unprotected persons, who have no relatives to befriend them, are in danger of sharing the same fate. At *Bali Badong*, a person was established, on behalf of the *Netherlands* Government, to buy up these people and transport them to Java, to be employed as soldiers in the Dutch service. The contract was, it appears, for 1,000 fighting men, at twenty dollars a head ; about one half of this number has been supplied during the last two years, who have cost the Government, including agency and transport, about 20,000 dollars. No persons are chosen for this purpose but young able-bodied men, the old, infirm, and deformed being rejected ; and as soon as a sufficient number are collected together, the colonial cruisers come to take them away. Last year, two French ships came from the *Mauritius*, one to *Badong*, and the other to *Penang Cove*, to buy slaves. These preferred women, and valued them according to their youthful and plump appearance ; for

* *World Paper*, Oct. 3, 1831.

young women they gave generally 150 rupees, eighty for the middle aged, and rejected the old ones. Boys were also bought by them; but they seldom took grown-up men, as they might prove too stiff and stubborn for their management. These vessels took away about 500 slaves between them, and talked of coming again; the time of their arrival is generally in the beginning of the year, and of their return in March. With respect to the traffic of these French vessels, there can be no demur in denouncing it as a regular slave trade, deserving to be reprobated and punished as such. The Netherlands Government and their agent may, perhaps, designate the transactions in which they are engaged by some other name; they may, perhaps, call it redeeming these poor people out of slavery, or rescuing them from a still worse doom; but to the impartial observer, it would appear very nearly allied to it."*

Slavery exists in "its most hideous shape" in the Island of *New Zealand*; and the author of a recent work, relative to this Island, very justly remarks;—"That slavery should be the custom of savage nations and cannibals, is not a cause of wonder; they are the only class of human beings it ought to remain with."† Let the advocates of slavery consider with whom they are thus unceremoniously, but how justly, classed.

Of the Daerds, in *Canara*, under the Madras Presidency, the Collector of the Southern Division in 1801, states,—"By far the greatest part of the slaves employed in agriculture are the Daerds, of whom there are various descriptions; no order was ever given for their being included in the registers; the whole number of them, by the population statement, is 52,022, men, women, and children; of which number there are, in the Baincoor talook, 5,894: the number belonging to every landlord shall hereafter, as desired, be entered in the registers."‡ "Exclusive of the Daerds, there were another sect of slaves in Canara, though, I believe, many of them are now free. Under the Biddenore Government, all illegitimate children, save those by dancing girls, were considered the property of the Sircar, which took possession of, and sold them as slaves, to any person who would purchase them; the number of this sort now is about 722; there are also many slaves imported from Arabia."§

Some of the Daerds having enlisted in the Company's army, the Collector of Mangalore requested the Madras Government

* *Singapore Chronicle*, June 3, 1830.

† *Earle's Residence in New Zealand. Eccl. Rev.*, Sep. 1832.

‡ *Par. Papers*, p. 548.

§ p. 550.

that they might be interdicted the service. The minute of Government acknowledges the existence of slavery in this and other parts of India.—“The circumstances stated, by the Collector of the southern division of Canara, require, in the Board’s opinion, particular consideration. He has represented, that serious injury will be sustained by the landholders of Canara, if their slaves are permitted to enter the sepoy corps, and desert the lands which they and their progenitors had cultivated for many generations. It is observed, by Mr. Ravenshaw, that, where these people enlist, they seldom continue in the service, but almost invariably desert; in this point of view it appears ineligible that they should be allowed to enter the corps; but as it may be considered beyond the province of the Board, to discuss the propriety of this measure in a military point of view, or the policy of emancipating this class of people, they will only observe, that encouraging these slaves thus to desert their masters would be *disturbing a property sanctioned to them by the usages of the country, and the ordinances of their law*; and, whilst it would be of no advantage to the army, *it would be of considerable detriment to the revenue; for not only in Canara, but in several parts of India, it is this class of people who cultivate the soil*, and on whose industry the landholder depends for the payment of the dues of the Sircar (government), and for the means of his own support.”*

The Board of Revenue for the Madras Government in 1818, in a very judicious minute on slavery, candidly acknowledges its extensive prevalence;—

“The provinces now subject to this government, appear originally to have constituted several distinct Hindoo states, which are still to be traced by the difference of language, manners, and customs, that so strongly distinguish the inhabitants of one part of the country from the other. The five northern sircars of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, and Gunttoor, together with the districts of Bellary, Cuddappah, Paluand, and Nellore, or wherever the Telinga is the language of the people, may be considered one of these; the second may be said to include the district of Chingleput, the two divisions of the Arcot Soobah, Salem, Baramahl, Coimbatore, Madura, Dindigul, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and Tinnevelly, or wherever the Tamil language is spoken; and the third comprises the provinces of Malabar and Canara, on the other coast of the Peninsula, where the Malayalam and Toolavo are the vernacular dialects of the country. In all these districts, *the labourer, who holds the plough, and performs the inferior offices of husbandry, is of the lowest, poorest, most ignorant, yet most numerous order in society; in general an outcast, or, at least, often of the degraded class of Hindoos, and therefore usually resident in the outskirts of his village; every where without any property on the land which he can transfer by gift, sale, or be-*

* Par. Papers on Slavery, p. 552.

quest; and receiving from his employer, the ryot, little more than food; with a scanty supply of raiment! It is almost superfluous to remark that, with this description of persons, the government officers have seldom had any direct communications; yet this may possibly be the cause that their situation has not yet received that consideration which it appears to merit; for it is not, perhaps, sufficiently known, that throughout the Tamul country, as well as in Malabar and Canara,—*far the greater part of the labouring classes of the people have, from time immemorial, been in a state of acknowledged bondage, in which they continue to the present time.* It is, certainly, a curious circumstance, that in those provinces where the severe and arbitrary system of the Mussulman government was established at the most early and for the longest period, where consequently the public assessment on the land is the highest, and private property in the soil the most rare and least valuable, the labourer should also be the most free; while his condition is the most abject, in those countries where the ancient institutions of the Hindoos have been the least disturbed, where the public demand on the soil is the lightest, and private property in the land is universal and of the highest value. It seems probable, that slavery may have been as prevalent in the northern as it now is in the southern and western provinces; and the same circumstances, that reduced the landlord of Telengana to the situation of a landholder, may have tended gradually to weaken the power he possessed over his slaves, until they finally became emancipated from his authority.”*

As has been stated, no correct idea can be formed from the Par. Papers, of the actual number of slaves in British India. The slaves in Batavia in 1812, before its surrender to the Dutch, exclusive of those belonging to Government (which did not exceed 281), were as follows;—

“ At Batavia and its environs, &c.	18,972
In the Samarang division	4,488
In the Sourabaya division	3,682
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	27,142”†

The following are the only *official number of slaves* observed (with the exception of those in Amboyna, amounting to 1,613, now ceded to the Dutch) in a careful investigation of the Papers;—

“ Penang	3,000
Arcot, S. Division	17,000
— N. Division	688
Trichinopoly	10,600
Canara	82,000
Malabar	100,000
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	213,288”‡

These few items, producing more than 200,000 slaves, would lead to the supposition, that their number in British India

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 816, 817.

† p. 157.

‡ pp. 436, 887—890.

may equal and even exceed that of the West Indies.—And should not this fact be known, and efforts made to meliorate the state of these degraded people, and to elevate them to their proper place in society? When shall every subject of Britain be free as the air he breathes? How tardy, though encouraged by success, are our proceedings in this work of justice and mercy. But this will more clearly appear in the following chapter.

CHAP. IV.

Methods proposed for the melioration and abolition of Slavery in India—answers to objections to its abolition arising from the supposed kind treatment of slaves—the preservation of children and adults in famine by selling themselves for support—the indifference of the slaves to emancipation—decreasing the population of an Island or District—Mahomedan prejudices prohibiting any others than slaves attending on their women, and that they cannot dispense with slaves,—and the interest of the slave owners and the Government—concluding remarks.

It is interesting to trace the various steps proposed or adopted for the melioration and abolition of slavery in India. The Madras Board of Revenue, in 1819, thus close their interesting letter, from which copious extracts have been given:—

“The Board are decidedly of opinion that slaves should not be sold for arrears of revenue; and prohibitory orders to this effect will be issued to Malabar, where alone it has occurred. In Malabar and Canara, alone, the number of slaves is calculated at 180,000; and the Board have now under consideration certain propositions from Mr. Grème, the Commissioner in Malabar, for the melioration of their condition, and the gradual emancipation of slaves in that country. In the Tamil provinces the number of slaves is comparatively few; their condition is better, and any immediate emancipation of them would be attended by inconvenience, difficulty, and perhaps distress. This might, therefore, be at present deferred, until the practical remedy for the gradual abolition of slavery on the other coast shall have been fully considered and decided on. But, whatever may be the future decision respecting those who are already slaves, the Board think that a Regulation ought to be published, to prevent the further extension of slavery, and to meliorate, in some degree, by a few general enactments, the condition of those who are already slaves. The further purchase of free persons, as slaves, should be declared invalid and illegal; and all children hereafter born slaves should be declared free. But any person should be at liberty to

contract, for a given sum, to labour for a term of years, or for life. Such contracts, however, should be in writing, and only binding upon the individual who executes it, not upon his wife or children.

“Slaves should be declared competent to possess and dispose of their own property, to the exclusion of any interference therewith on the part of their master. The Board further submit, whether it would not be proper to annex some penalty to the purchase of female children, for the purpose of being brought up as prostitutes. It might also be provided that the proprietors are to provide wholesome food and clothing for their slaves; that in sickness, age, or infirmity, they shall not neglect them; that they shall not have the power of corporeal punishment; that slaves, on being ill-treated by their masters, shall be allowed to claim the privilege of being sold to another; and that in breach of these laws, or refusal to comply with them, on the part of the master, the slave shall receive his liberty. It might further be provided, that slaves shall have the power to purchase their liberty at the price for which it was forfeited; and that slaves attached to lands or estates, which may escheat to Government, shall be liberated. Many of these provisions will be found to contravene those of the Hindoo law, which, with respect to Hindoos, is declared by the regulations to be in force; and the necessity, therefore, of a formal enactment of them in the code will be sufficiently apparent.

“The Collector in Trichinopoly has submitted a proposition for meliorating the condition of the pullers in the district, by adding *two per cent.* to their warum, which is at present only *ten per cent.* By this, he observes, ‘the situation of the pullers would be greatly benefited, and the expense to Government would be not more than 2,000 pagodas per annum. This sum would materially tend to the comfort of 10,000 people, by whose industry the country is cultivated, and who, in point of fact, are the creators of revenue.’ The Board are not aware of any objection to this measure, and it is accordingly resolved to recommend the adoption of it to Government. The Collector will report the result of it, and the effects it may have on the condition of the people. Resolved, also, That the Collectors in the other Tamil Districts be desired to report whether a similar measure could not be adopted with advantage in their Districts; and, if so, the extent of remission proposed. The Board would remark that the subject discussed, appears to them of great importance; that the suggestions which they have submitted should be well weighed before they are adopted; and that any legislative enactment, that may be deemed requisite, be framed with great caution. It may also be for the consideration of Government, whether the subject may not, as a general one, be referred, in the first instance to the Supreme Government, in order to ascertain the state of slavery in the Bengal territories, and whether any restrictions are imposed on it there.”*

The propriety of improving the condition of slaves in India, has been urged by different functionaries of the British Government. Mr. Græme, in his Report on Malabar in 1822, made the following judicious remarks:—

“Upon occasion of the condition of the slaves of Malabar being brought into notice, it was lately suggested that slavery should be subjected to the rule of the Mahomedan law. This, if carried completely into effect, would indeed mitigate the severity of slavery, and render slaves in Malabar a very different race of mortals; but, strictly speaking, *slavery is not permitted by*

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 900.

the Mahomedan law to be practised by any but Mussulmans, and even by them, only as regards the inhabitants of countries not agreeing to become converts to Mahomedanism, and at the same time refusing to pay the tax imposed by Mahomed upon infidels, or to permit the free exercise of the Mahomedan religion. Slaves made so by stealth, and not in open war, or an authorized occasion, are not recognised by the Koran; and the acquisition of slaves by purchase, as practised by the Moplar Mahomedans in Malabar, is equally irreconcilable to the Mahomedan law. Ill-treatment of slaves is, with them, punishable by the slave being emancipated, or being sold to another master, on conviction before the quaze.

*“Though it may be allowed that slavery in Malabar is not intolerable, and not exercised to an excessive degree of active cruelty, the diminutive and squalid appearance, and the wretched hovels of a race of beings in the province, who, by a census taken of the population in Fusly 1216 (A. D. 1809) were reckoned to amount to 94,786, sufficiently indicate, that they do not enjoy that comfortable state of existence which every person should have it in his power to acquire by his labour. There are no doubt many freemen in the different ranks of society who are equally indigent with the slave. The slave is scarcely ever exposed to the extremity of actual starvation; and it has been stated by respectable public authority, and I understand with correctness, that a beggar of this cast is seldom or never found. But among freemen there are many, who are too proud, idle, and dishonest to work, and they have recourse to charity and fraudulent means to gain their subsistence; but it matters not, that many worthless characters are in worse circumstances, the question is,—whether slaves are as comfortable as they ought to be, and whether they acquire as much by their own industry in servitude, as they would in a free state.”**

The Bengal consultations as early as 1774, in a letter to the Council of Dacca, contain the following judicious and humane observations, respecting the annihilation of slavery;—“In those districts where slavery is in general usage, or any way connected with, or is likely to have any influence on the cultivation or revenue, which we are informed is the case at Sylhet, and may be so in the other (especially the frontier) parts of your division, we must desire you particularly to advise us what is the usage and every circumstance connected with it, and we shall then give such directions as we may judge to be necessary; but considering your reference, in the mean time, in the light of a general proposition, *we are of opinion, that the right of masters to the children of the slaves, already their property, cannot legally be taken from them in the FIRST GENERATION, but we think that this right cannot and ought not to extend further, and direct that you do make publication accordingly.*”†

It is to be deeply regretted that this excellent suggestion does not appear to have been acted upon. The second judge of the Bareilly Court of Circuit, in 1817, W. Leycester, Esq.,

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 922.

† p. 4.

proposed the same rational and effective method of gradually annihilating slavery. "Many estates in the country are cultivated by indigenous slaves, but it is very desirable, it should no longer be possible to transfer the African slave trade from the West to the East Indies, with only one proviso against it, that the slaves may not be resold; and it is also most desirable, that the present importation of females, for the purpose of breeding an hereditary race of slaves, should be put a stop to. *Nothing, perhaps, is so revolting as the idea of hereditary slavery*—of a man's inheriting, at his birth, nothing but the misfortunes of his parents, without hopes of emancipation, without the possibility of rising in life, through exertion or talent, and liable every moment to be taken to the market and sold, and transferred to the possession of another. I can hardly conceive that there could be any objection to modifying the present system of slavery, by an act declaring *the children of slaves to be free; that, if men will have slaves, they should also have to pay for them, and not to rear and inherit them like the produce of a farm yard.*"* The reply of the Court of Nizamut Adawlut to this humane judge was as follows:—"The Court will only add, at present, that they participate in the sentiments expressed by Mr. Leycester, in abhorrence of hereditary slavery, and earnestly wish it could be discontinued, with regard to all children born under the British protection; but whilst it is allowed to remain, with respect to the progeny of existing slaves, born under the British Government in the West Indies and South Africa, the abolition of it, on general principles of justice and humanity, could not, the Court apprehend, be consistently proposed for India, where it has, from time immemorial, been sanctioned by the laws and usages of the country, and where the state of slavery is not so injurious to the objects of it, as in other countries where it is still maintained."†

The measures proposed by Sir Stamford Raffles, Governor of Java, in 1812, for the melioration of slavery in that island, were cordially approved by the Governor General, Lord Min-to, and his Council. For an account of them, see Par. Papers, pp. 155—161.‡

The Madras Board of Revenue in 1818, express their conviction of the necessity and propriety of improving the civil condition of the slave.—

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 345.

† p. 346.

‡ Relative to the melioration of slavery in Prince of Wales Island, see p. 453.

"The right which the slaves in the Tamil country possess to continue attached to the soil where they are born, which, though not universal, is pretty general among them; their dependence rather on a community than on an individual; and perhaps the vicinity of some of them to the Presidency, where a general knowledge prevails that the spirit of our government is inimical to bondage, seem all, more or less, to have contributed to render their condition in some degree superior to that of their brethren on the other coast. It is by no means, however, to be understood that this is universally the case. Their treatment necessarily depends principally on the individual character of their owners; and when we reflect on those evils that are inseparable from even the mildest state of slavery, and consider how large a portion of our most industrious subjects are at present totally deprived of a free market for their labour, restricted by inheritance to a mere subsistence, and sold and transferred with the land which they till,—policy, no less than humanity would appear to dictate the propriety of gradually relieving them from those restrictions, which have reduced them, and must continue to confine them, to a condition scarcely superior to that of the cattle which they follow at the plough!"

"While such ought to be the policy pursued, with regard to this class of people, it would be obviously unjust to interfere with the *private property*, which there can be no doubt the ryots at present possess in their slaves; and it might be dangerous too suddenly to disturb the long established relations in society subsisting between these two orders. For the present, it would seem sufficient, with the view to prevent oppression or abuse of authority, to define, by legislative enactments, the power which may be lawfully exercised by a ryot over his slaves; but, as the revenue records do not afford information sufficiently minute and satisfactory for this purpose, it is resolved to call the particular attention of the collectors in Canara, Malabar, and the Tamil country to this subject, and to desire that they will take an early opportunity to communicate fully their sentiments for the consideration of the Board."*

The Collector of the southern division of Arcot very judiciously remarks, upon these paragraphs, "I take the liberty of suggesting that every labourer who is now free, shall be declared *exempt from all possibility of slavery*; denouncing penalties against every person who may attempt to enslave any subject under our government. Rules calculated to abolish the general abuse of slavery, to provide for slaves in sickness and old age, to confine the transfer of slaves to the village of their nativity, and to interdict all corporeal punishment or imprisonment, would prove an alleviation of the miseries inseparable from bondage. As the continuation, or the revival of slavery, is dependent upon the assistance owners contribute to the propagation of slaves, by advancing money for the expenses of marriages, perhaps a rule might be enacted *prohibiting the enslaving of unborn children, by such a convention between the owners and their existing slaves.*"†

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 818. See also, pp. 869—871.

† p. 872.

These extracts shew some of the methods, for the gradual melioration or abolition of slavery, contemplated by those whose opinions are given in the Parliamentary Documents. The Philanthropist, who sighs, oh that all mankind were free ! will rejoice to see a few proposals of more *immediate measures for the emancipation of slaves*. Upon "the practice of stealing children from their parents, and selling them for slaves," it is very justly remarked in a Minute of the Governor General, in 1774,—"There appears no probable way of remedying this calamitous evil, but that of striking at the root of it, and abolishing *the right of slavery*, excepting such cases to which the authority of Government cannot reach; such, for example, as *laws in being have allowed, and where slaves have become a just property by purchase, antecedent to the proposed prohibition*. The opinions of the most creditable of the Mussulman and Hindoo inhabitants have been taken upon this subject, and they condemn the authorized usage of selling slaves, as repugnant to the particular precepts both of the Koran and Shastrar, oppressive to the people, and injurious to the general welfare of the country."*

The Magistrates of Patna, in 1774, stated to the Governor General, Warren Hastings, Esq.,—"Whole families of slaves were formerly sold together, but we do not find that the custom, though of old standing, and still in force, is now attended to, except in the Mofussil, where sometimes the survivor of an old family, retired on his altermga, cultivates his lands by the hands of these slaves, who also perform the menial offices of the house. To a person thus situated, the keeping of slaves may answer; the grain produced by their labour serving for their support. It seems that, on the sale of a slave who separately procures his own subsistence, only *one-half of the price is received by the owner, the other half going to the parents of the slave*. In the city, few people choose these Kahaar slaves, being indifferent to their business, and equally expensive with other servants. The female slaves, are of more use in families, none being without them. It is urged, that a condition of this kind is consistent with the manners of a country where women are kept in continual retirement, and such privacy observed in regard to them as would be much affected by a frequent change of servants. On the whole, *we do not imagine that alterations, in the usage of slaves, will be attended with any consequences of moment to the cultivation or revenue of this province*."†

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 3.

† p. 5.

In 1808 a Committee was appointed, by the Government of Prince of Wales Island, to report upon the state of slavery, and the propriety of its abolition. Three of the four European members expressed themselves as follows:—“After mature deliberation, the undersigned are of opinion, that the views of humanity, and of the British Legislature, signified in the late Acts respecting the abolition of slavery in the British West India Islands, may be extended and adopted here, consistently with due attention to the political circumstances of this settlement. And, with all deference, they beg leave to recommend to the Honourable Board,—*the immediate and positive emancipation of slaves, in preference to relying on the accomplishment of it by the establishment of an annual tax, which, while the richer masters would be able to meet it, might have the effect only, to induce the poorer to insist with rigour and inhumanity, on greater exertions of service from their slaves, in order to enable them also to pay it.* Independent of the calls of humanity, and of the distinguished example afforded to the world by the British Legislature, the undersigned must allow, that these considerations have also had much weight in inducing them to recommend, *the immediate and positive emancipation of slaves*; though they at the same time are aware of the propriety and necessity of regarding as far as is consistent with humanity, the *property* of the owner, and the prejudice of the natives of higher rank; but these they are hopeful may be nearly assimilated and combined, by adopting, as the basis of emancipation, a custom which has been immemorially sanctioned and prevalent in the Malay countries, and on this island since the formation of the settlement, of *mortgaging labour in consideration of a sum advanced, for which the person or persons become debtor*.”*

The late Governor Farquhar’s plan for “annulling slavery in the shortest period in which that desirable object can be effected, without prejudice to individuals, or injury to the public interests in the settlement,” was as follows:—

“I recommend slavery being abolished at Prince of Wales Island. *It is the greatest of all evils, and the attempt to regulate such an evil is in itself almost absurd.* There was some excuse for using slaves in the West Indies, on account of the want of people, and Africa offered the readiest supply. *But there is no excuse for continuing the practice in India,—a country fully peopled, and where cultivation and commerce can be carried on by free men!* But, as slavery has in some degree been sanctioned by the government of Prince of Wales Island, it would be unjust, without an equivalent to the proprietors, to declare slaves free. Suppose that a committee were appoint-

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 440, 441.

ed, and authorized to affix to each slave on the island, a value at which his master should be obliged to liberate him, on tender of the amount. Such as could not procure funds from their relations or friends, equal to the valuation, to become *debtors*, and serve the creditors, as now practised, under the following simple regulations:—The lender to find the borrower, in lieu of his services, meat, clothes, and lodging, good and sufficient. If in chastising a borrower for any fault (without the authority of the police) the lender bring blood, the debt to be cancelled. If the lender cohabit with any of the female borrowers, the debt to be cancelled. No idleness in the borrowers is to add to the debt; but, if dissatisfied, the lender may demand his money. Should the emancipated slave be unable to procure the money, the master may apply to the police, where the necessary inquiries will be made, and correction given accordingly. *The foregoing regulations would ameliorate the condition of those now slaves, and in time liberate the whole from debt, and give us from 4 to 5000 good subjects in place of useless sufferers.* This is an object worthy of government's attention in every point of view.”*

“ My own ideas are,” says W. E. Phillips, Esq., the successor of Governor Farquhar in 1807, “ that a Committee should place a value on each slave, as also a value on his annual labour, after deducting his maintenance; and, that the slave should continue in bondage till the estimated value of his labour has reimbursed the master for his original cost. Should the slave deem himself ill-treated, he may at any time sell the labour due to that master to one more mild, and who may be disposed to advance that sum to the original master. As the value of labour here is very high, and that of the slaves the reverse, I do not think I am sanguine in estimating, that *the greater part of these poor creatures would be free in TWO YEARS, from the date of their valuation.*”† †

In these sentiments the Hon. Court of Directors in 1807, concurred. “ As the toleration of slavery cannot be necessary at Prince of Wales Island, where the population is extensive and daily increasing, we consider it a subject deserving your serious notice, and direct that every means be resorted to for effecting its immediate abolition, provided the public interests of the settlement are not materially injured; but, even in that

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 434, 435.

† p. 436.

† “ This judicious plan was adopted at *Singapore* by Sir Stamford Raffles.—“ Slavery was abolished within the settlement, with the reservation of what were called *slave debtors*,—persons who had engaged their services in payment of debt duly incurred. These were protected by having all their civil privileges preserved to them, excepting only the freedom of service; they were not allowed to be transferred to other masters, without their own consent; if their creditors died solvent they were discharged forthwith; if insolvent they were allowed to choose a master, and the value of their labour was carried to the bankrupt estate; but in no case could they be thus pledged, or kept for a longer period, in all, *five years*, nor for a less sum than twenty dollars yearly.”—Mem. of Sir. S. Raffles. Ori. Qua. Rev., April 1830, p. 488.

case, we conceive an early period may be determined for the entire emancipation of slavery at your Presidency, from the date of which it ought by no means to be tolerated."* It is deeply to be regretted that these humane and judicious measures were not adopted. If they had been so, slavery might now have been unknown in this Island.

It may be presumed, that *various objections to the extensive melioration, and particularly the abolition of slavery, exist among the advocates of the slave system in India.* It will now be our object, from the Documents already adverted to, to notice the principal of these objections, and to obviate them—not with our own arguments or language, but that of gentlemen in India, intimately acquainted with the subject upon which they have written. The official nature of these replies must add considerably to their value.

One of the most common objections to the discontinuance of the present system of slavery, in British India, is—*the supposed kind treatment of the slaves.* The comparatively mild nature of East Indian slavery, is often used as a reason for its continuance, and its abolition denounced as an evil. To this argument for slavery the following extract affords a very appropriate reply.—

"The Madras Board of Revenue proceed to the consideration of that part of the letter from Government, which desires them to state their opinion 'whether the practice which actually prevails,' with respect to the sale of slaves, 'should be permitted to continue as at present, or whether it ought either to be laid under such restrictions as would render it less objectionable, or altogether abolished, as productive of evils for which no adequate remedy can be devised.' Where 'in some respects *churnas* may be considered in more comfortable circumstances than any of the lower and poorer classes of natives.' Where 'no want or cruelty is experienced by the slaves.' Where the 'abolition of the puller system would be attended with the most serious consequences.' Where they seem not to consider their situation, nor to shew any 'desire to be free and independent.' Where the treatment of slaves by their masters 'is the same as that of the other labourers, which is in general of a mild nature.' Where 'the slaves are, on the whole, better treated by their masters than the common class of free labourers.' Where, finally, humanity on the part of the masters is encouraged by a sense of their own interest, and a disposition to personal cruelty is restrained by the establishment of the courts of justice, it does not appear to the Board that any immediate interference on the part of the government is particularly called for; or that any alteration in the existing state of slavery should be made, except by degrees, and after mature consideration has been given to the subject.

"But, because no immediate measures are urgently called for, it does not follow, that—*the most useful, the most laborious, and one of the most numerous classes of our subjects in these territories, should, from generation to generation,*

* Par. Papers, p. 435.

continue the hereditary bondsmen of their masters, incapable of inheriting property of their own, deprived of that stimulus to industry which possession of property ever inspires; and, because they are fed, clothed, and reconciled to the present condition, it does not follow that the Government should confirm institutions which doom those who have thus fallen into this condition, incapable of ever recovering their liberty, or of rising to a level with their fellow men! Independently of those principles, hostile to any restraint on liberty, which are innate in every British Government, and which, as contained in our judicial code, without any express enactment on the subject, have operated to check abuses of masters towards their slaves; and independently also of those feelings, among free men, which naturally prompt them to extend to every one under their Government the blessings which freedom confers, it appears to the Board, on the mere calculating principle of self interest and policy, to be desirable that no one should be deprived of the means of acquiring property, or of diffusing those benefits among society which proceed from an increase of capital and wealth.”*

A second reason urged for the perpetuation of slavery, and consequently an objection to its abolition, is the *preservation of children and adults in famine, by selling themselves for support*. On this view of the subject, which it must be confessed is one of considerable delicacy and importance, several Indian Magistrates have given their opinion. The Magistrate of Zillah Tiperah, under the Bengal Presidency, in 1816, writes—“Report states that, in the Mogul Government, slavery existed in the district of *Sylhet* to such a degree, that persons would sell themselves as slaves to satisfy demands of rent; while others would, from similar necessity, dispose of their own slaves. Even at the present day it may be ascertained that some individuals, in order to supply the immediate wants of nature, voluntarily submit to a state of slavery, and dispose of their persons for determinate services, so long as they may be capable of performing them. Documents to this effect are executed in the customary manner with other written engagements; and the court may easily obtain them from the Magistrate of Sylhet. Since necessity alone would compel any person to submit to a state of slavery, it may, I presume, be inferred, that the slavery herein noticed originates in the extreme poverty of the lower orders of society, and to tolerate it, under certain restrictions, would be preferable to exposing the poorer classes of the community to the risk of perishing for want, by depriving them of the only ostensible resource left to enable them to support existence.”†

Relative to this state of things, it is judiciously observed, by W. Leycester, Esq., the Second Judge of Bareilly—“I know it is argued, that slaves in India are treated kindly;

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 899.

† p. 246.

that they are comfortable; that in times of scarcity many must starve and die, if people who have the means of feeding them are not allowed to purchase them as slaves. Many, I believe, are treated kindly; but that all are so, that there is not a great deal of ill treatment, nobody will, I believe, assert; and there is not a crime committed among mankind that has not, at one time or other, produced an incidental good, and it would be strange indeed if slavery were the only exception. But, it might be considered an adequate inducement to deeds of charity, to compensate them by the labours of the object of it, *during one generation, instead of aggravating the sorrows of accidental necessity by slavery through all generations.**

The Second Judge of Moorshedabad in 1814, and the Magistrate of Tanjore in 1825, recommend that in seasons of great distress from famine, it should be allowed to sell children for a limited period. The latter gentleman says—"In seasons of great scarcity and distress it would perhaps be driving parents to great extremities, and more abhorrent to human nature, were any penalty attached to the sale of children by their own parents, or to the purchase of them direct from their parents; but the traffic should, in my opinion, be most strictly prohibited from extending any further, and a person, purchasing a child from its parents, should on no account have the power of disposing of it to another."†

A third objection to the suppression of slavery in India is the *supposed indifference of the slaves to their emancipation.* The Collector of the Southern Division of Canara, in 1801, in describing the condition of the Daerds, advocates this sentiment:—

"Slavery has been defined, 'an obligation to labour for the benefit of the master, without the contract or consent of the servant, the master at the same time having the right to dispose of him by sale, or in any other way to make him the property of a third person.' The sect of the Daerds who are bought and sold, and who come nearest to the description of slaves, differ from them in the following respects: first, their service is *conditional*; a master, at the time of purchase, agrees to give them the usual allowance of rice, cloth, &c.; if he fails, and refuses to do this, the Daerds are no longer bound to serve him, and can recover the balance of allowance due to them and their children. If the purchaser agrees to give the established allowances, the Daerds cannot refuse to enter his service; but if, from any real cause, they have a dread of their man, the old master will generally, on being asked, keep them until he can get another purchaser. A master cannot make a traffic of them; that is, he cannot put them up to public sale, or transport them, either by sea or land, to any place where there are not people of their own cast, which is confined to Canara; they can never

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 345. See also pp. 300, 325, 484.

† p. 930. See also p. 325.

be sent out of the province ; they can even refuse to be sold out of the man-ganny in which they are born. This sect of Daerds, and their children, may be called '*conditional servants for ever*.' Those of the Maurey Daerds, who are attached to estates, have the same privilege as those just mentioned, except that, in case of their landlord omitting to give them their regular allowance of rice, &c., they cannot quit his lands ; but, on making a complaint, they can recover their right, with damages. All other descriptions of Daerds are '*conditional servants on the male side for life*' ; and in no case have they, so long as their master feeds and clothes them according to usage, a right to leave his service. Slavery is objected to, as being contrary to the fundamental principles of morality, because both men and women in that state, it is said, are tempted to commit and excite others to crimes they would not do in a free state. Supposing even that the service of the Daerds could be construed slavery, which in my opinion it cannot, the same objection does not apply to it, because, with them, it is merely the custom of their cast ; and they are in general more attached to their wives and families, who live with them, than most other sects. So far, from conceiving there can be any radical objection to this kind of service, I am of opinion it is productive of very important political as well as moral good, and especially so, because it is one of the soundest and most necessary props, to the support and even existence of that meritorious spirit of industry and agriculture, with which the natives of Canara are so peculiarly possessed."*

The interest of the slave proprietors, and not that of the slaves, is the great question in these remarks. But who can doubt whether slavery be better than freedom ? The records of slavery, whether Eastern or Western, afford abundant proof of the dissatisfaction, the poverty, the misery attendant upon slavery, and, consequently, the desire of the slave to be free. The following extract from the Par. Documents may suffice :—“ It is a question,” says M. Elphinstone, Esq., Resident of Poona, in 1817, “ how we are to treat slaves, subjects of his Highness the Paishwa, who fly from their masters, also subjects of his Highness, and take refuge in our camps. It is so obvious, that *we cannot open an asylum for fugitive slaves* within the Paishwa’s territories, that I have hitherto directed persons in these circumstances to be refused leave to reside in our camps ; but I shall be happy to be informed what is the proper course in such cases, and generally what is the law relative to the traffic in slaves, as far as is applicable to our forces in the territories of allied princes.”†—That slaves generally are indifferent to freedom—to the acquisition of property—to elevation in society—will rarely be received by those at all acquainted with that system, which, to use the words of Earl Minto, “ must be viewed as a violation of one of the first principles on which society is constituted.”‡

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 550, 551.

† p. 392.

‡ p. 172.

Another objection to the abolition of slavery occurs in the Papers relative to Prince of Wales Island, viz.. *decreasing the population.** There might be some appearance of propriety in this remark, as it respected the resort to the Island of Malays, Mahomedans, Chinese, and other nations who are favourable to slavery ; but few of the advocates of slavery can be insensible that this system is inimical to the increase of population, and that its gains are "the price of blood."—"The great advantage to population (says the Judge of Buncle-cund in 1808), derived from the emancipation of slaves, cannot be better illustrated than by quoting an example adduced by Mr. Coxe, in his tour through the northern countries of Europe. Speaking of the slavery of the Polish peasantry, he has the following remarkable instance of the benefit accruing from their manumission. A few nobles, of benevolent hearts, 'and enlightened understandings, ventured upon the expediency of giving liberty to their vassals. The event has shewn this project to be no less judicious than humane ; no less friendly to their own interests than to the happiness of their peasants. For it appears that, in the districts in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of the villages has been considerably increased, and the revenues of their estates augmented in a triple proportion.' The first nobleman who granted freedom to his peasants was Zamoiske, formerly great Chancellor, who, in 1760, enfranchised six villages in the palatinate of Moravia. These villages were, in 1777, visited by the author of *The Patriotic Letters*. On inspecting the parish registers of births from 1750 to 1760, during the last ten years of slavery immediately preceding their enfranchisement, he found the number of births 434 ; in the first ten years of their freedom, from 1760 to 1770, 620 ; and from 1770 to the beginning of 1777, 585 births. By these extracts it appears that, during the first period, there were only 434 births ; second period, 620 ; third period, 770. If we suppose an improvement of this sort to take place throughout the kingdom, how great would be the increase of population !"† The argument against slavery arising from its depopulating tendency, is unanswerable.‡

* Par. Papers, p. 440.

† p. 301.

‡ "Upon the authority of *Cape Papers* of so recent a date as Dec. 1828, the slave population is found, from recent enumeration, to have been nearly stationary (in the Cape Colony) from 30 to 35,000, during the last twenty years; although in that period, the *free* population of all classes and colours has almost doubled itself. The deplorable statistics of our West India Islands, where the slave population, as the registry proves, has actually de-

An objection to the abolition of slavery peculiar to the Mahomedans is made on the ground, that the injunctions of their Prophet, prohibit *any other than slaves attending on their women, and that therefore they cannot dispense with slaves.* The nature of this objection, and the reply to it, are stated in the communication of the European members of the Committee formed at Prince of Wales Island, in 1808, to consider the propriety of the suppression of slavery in the Island.—“In support of this opinion (say the Committee), they adduce a passage in their Koran, which, on reference to Sale’s translation of it,* the Committee find translated thus:—‘And speak unto the believing women, that they restrain their eyes and preserve their modesty, and discover not their ornaments, except what necessarily appeareth thereof; and let them throw their veils over their bosoms, and not shew their ornaments unless to their husbands, or their fathers, or their husbands’ fathers, or their sons, or their husbands’ sons, or their brothers, or their brothers’ sons, or their sisters’ sons, or their women, or the captives which their right hand may possess, or unto such men as attend them and have no need of women, or unto children who distinguish not the nakedness of women; and let them not make a noise with their feet, that their ornaments which they hide may thereby be discovered.’ The undersigned deem it unnecessary to state to the Honourable Board the import, in their opinion, of this passage, or to elucidate it by remarking how much the manners of the Mahomedan society, particularly of the poorer classes, are in opposition to the doctrine deduced from it. They beg leave to call the attention of the Honourable Board to the following passage only of the Koran:—‘And unto such of your slaves as desire a written instrument allowing them to redeem themselves on paying a certain sum, write one, if you know good in them, and give them of the riches of God, which he hath given you.’† Which certainly not only directly enjoins the emancipation of slaves, but exactly in the manner suggested by the undersigned members. They, however, are far from wishing to recommend the adoption of any measure which might be generally disagreeable to the Mahomedan community, whether their objections to it originate in ignorant prejudice, or proceed from a regard to interest and convenience; but they have good reason to believe that the opposition, even

creased 28,000 in six years! leaves us little to be surprised on this score.”—
Eccl. Rev., Jan. 1831, p. 37.

* Vol. ii. p. 192.

† Sale’s translation, vol. ii. p. 194.

among the followers of the Mahomedan religion, to the emancipation of slaves, is very partial, and confined almost entirely to a few of the first rank.”*

The Mahomedans further state on the general principle of this objection to the emancipation of slaves (to use the language of the European member of the Committee who, with the native members of it, dissented from his brethren): “By the law of their Prophet, a Mussulman may have four wives, if he can afford to maintain so many, and he is not restricted to *any number of concubines*. His wives are generally chosen from among the daughters of free men of equal rank with himself, but his concubines can only be taken from among his slaves. Now, say they, if all slaves are emancipated, or made simple debtors, our concubines will of course have it in their power to leave us, on paying the sum fixed upon as their value, which in most instances they will be able to do, from the fruits of their master’s generosity; and, in this infant and confined settlement, Mahomedans will find it difficult to meet with suitable wives. It is considered by all Mahomedans, but particularly among the higher class of Malays, a very great disgrace for a woman, with whom he has once lived, to go with strange men, or leave his house without his consent, which their emancipation will enable them to do, even while they are with child by their master.”† The precept of the Koran enjoins giving slaves “a written instrument, allowing them to redeem themselves on paying a certain sum.” Why oppose the abolition of slavery with such a precept before them? Is it not evidently from other motives than those of respect to their religion?

But the principal objection to the abolition of slavery, both in the East and in the West, is that which arises from *the interest of the slave owners, and of the government*. On this view of the subject it is stated by W. B. Bayley, Esq., Secretary to the Bengal Government in 1817,—“With reference to the extent to which domestic slavery exists in India, under the established laws and usages of the Hindoos and Mahomedans, and to the known habits and feelings of the people relative to that point, the Vice President in council is of opinion, that the greatest care should be observed to guard against the prevalence of an impression, amongst the natives, that any general or direct interference, in the existing relation of master and slave, is contemplated by Government. Any impression of that nature might be expected to excite feelings of alarm and dissatisfaction; and on this ground it appears

* Par. Papers, p. 443.

† p. 444.

to be of importance that the Government of Bombay should avoid, as far as may be practicable, the official revival and discussion of this question, after the deliberate consideration which it has undergone in communication with the legal authorities at this Presidency.”*

The Collector of Trichinopoly, in 1818, gives his views upon the difficulty of the question of the abolition of slavery, in the following terms:—

“ I shall submit my opinion, as to the policy, of abolishing this establishment. There is something so revolting and abhorrent to an Englishman, in the idea of slavery, that the advocates for its continuance *in any shape* must ever labour under the disadvantage of pre-judgment. Notwithstanding this, I shall endeavour to shew that, so far as relates to *the revenue of this district* (and I trust my opinion will not be supposed to extend further), the abolition of the puller system would be attended with the most ruinous consequences. It has been the custom, to describe the pullers as the lowest order of society, involved in wretchedness and misery, and reduced to a condition ‘ scarcely superior to that of the cattle which they follow at the plough.’ *In Malabar, it would also appear, that the human form has even changed its wonted appearance, and that the slaves are distinguishable by their diminutiveness.* This theme holds out a fine subject for declamation; but, so far as it relates to this class of people in Trichinopoly, it is highly erroneous, inasmuch as there is no class of people generally so athletic or tall as the pullers. It may possibly be urged, that there is something degrading in a government being concerned, in selling human beings, ‘ like so many cattle.’ It would, perhaps, be better if it could be avoided; but so long as the land continues possessed by Brahmun meerassidars, who, by the immutable laws of cast, are prevented personally exercising the offices of agriculture, I see no possible means of collecting the revenue, nor of cultivating the land, without the establishment of pullers (slaves). Divesting this discussion of national feeling, the most obvious inconvenience and evil which attend it are—that a man, for the sake of food and the other necessities of life, is condemned to perpetual labour. I exclude all unreasonable rigour on the part of the master, because I have already shewn that the ruling principle of human conduct, self interest, is conducive, in the present instance, to soften severity. But whether this obligation to perpetual labour, on the part of the puller, is not fully required by a perpetual certainty of maintenance (for which those who work for hire are often at a loss) may, I think, be fairly doubted. It is, however, possible, that the advocates of freedom may think with Cicero, and the third judge in Malabar, ‘ *Mihi liber esse non videtur, qui non aliquando nihil agit.* ’ ”

“ For the sake of argument, I will suppose that, by proclamation of government, the establishment is directed to be abolished. In this case, I apprehend, the direct consequences would be, either an immediate desertion of the pullers in a body, or that they would remain in *status quo*. The first would be the natural conduct of any class of society having experienced ill usage from their former masters; and the latter course would be adopted by the pullers, if they had no reason to complain. If the pullers absconded, no revenue could be collected; for who is to supply their place? And, in this case, would Government have any claim on the meerassidars? The

* Par. Papers, p. 335.

latter would naturally say, you have taken away our means of paying; you have reduced us to poverty; you have abolished an establishment which has existed for ages, and have thought proper, at our expense, to emancipate our slaves, which prescription and our laws made as much our property as the houses we live in. By the laws of our cast, we are prevented tilling our land; and yet you ask us to pay a revenue which alone can be paid from its produce.

"Should the proclamation have only the effect of leaving things as they are; if the pullers remained with their masters, the only benefit resulting would be, that Government had published a proclamation without any attention being paid to it. It would be at best a useless, if not a dangerous document. Hence to emancipate them entirely would be ruinous in its consequences, to the revenue and the puller; for emancipation in India would confer no rights beyond what the puller at present enjoys. Though nominally emancipated, he and his children would remain the lowest order of society; he would either continue at the plough, possibly under less favourable circumstances than at present, or seek a livelihood by more daring means. I have no doubt, as observed by the Board, that 'it might be dangerous too suddenly to disturb the long established relations in society, subsisting between those two orders.'"^{*}

To these remarks, the report of Mr. Græme on Malabar, in 1822, furnishes, it is presumed, a very satisfactory reply.—

"The most serious objections I have heard, against any active measure in favour of the slaves of Malabar, are *the violation of the rights of private property which it would involve*, the necessity to which the proprietors would be subjected of paying more for labour, employed in the cultivation of their lands, and the difficulty which slaves would have of subsisting, if left to their own resources.

"It is not requisite to make such an abrupt innovation, upon established rites and customs, as to declare the slaves to be free forthwith; but, *a prospect should be opened of eventual but gradual emancipation, and proprietors should be indemnified by the payment of a maximum price, which should previously be ascertained for each district, and promulgated*. To set the example, Government might be disposed to sanction the occasional appropriation of small sums annually to the purchase of slaves, and to accept slaves in payment of arrears of revenue, which from being too heavy, it might, at all events be advisable to remit; but, in all these cases, the wishes of the individuals themselves should be consulted, and they should not be emancipated, unless they feel confident of being able to earn their own livelihood without assistance. Slaves should also have the power of redeeming themselves from servitude, whenever the exertions of their own industry may place them in a state of indemnifying their masters for the loss of their rights of property over them. The magistrate should have the power of fining or emancipating for ill treatment. It need not be apprehended that these provisions would bring about an emancipation too rapidly; but the knowledge of their future operation would, in the mean time, *act as a stimulus to the activity of the slaves, and it would insure better treatment on the part of the proprietors*. Slaves, thus cautiously emancipated, would not be likely to leave their usual places of residence as long as they afforded the necessary means of subsistence: and that in most cases they would, there can be little doubt; for there could be nothing to diminish the demand of

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, pp. 893, 894.

their old masters for their services. They would therefore still be living on the old estates, but more comfortably and respectably, and probably less addicted to the petty pilfering of which their masters now accuse them. A great improvement might be expected to take place in the state of cultivation in the province; for not only would the old slaves work more cheerfully, and with more effect, but many proprietors in the southern division, who from indolence leave every thing to their slaves, would be inclined to betake themselves to manual labour, when they found that they were obliged to pay higher for it in others. Upon the principles of these observations, I have drawn out a Regulation respecting slaves, which I have submitted to Government through the Board of Revenue. The cautious nature of the different provisions renders it easy to apply it to Canara as well as Malabar, without inconvenience; for, though in Canara slavery may be considered to exist in a milder form, its gradual supercession would be attended with benefit.*

“ Upon an assurance from themselves, that they would earn a more liberal subsistence in a free state, I purchased and emancipated at Calicut, under deeds registered in the Zillah Courts, a woman of about fifty-two years of age, her son of thirty-one, her daughter twenty-five, with an infant in her arms, and the husband of her daughter of thirty-five. They are of the Kalladee cast. They feel, I believe, some degree of awkwardness at not having some tambran, or patron, to look up to; and their neighbours, who derived no pleasure from the example of emancipation thus commenced, endeavoured, and in part succeeded, in instilling into them the idea that they were purchased, with no other motive than that of being conveyed by sea to some distance on a good opportunity; but their alarm was not so great, as to prevent their communicating the report to me on being asked. They were every day engaged out at work, upon terms which secured them a comfortable livelihood, so that I have little doubt that their freedom will promote their comfort and happiness.”†

From these various documents it is evident, that slavery, though of a milder and consequently less destructive nature than that of the West Indies, exists to a considerable extent in British India.

The following extract of a letter to the author, from a West Indian gentleman in London, in 1829, shews, in a clear and forcible manner, the difference between the nature of East and West India slavery;—

“ I avail myself of ——’s intended reply to your communication, to trouble you with some remarks on East Indian slavery. I have myself, with some considerable attention, gone through the Parliamentary Papers, and have made the same remarks as yourself, relating to the unsatisfactory intelligence respecting Bengal, the sugar district of India. The information relative to Madras, without being very full, is precise on some very important points; such as the division of the produce of the soil between those bondmen who cultivate and those who possess it;—a feature which makes all the difference between East and West Indian slavery. I should premise, that I am myself a West Indian, and recently from the West Indian

* It would be gratifying, by the publication of another volume of Par. Papers on Slavery in India, to know that this Regulation had been adopted.

† Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 923.

colonies; therefore well acquainted with Colonial slavery. And, being thus able to judge, I confess I see nothing in the details of East Indian servitude, that can, in any way, identify it with that of our West India colonies.

“ But the fact of the existence of Indian slavery will serve the West Indians very little—for the controversy is not about slavery, but the system of slave labour, and its moral and physical evils. Had the crying injustice of uncompensated toil, and the cruelties attending the system of coercion which necessarily grows out of it, not been made a part and parcel of West Indian slavery, I doubt whether the existence of slavery, as an abstract question of right and wrong, would have ever deeply interested the people of England.* I do not see in India, that a case is made out at all analogous to the monstrous evils attending this institution in our Transatlantic possessions.

“ In regard to subsistence, and reward for their labour, we have this distinct statement from Mr. Lushington, and other Collectors of Madras, that the pullers, besides certain gratuities at marriages, funerals, births, and festivals, have certain yearly emoluments arising out of the cultivated lands. Thus to each puller and pullee is assigned a cultivation of 160 cullums of rice. ~~out~~ of this their annual emolument is each man eight cullums and a half, and to each woman six and a half. As this for every man and woman gives the relative number of 15 to 150, the emoluments of a man and woman amount to a perquisite of ten per cent. on their joint labour. Besides these, they have certain fixed stipends for ploughing and sowing; they reap at five per cent. each; they thresh at five per cent.; and, the fixed gratuities to be paid at festivals being settled by long prescriptive custom, considerable addition is made to their income. Mr. Lushington estimates the emoluments of each cultivator at 19 per cent. on the proceeds of his labour. If a West Indian proprietor were compelled to apportion to each negro slave, nearly one-fifth of the produce of his estate as the payment of their labour, and to take, with the remaining four-fifths, all the expenses and contingencies attending the capital invested, I think we should hear little of the obstinacy of the planter, in not acceding to laws tending eventually to abolish the existing relations between the cultivator and proprietor.

“ It is difficult to gather from the Parliamentary Papers, what is the staple cultivation of the Madras Presidency besides rice. From what I can collect in the *Oriental Herald*, for Sep. 1829, page 546, in some inquiries connected with the landed tenures and agriculture in Madras and Bombay, cultivation is almost wholly dependent on irrigation, and in Southern India, rice is the great staple of agriculture. In regard to sugar, it is only necessary to attend minutely to the details respecting its manufacture, in the Eastern and Western world, to see that, cultivated by whomsoever it may, it is entirely divested of the evils attendant on the driving system with us in the West Indian colonies. There are certain Papers laid before Parliament, entitled the East India Sugar Papers, which shew this circumstance.—The facts will be seen in a pamphlet entitled, ‘*East India Sugar, or An Inquiry*,’ &c., Hatchard, 1824. It appears that the Asiatic sugar is grown in small fields, tilled by the ryot, his family, and dependents; that the canes are cut, and the juice expressed, by moveable mills, and then boiled in earthen vessels, in the fields in which the canes are grown. In this state it forms an unclarified and ungranulated mass, called *goor*, which is brought to market and sold to the sugar manufacturer. Beyond this process, the

* See Wilberforce’s Appeal, pp. 53, 54.

cultivator has nothing whatever to do with the commodity. In all this there can be no driving system, because there is no extensive cultivation; no extensive capital invested, no working *eighteen hours* during crop, and no uncompensated labour, to render the profit as great as possible on a large capital, afloat in elaborating the article of commerce."

More particular information is requisite on the subject of slavery in India, relative to the actual number of slaves; 'the relations of master and slave; the nature of the employment of slaves, their provision, increase or decrease, &c.

Though the Par. Papers contain 418 folio pages respecting slavery in the Bengal Presidency, not a single item appears which may furnish data on which to ascertain the number of slaves in this part of India. This must be considered a serious defect, in this valuable collection of official documents. The same remark applies to the Presidency of Bombay; and as it respects Madras, with a few exceptions supplied by the Collectors, but little information can be procured of the actual number of slaves. The want of laws, to regulate the conduct of the owners of slaves, appears a very great evil in East Indian slavery. What can justify such sentiments as the following, before referred to,—“We desire that you will be extremely cautious in making any regulation for defining the relations of master and slave. It is our wish to improve the condition of the latter to the utmost extent, and we fear that, in defining the power of masters, acts of compulsion might be legalized, which by custom are not now tolerated, and the slaves might be placed in a worse condition than before.”* Is uncertain custom better than law? How can the treatment of the slave be known, while there are no written published laws to which he can appeal. Is not this procedure calculated to keep the degraded slave *in statu quo*? From the Madras papers some idea may be formed of the nature of the employment of slaves, and the provision allowed them; but more full information is desirable.

Whether the slave population increases or decreases does not appear. The destructive influence of slavery in some of the West Indian Islands is most appalling. “Into Jamaica alone, since the conquest (in 1665), when there were in it about 40,000 slaves, not less than 850,000 Africans have been imported; making a total of 890,000, exclusive of all the births which have taken place during that period. And yet, at the present moment, the slave population of the Island does not exceed 345,000! No fewer than 545,000

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 901.

slaves more than now exist there have been imported into this single island! It is for Jamaica to account for so great a waste of life.* It may be presumed, from the comparatively mild nature of slavery in the East, that it is not so prejudicial to the increase, civilization, and happiness of the human race, as the slavery of the West; but more particular information is necessary to form a correct judgment of its real nature and influence. Every friend of humanity must desire, that the philanthropic and successful advocate in Parliament of the abolition of Suttees in the East, and of Slavery in the West, through whom the successive volumes of Par. Papers, respecting the Suttee, have been procured, and likewise the massive volume of Papers on East India Slavery, may be enabled to procure that further information, respecting slavery in India, that may ultimately lead to its abolition in every part of the eastern dominions of Great Britain.

It is the imperious duty of Britain to meliorate, and eventually abolish slavery in every part of her dominions. It is not the author's design to touch the subject of West Indian slavery—nor is it necessary; so many valuable works having been published upon that subject. Slavery in the East may be greatly mitigated by the benign influence of the British Government; and the Madras Board of Revenue, in 1819, suggested, "that the further purchase of free persons as slaves should be declared invalid and illegal, and *all children hereafter born slaves should be free*; that however any person might contract, in writing, for a term of years, or for life, such contract should be binding only upon the individual who executes it; that slaves should be held competent to possess property, and to dispose of it, without their masters' interference: that the purchase of female children, to be educated as prostitutes, should be prohibited: that owners of slaves should be bound to provide wholesome food for them, as well as clothing, and not to neglect them in sickness, age, or infirmity: that they should be deprived of the power of corporeal punishment; that slaves, ill-treated by their masters, should be allowed to change owners; that a breach of the law should enfranchise the slave; that slaves should be allowed to purchase their liberty at the price paid for it; and that slaves attached to lands which may escheat to Government should be liberated."† In 1824, the Court of Directors desired the Madras Government to be "extremely cautious in making

* East and West India Sugar (Hatchard), p. 34.

† Asi. Jour., Jan. 1829, p. 30. Par. Papers, p. 900.

any regulation for defining the relations of master and slave." In Feb. 1826, (says the Asiatic Journal,) "the Governor in Council of Madras declares, that the views and opinions above expressed coincide entirely with his own." This speaks little for the speedy melioration, we say not abolition, of slavery in this part of India. Why is Britain so timid, so tardy, in conferring upon her Asiatic subjects the blessings of freedom? It is important that the state of slavery in India should be more fully and generally known, and the practicability and utility of its entire suppression pressed upon the attention of the Legislature.*

The adoption and encouragement of free labour are of great importance in promoting the abolition of slavery. Its utility in the cultivation of *indigo* in India is very apparent. The first few chests arrived in England in 1787: it is now estimated to employ nearly 500,000 free persons, and the article has ceased to be cultivated by slaves. "It is not known that there is any indigo whatever cultivated by slave labour, although, from the nature of things, it may be difficult to ascertain it with certainty; the quantity, however, if any, must be exceedingly small."† It is a question of much interest—Is East India sugar the product of slave labour or not? This has been asserted by some writers, and positively denied by others. It is evident, from the Papers on Eastern Slavery, that the greatest number of slaves is found on the Malabar coast. No sugars are exported from Malabar, but it is stated, that sugar is imported for home consumption. In Bengal, the great sugar province of India, the number of slaves, compared with other parts of Hindostan, appears comparatively small. The Bengal Board of Trade, in 1792, observe,—"In

* The following extract appears interesting:—"Sir Thomas Smith (Secretary to Edward VI.) testifies, that he never knew any villain in gross; throughout the realm, and the few villains regardant remaining, were such only as belonged to Bishops, monasteries, or other ecclesiastical corporations, in the preceding times of Popery. His words are, 'The holy fathers, monks and friars, had at their confessions, and specially in their extreme and deadly sickness, convinced the laity how dangerous a practice it was, *for one Christian man to hold another in bondage*: so that temporal men by little and little, by reason of that horror in their consciences, were glad to manumit all their villains. But the said holy fathers, with the abbots and priors, *did not in like sort by theirs*; for they had a scruple in conscience to impoverish and despoil the church so much, as to manumit such as were bound to their churches, or to the manors which the church had gotten; and so kept their villains still.'—By the statute of Charles II. the tenure in villainage was virtually abolished, and at that time there was hardly a pure villain (or slave,) left in the nation."—Blackstone's Com. vol. ii. p. 96.

† See "A short Review of the Slave Trade," &c., Birmingham, 1827.

this country the cultivator is either the immediate proprietor of the ground or he hires it, as in Europe, of the proprietor; and uses his discretion in cultivating what he thinks best adapted to the nature of the soil, or the demand of the market. One field produces sugar, the next wheat, rice, or cotton. The Bengal peasantry are freemen, and are, in the usual course of nature, replaced by their children. The Bengal peasant is actuated by the ordinary wants and desires of mankind. His family assist his labour and soothe his toil, and the sharp eye of personal interest guides his judgment. In the West Indies, the whole labour of the ground is performed by hand, with the spade or hoe. Here the ox and plough, as in Europe, lessen the labour of man and facilitate the productions of the earth."* Slave labour is not an item in the different estimates given of the price of cultivating sugar. Mr. Udny, resident at Malda, in 1793, writes, "The expense of cultivating one bigah (about 1600 square feet) is estimated at 8ru. 8an, whereof the particulars are,

	ru. an.
Hire of ploughs, oxen, &c.	1 12
Cooly (labourers) hire	0 14
Do. weeding eight times	4 0
Do. cutting and bringing earth	0 8
Do. tying canes four times	1 0
Petty charges	0 6
<hr/>	
	8 8."†

"But we may spare ourselves the trouble, (says the Anti-Slavery Reporter, for Sep. 1829,) of confuting the elaborate misstatements of our adversaries on this question. The controversy is fast tending to its termination. The march of events will scarcely leave room, much longer, either for misrepresentation or misapprehension. The facilities already given in Bengal, by Lord W. Bentinck, to the investment of British capital, and the development of British skill in the cultivation of the soil; the almost certainty that those fiscal regulations which have hitherto depressed the growth of sugar in Bengal, and prevented the large increase of its imports into

* "Papers respecting the cultivation and manufacture of sugar in British India." 1822, pp. 53, 60, 146. See also pp. 32, 92, &c.

† For an ample investigation of this question, see "A Letter to W. W. Whitmore, Esq. M. P., in reply to the erroneous statements of the late J. Marryat, Esq. on the subject of slavery in the East Indies." Hatchard, 1823. Ori. Herald., Oct. 1829. The Anti-Slavery Reporter, Sep. 1829. East India Slavery by G. Saintsbury, Tilt, Fleet Street, &c.

this country, will soon be repealed; the prospect of an early removal of the other restrictions, which still fetter the commerce of our Eastern possessions; the rapidly increasing population and prosperity of Hayti; the official statements of Mr. Ward, as to the profitable culture of sugar by free labour in Mexico; and the rapid extension of the manufacture of beet-root sugar in France (a prelude, as we conceive, to its introduction into this country, and especially into Ireland); all these circumstances, combined, afford a promise which can scarcely fail of seeing a death blow inflicted on the culture of sugar by slave labour."

Much encouragement may be derived, as it respects the abolition of slavery in British India, from the just and humane sentiments on the subject, frequently expressed by the functionaries of the Indian Government,—from the extent of our power,—and the general abhorrence in which slavery is held in Britain.

The author, while arranging the contents of the voluminous Papers on East India Slavery, noticed some of the excellent sentiments of the authorities in India relative to the nature and injurious tendency of Slavery; they are as follow:—

"I make no scruple to declare my opinion, that absolute unconditional slavery, by which one human creature becomes the property of another, like a horse or an ox, is happily unknown to the law of England; and that no human law could give it a just sanction."*—Sir W. Jones.

"It is impossible to think without horror of whole generations being born to slavery."†—T. C. Metcalfe, Esq., Resident at Delhi.

"The British retain the rights of their birth, and ought also to retain all the relations connected with the British character—to which, it is equally abhorrent to be the master of slaves, as to endure slavery."‡—W. Thackery, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Calcutta.

"Slavery is a practice which is always liable to be attended with the greatest abuse; and which, however mild and unobjectionable it may sometimes be in its application, must still be viewed, as a violation of one of the first principles on which society is constituted."§—Lord Minto.

"Slavery under any shape, or if it bears only the name, is so repugnant to every principle of enlightened administration, and so inconsistent with your Lordship's benevolent plans, that I fear I should not stand excused in my defence of such a system, under any modifications or circumstances whatever."||—Sir Stamford Raffles.

"Slavery is the greatest of all evils; and the attempt to regulate such an evil is in itself almost absurd. There is no excuse for continuing the practice in India, a country fully peopled, and where cultivation and commerce can be carried on by free men."¶—Governor Farquhar.

"Slavery in its mildest forms is degrading to the minds of Britons."**—W. E. Phillips, Esq., Governor of Prince of Wales Island.

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 9.
§ p. 172.

† p. 105.
|| p. 157. See pp 303, 317.

‡ p. 147.
¶ p. 434.
** p. 435.

"Nothing, perhaps, is so revolting as the idea of hereditary slavery. It might be considered an adequate inducement to deeds of charity to compensate them by the labours of the object of it during one generation, instead of aggravating the sorrows of accidental necessity, by slavery through all generations."*—W. Leycester, Esq., Judge of Barcilly.

Let such sentiments as these, become general among those who hold in their hands the destinies of India, and it may be justly anticipated, that slavery at no very distant period will be annihilated.†

The influence of the British Government in India is great, and may safely and successfully be exerted in abolishing slavery and every inhuman custom. It was justly remarked, by the late Bishop Heber, that in India, "our will is our law." Let Britain sincerely will the good of India, and what may not be accomplished? The present time is eventful; may it be improved. To use the language of Mr. Græme's Report on Malabar, in 1822,—"It matters not that many worthless characters are in worse circumstances than the slave; the question is—whether slaves are as comfortable as they ought to be, and whether they acquire as much by their own industry, in servitude, as they would in a free state? Their condition is undoubtedly improved considerably under the Company's government; for the British law has extended its protection to them in common with all, against injury to their lives or limbs, or any great severity of ill usage; but British justice and humanity are not satisfied till they have accomplished, by rational means, all the good that is capable of being done. *The general tranquillity which prevails through the British empire in India, seems to present a favourable opportunity for commencing the work of amelioration, and to withhold it would be to sanction the perpetuity of slavery.*"‡

Slavery is justly held in abhorrence in Britain; and, as the nature and prevalence of this evil in British India are known and lamented, measures will be proposed and urged upon the attention of the Legislature for its abolition.§ This state of

* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 345.

† "These different public establishments (the Botanic Gardens at Calcutta) used to be all cultivated by the convicts in chains. In the Botanic Garden their labour is now supplied by peasants hired by the day or week, and the exchange is found cheap, as well as otherwise advantageous and agreeable; *the labour of freemen here, as elsewhere, being infinitely cheaper than that of slaves.*" (Heber's Journ., vol. i. p. 43.)

‡ Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 922.

§ "In the British Parliament, Slavery, and the questions relevant to it, will always be the object of serious discussion. Orators, not less distinguished by the brilliancy of their talent, than by the solidity of their virtue,

society is inimical to human happiness, and opposed to the improvement and elevation of our species. The author trusts he may adopt the language of the Judge of Bundecund, whose proposed judicious Regulations on the subject of slavery appear to have been disregarded.—“I have endeavoured to point out some of the inconveniences of systematic slavery, and aimed at displaying the future advantages of abolishing so inhuman an institution. Aware of the great importance, and convinced of the caution, with which innovation should be attempted, or the ancient laws, customs, or prejudices of a people infringed, I presume not even to sketch the mode or to fix the period of general emancipation; and perhaps the sudden manumission of those now actually in a state of bondage, though abstractly just, might be politically unwise; but, *there can exist no good reason, either political or humane, against the British government prohibiting the purchase or sale of all slaves, legitimate or illegitimate, after a specified time, and likewise ordaining and declaring that all children, male and female, born of parents in a state of slavery, shall from a like date be free.*”

“Should my humble arguments on the subject draw the attention of men possessed of more ability, to investigate and determine the propriety of establishing personal liberty on the British model, throughout the Company’s provinces, as well as invested with power to extend relief to the objects of my regard, so as to promote a mitigation of their miserable situation, I shall deem myself well rewarded, having no end in view but the honour of my country, and the happiness of my fellow creatures.”*

But Britain has a greater boon, than civil liberty, to bestow upon her enslaved and superstitious subjects in the East:—

“—— There is yet a liberty, unsung
By poets, and by senators unpraised;
'Tis liberty of heart, derived from heaven—
Bought with His blood, who gave it to mankind.”—

This liberty is revealed in the Gospel.—“If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.” For what purpose is India subjected to Britain, by His fiat who “ruleth in the

seconded from without the walls of the senate, by the writings of men gifted with the same qualities, will continue to raise their voice in favour of justice and Christian charity. These accents, repeated by the periodical press, will at length resound through each hemisphere, and prove the knell of Slavery.” Ori. Herald, vol. xiv. p. 96. “On Nobility of Skin.”—See also “The Death-warrent of Negro Slavery,” 1829, p. 23.

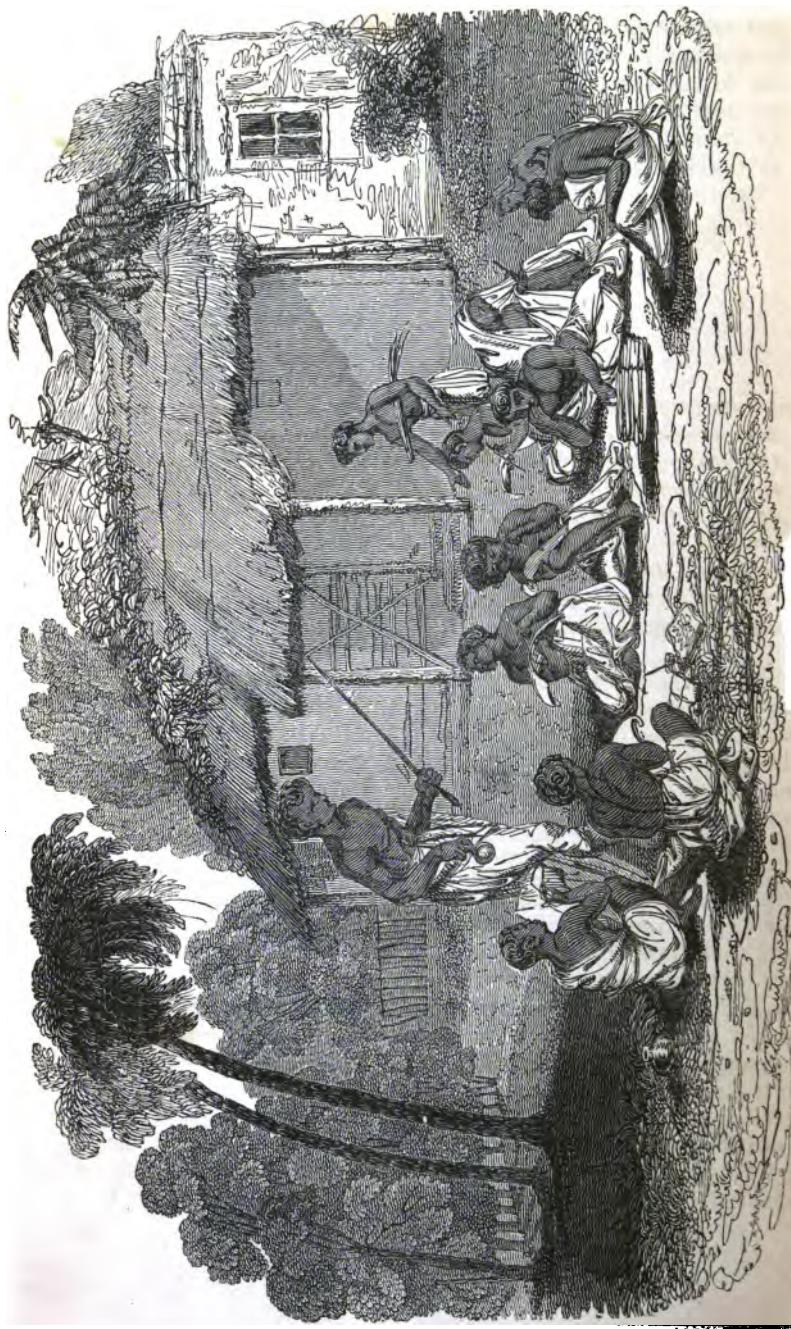
* Par. Papers on Slavery in India, p. 303.

kingdom of men, and He appointeth over it whomsoever he will?"—Is it not to make his glory known, and hasten the period when it shall be sung in heaven—"The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever!" O Britain, my beloved country, consider thy high destiny, and labour, by the messengers of heaven's mercy to man, to make "His way known upon the earth, his saving health among all nations."

"Britain! thy voice can bid the dawn ascend;
On thee alone the eyes of Asia bend.
High Arbitress! to thee her hopes are given
Sole pledge of bliss and delegate of heaven.
In thy dread mantle all her fates repose,
Or bright with blessing, or o'ercast with woes;
And future ages shall thy mandate keep,
Smile at thy touch, or at thy bidding weep.
Oh! to thy godlike destiny arise!
Awake and meet the purpose of the skies!
Wide as thy sceptre waves, let India learn
What virtues round the shrine of empire burn.
Let gentle arts awake at thy behest,
And science soothe the Hindoo's mournful breast.
Be thine the task, his drooping eye to cheer
And elevate his hopes beyond the sphere,
To brighter heavens, than proud Sumeeru owns,
Though girt by Indra and his burning thrones.
Then shall he recognise the beams of day,
And fling at once the fourfold chain away;
Through every limb, *a sudden life shall start,*
And sudden pulses spring around his heart;
Then all their deadened energies shall rise
And vindicate their title to the skies:
Be these thy trophies, Queen of many Isles!
Yes, it shall come! E'en now my eyes behold,
In distant view, the wish'd for age unfold;
Lo, o'er the shadowy days that roll between,
A wandering gleam foretels th' ascending scene.
Oh! doom'd victorious from thy wounds to rise,
Dejected India, lift thy downcast eyes,
And mark the hour, whose faithful steps to thee,
Through Time's press'd ranks, brings on the jubilee."*

* Grant's Revival of Learning in the East. 1805.





A HINDOO SCHOOL.

BOOK VI.

COLONIZATION.

CHAP. I.

Introductory remarks—general outline of Colonization in India—necessity of Colonization in India, arising from the state of its agriculture and manufactures, the general inattention to improvement, and the pernicious influence of cast—the extent of uncultivated land, and the state of some of the native tribes—the state of learning, morals, and religion—the paucity of European inhabitants and Christian ministers—and the slow progress of the civilization and evangelization of India.

THE Roman who uttered the well-known sentiment,—“I am a man, and feel a concern in every thing that relates to mankind,” has been commended by succeeding generations. The author trusts that the motives which have led him to discuss the subject of this book, are of a philanthropic character. The observation of the late Bishop Heber, on the state of things in the East, demands the serious consideration of every friend of Britain, and of British India.—“It was painful to me to think, how few relics, if the English were now expelled from India, would be left behind, of their religion, their power, or their civil and military magnificence. Still little, very little, is done, in comparison with all which is to do.” How similar to the reproach which Burke thundered against his countrymen in the East, nearly fifty years ago, and the cause of which is far from being rolled away;—“Were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by any better than the ouran-outang or the tiger!” One of the greatest antidotes to the evils previously considered in this volume, is *Colonization in India*. “A

thorough freedom of commercial intercourse, between the European and Indian dominions of the Crown, and an unrestricted settlement of Englishmen in India, are the grand and essential instruments for improving our Eastern Colonies, and rendering them useful to the mother country." It has been justly observed, "The prospect of benefit to England herself, by the extended commerce to which the free settlement of Englishmen in India would give rise, is almost boundless; and the apathy and indifference of the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain to this matter, to say nothing of patriots and philanthropists, is to be accounted for, only by a supposition of their want of information on the subject." The system of monopoly by which India has been governed, is fraught with innumerable evils. "Monopoly," says the late Mr. Huskisson, "always produces an indifference to improvement; and the prohibitory system by which it is upheld, is fertile in inconveniences and crimes." The author trusts that the perusal of this book will lead to the views which dictated the following sentiment:—"To talk of preserving such a system is to war with the unconquerable instincts of nature, and the consenting testimony of experience; the plainest dictates of justice, and the irrefragable conclusions of political wisdom. But the days are numbered during which it will be permitted to cumber the ground; and whoever shall contribute to its entire subversion, will deserve well of his country, of India, and of mankind."

A general outline of Colonization in India, has been stated in an able work recently published, entitled, "*An Inquiry into the expediency of applying the principles of Colonial Policy to the Government of India*," &c. It is as follows:—

"Bengal is about the same size as Great Britain, and contains about 30,000,000 of cultivated acres. The revenue collected in Bengal is less than *three millions and a half*; in Britain it is more than *fifty millions*. In Bengal the value of the gross produce of the land, is little more than £1 per acre, and the expense of cultivation, from the waste of labour, and inefficiency of implements, averages three-fourths of the gross produce; in Britain it is £5 per acre, and the expense of cultivation less than one-third of the gross produce. So that though the gross produce of Great Britain exceeds that of Bengal only *five-fold*, its net produce exceeds that of the latter *twelve-fold*. In Bengal a gross produce of £32,000,000, divided among the number of persons employed in agriculture, gives £1 7s. for each individual; in Britain a gross produce of £150,000,000, averages £37 10s. for each individual employed in agriculture. In the West Indies, the yearly value of the produce exported, exclusive of what is consumed by the inhabitants themselves, is £13 18s. 6d. per head, for man, woman, and child, black and white.

“ The disproportionate productiveness between the eastern and western possessions of Great Britain, as evinced in this statement, is so striking, as to force itself upon the attention, and to compel an inquiry even from the most phlegmatic, as to the causes which produce it. No one will attribute this difference to the superior fertility of the west, when compared with that of the east; so far from this being the case, the contrary is too notorious to be disputed. To what other cause then can it be owing, unless to the superior cultivation and improved means of agriculture which have been introduced by European colonists into the west; while the inefficient practices, which have been continued for centuries, and have descended from generation to generation; each blindly following, with a paramount dread of innovation, in the steps of the preceding one, have succeeded in checking, in the east, the bounteous gifts which nature has bestowed, and in reducing the overflowing abundance which the land yearns to pour forth, to a bare and scanty subsistence for its impoverished inhabitants.—Analogy drawn from the West Indian settlements, would indicate Colonization as the plan to be adopted; and this will be found to be the only safe and effectual remedy for all the evils under which India now labours.

“ All legal obstacles being removed [to Colonization in India], the simplest operation that would follow, would be the sale of waste lands, by Government, and by private persons, to Europeans, without reservation, or future imposition of any tax or rent. It would not be easy to reckon the advantages which these transactions would immediately produce. The demand for labourers would occasion a desirable rise of wages among the poorer class of the community. The rise would not affect those ryots who are attached to their own hereditary farms or estates; but the benefit being less extended, would be more sensibly felt; and the improvement in the condition of labourers, as compared with that of ryots, would facilitate the conversion of ryots into labourers; a conversion which it would be the principal object of the proposed measures ultimately to effect, wherever the range of their influence extended. Each undertaking would also be *a school of agriculture*, a focus whence instruction would be disseminated more effectually than from the experimental farms projected by Lord Wellesley, without occasioning any expense to Government, but being, on the contrary, the germs of an infinite augmentation of its resources. The means of transport, by land and water, would be improved, so as greatly to reduce the expense of conveyance to remote markets; while the increase of Europeans, and the diffusion of a taste for the productions of Europe among the natives, would continually extend the export trade from Britain, the limitation of which used to be an argument with the Company against throwing open the trade, and still is with West India proprietors, against an equalization of duties on the sugars of both hemispheres.

“ When the land, to be purchased by a European, had been already in a state of cultivation, the operation would be somewhat complex. For after he had paid its price to the zemindar, and redeemed the land tax from Government (say at sixteen years' purchase), it would still be necessary that he should purchase the interests which the ryots on his estate held in the portions which they occupied, so that nothing should stand between him and the use of the soil. The nature of these bargains would vary according to circumstances, and the compensation in each case would depend on a comparative estimate of what the respective parties were about to surrender on the one hand, and to acquire on the other. Wherever the situation of the ryot was superior, in point of earnings, to that of a hired labourer, the interest he would have to dispose of would be more tangible and susceptible

of estimation; but even in those innumerable cases where it was worse, he would yet have to exchange the certainty of a subsistence, however scanty and wretched, for the fluctuating demand of the market of labour. As the superfluity of hands was drawn off from the old lands, their services would be required on the new, and in other operations connected with the preparation and circulation of an increasing quantity of commodities; and as these transactions would be contemporaneous, the balance would still be in favour of the demand for labour, so as to keep the reward allotted to it permanently above the former average. During the progress of this change, there would be a gradual tendency to fix, in the mind of the labourer, a higher standard of physical comforts than he or his ancestors had been accustomed to; and population would, at last, so adjust itself, as to enable him to command all the conveniences that philanthropy could wish to see him enjoy.

"After about forty or fifty thousand European heads of families had established themselves as agriculturalists, merchants, and tradesmen, in the territories subject to the Bengal Presidency, and a like proportion in the other Presidencies, it would be time to permit the natives to redeem their land-tax, and the rights of occupancy of their ryots, so as ultimately and universally to effect a radical change in the Indian system of landed tenure. An increasing proportion of natives, especially of those born since the transition was in progress, would then be qualified, by emulating their British or Creole brethren, to avail themselves of the new advantages opened to them by a strong and liberal Government; and to cast off the slough of Indian habits and prejudices. It would then also be time to make the English the medium of all public business, and to extend to native Christians eligibility to the highest civil and military offices; at the same time that the unconverted might be admitted into many from which they are now excluded. At an early period of the new era, it would be expedient to reform the Government, by substituting, for the present Council, at each of the Presidencies, two legislative bodies, on the model of those of Jamaica, but from electors and elected, the qualification to be required ought not to be genealogical, that is, to refer to shades of complexion, but to property and religion. When circumstances rendered such a change practicable, the upper house would be composed of peers and prelates. As soon as the materials for such a fabric existed, its construction would be rendered imperative by a regard for the strength of Government, and the welfare of the people."*

The necessity for an enlightened and extensive colonization of Europeans in India, appears from *the state of its agriculture and manufactures, the general inattention to improvement, and the pernicious influence of cast.*

The Westminster Review justly remarks, "Of the pamphlet on 'Free Trade and Colonization in India,' it may, with truth, be said, that there is scarcely one of its century of pages, which does not, in itself, contain irrefragable evidence of the positions, which it is the object of the whole to advocate." From this pamphlet the author has extracted

* *Ori. Herald*, vol. ii. pp. 195—204.

freely, trusting that the value of the information it contains will be generally appreciated. "Of all the obstacles to the progress of the Indian trade, the most injurious is the exclusion of the industry, example, and capital of Europe. It is in vain to expect that either the agriculture, the arts, or the commerce of India, can ever become of the importance of which they are susceptible, until improved and extended by the unlimited and unshackled application of British capital and intelligence. The free settlement of Englishmen then is loudly called for, as a measure not only of expediency, but of real necessity, if India is ever to be rendered a valuable acquisition to this country. The whole productions of Indian industry, that are abandoned to the exclusive management of the natives, through the restraints and penalties of the monopoly, are inferior to the similar productions of every other tropical country; they are not only inferior to the productions of British colonial industry, but to those of French, Dutch, and Spanish, even to those of Portuguese industry; they are, in every case, also inferior to the corresponding productions of Chinese industry. To what is this to be ascribed, but to the slovenliness and ignorance of a semi-barbarous people? The whole is a mere affair of civilization; and in so far as the Hindoos are inferior to Europeans and to Chinese in real skill and intelligence, so must be the productions of their agricultural, their manufacturing, or their any other kind of useful industry.

"We shall bring before our readers, in a tabular form, a few of the articles of East Indian produce, in which their great inferiority to the corresponding productions of other countries is exemplified. We give the highest quality in each case, a comparison extremely favourable to East Indian articles; for it is only, *the very best qualities of these that ever find their way to the markets of Europe*, the middling and lowest kinds being either consumed on the spot, or exported for the use of less fastidious consumers than those of Europe. Indigo, the sole production of the Indian soil, which receives any thing like adequate benefit from European capital and direction, is also the sole exception to the inferiority of Indian productions. What has been effected in this, it is clear enough may be effected in every other commodity, if we do not wilfully and wantonly make positive laws to prevent it; which, in reality, is the course we have hitherto pertinaciously pursued.

ARTICLES.	British India.		British West Indies.		United States.		Brazil.		Spanish America.		Mauritius and Bourbon.		Java.		Egypt and Turkey.		China and Siam.		Italy.		France.		Netherlands.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Sugar... Ψ cwt.	35	0 47	0		40	0 48	0 38	0									38	0						
Cotton... Ψ lb.	0	5 0	8	0	8	0 8	0 10	0									0 8							
Cochineal Ψ lb.	1	2 0					11 0																	
Rice..... Ψ cwt.	23	0		37 0																				
Turmeric Ψ cwt.	24	0																38	0					
Tobacco... Ψ lb.	0	2 0		0 15			0 54																	
Raw Silk... Ψ lb.	18	0																21	0 28					
Castor Oil		0 18	0	30					42	0 42	0		38											
Coffee... Ψ cwt.	34	0 88	0		42	0 42	0																	
Indigo.....	9	10 0							8 3															
Madder.....	30	0 0														42	0			54 66				

"The soil and climate of India must, in no respect, be charged with the rudeness and imperfection of Indian products. Our own dominions, extending from near the equator to at least the thirteenth degree of north latitude, and from the sixty-third to the ninety-sixth of east longitude, embrace a prodigious diversity of soils and climates, capable of yielding an infinite variety of useful productions, calculated to enrich the country and to extend its foreign commerce; and for the improvement or creation of which, an infusion of European skill, capital, and enterprise, are alone necessary.

"What but the exclusion of European settlement hinders, in our Indian dominions, the extensive culture of the peculiar productions of America, and even of China? The indigenous products of India have been transferred to America, and there, under the direction of European skill, they far surpass, in goodness and quantity, those of their original country; witness *the sugar-cane, the cotton-plant, coffee, rice, and even indigo*; until, in its native country, the production of this last fell into the hands of Europeans. Have the Indians retaliated upon the American colonists? Where is our *Indian annatto*?—Where is our *Indian cocoa*,—our *Indian vanilla*? The hardy plant producing the annatto, (*Bixa Orellanna*) introduced from America, is to be found as a garden plant throughout India, but the drug obtained from it is wholly unknown to the Indians as an article of commerce. The plant producing the cocoa, although cultivated in the Spanish, and even in the Dutch East Indies, is unknown in the British possessions. The cochineal insect, and the plant it feeds upon, introduced into British India, by an ingenious

European, have, in rearing and culture, reverted to the hands of nature and the care of the Indians, and Mexican cochineal, consequently, exceeds it in value by full 500 per cent!

"India is in a similar predicament in regard to China: situated close to that country, in daily intercourse with it, receiving yearly into our settlements thousands of emigrants from thence, having a population of cheap labourers, by character peculiarly adapted to the tedious manipulation indispensable to the preparation of tea, an advantage which no other colony enjoys, or is likely for a long time to enjoy, and possessing the same soils, climates, and physical aspects as the most favoured of the tea provinces of that empire, *not one pound of tea has ever been grown in our Indian possessions* ;—not one attempt has been made to rear this valuable plant in British India, while such efforts have been frequent in distant and uncongenial European colonies. Owing to the superior skill of the Chinese, both as agriculturists and manufacturers, they are enabled to export a large quantity of *sugar*, of quality much superior to that of India, although having to contend against the high rents incident to a country fully peopled, and where the price of corn is, probably, not less than three-fold as great as in the average of the Indo-British dominions. We may add, that such is the unskilfulness of the Indians in almost every thing approaching to manufacturing industry, that the whole, or very nearly the whole of the refined sugar, consumed by Europeans in our East Indian possessions, is *imported from China*, the natives of the country being all the while acquainted with the process by which the article is prepared, yet producing it in so careless and slovenly a manner, as to make it unfit for any table but their own.

"In whatever direction we look, the effects of Indian imbecility and the baleful consequences of European exclusion are equally conspicuous.* The *Indian forests* hardly afford any commodity fit for foreign exportation, because the Indians know not how to turn them to account; and Englishmen are prevented, by express law, from doing so. In 1825, the United States of America exported no less than 18,479 tons of *pot and pearl ashes*, worth £430,038, and England and her colonies form their principal market; for to these we find, that she exported no less than 13,322 tons of the whole quantity.

* "The actual extent of the *saltpetre* manufacture, would admit of a production to whatever amount war or commerce required. A small quantity of *flax* is raised on the skirts of almost every field in the *Benares* District, for the sake of the oil; *its use, as an article of clothing, not being here understood!*"—Hamilton's *Hindostan*, vol. i. pp. 241, 303.

British India has never exported, or even manufactured, a grain of either commodity, *although much of the country be still under forest* ;—the manufacture of these articles would greatly add to the facility and profit of clearing the lands ;—and much of the forests in question are not far distant from the British capital, and have the convenient navigation of the Ganges, and its tributaries to the very port of Calcutta.

“ If we look to the *mining operations* of the Indians, we shall find (as every one capable of taking a rational view of man in such a condition of society must expect) conspicuous examples of carelessness, incapacity, want of capital, and want of enterprise. The metals, generally, are not very abundant in the British dominions in India, but *iron* is plentiful enough, and even the supply of *copper ore* is said not to be deficient. The iron manufactured by native Indians is so bad, that it is not of half the value of English iron, nor a third part of that of Swedish iron ; in fact, when forged, it loses one half of its weight in dross. *Mineral coal* is found in many parts of the British dominions, and it is a singular proof in a country, where, for the most part, fuel is remarkably high priced,—of ignorance, poverty, and want of enterprise, that no coal mines were ever opened until this was done by private European speculators. At present, coal mines are wrought in one part of the country only, and this by a private European adventurer ; but from the want of machinery, capital, and competition, and the inferiority of the coal, as is always found to be the case in the first stratum, the article is still dear, and not in adequate quantity ; so that we find coals actually exported to the East India Company’s possessions from Great Britain, in 1827, to the amount of 4,127 tons, besides a large quantity brought from New South Wales, a country where British industry is differently regulated.”*

The want of attention to improvement, so manifest in India, will appear by the following extracts from *Hamilton’s Hindostan*. “ The original plan of the *chowk*, or market-place of the city of *Moorshedabad*, appears to have been well contrived ; but the inhabitants having been permitted to encroach upon the public road, the purposes for which it was originally intended have been defeated. From the market-place, there runs a long narrow winding street, composed of mean houses and huts, which is again intersected by others, still more narrow and miserable. The sewers of these streets have long been completely destroyed, and it consequently happens, that after

* Free Trade and Colonization in India, 1829, pp. 16—21.

a heavy fall of rain, they are nearly impassable, and remain so during the greater part of the rainy season, emitting a putrid effluvia. Another cause of this city's unhealthiness, is the total want of a free circulation of air, owing to the confused form of the town, and to the thick, impenetrable, and yearly increasing jungle, which is intermixed with the dwelling houses, and which threatens to absorb the whole. If it be not intended, that this city, like many other eastern capitals, shall die a natural death, the jungle ought to be extirpated, the streets widened, and the ponds of stagnant mud filled up: but to effect these objects, the prompt assistance of Government must be obtained, as the mere labour of the convicts will prove inadequate to the task."*

"The inhabitants of *Dinagepore* are in general extremely indigent, and their farming implements are therefore proportionally simple and miserable. The plough is of a wretched description, and has neither coulter to cut the soil, nor mould board to turn it over; only one person attends it, holding the handle in one hand, and occasionally pulling the tails of the oxen with the other. A pair of these sacred and unhappy creatures may be purchased for 6 or 8 rupees; a plough for 1s. 3d., and a yoke for 7d. The breed of oxen here is extremely degenerate, and not only many of the Mahomedans, but even the low tribes of Hindoos, use the cow in the plough, which according to the strict usages of Brahminical nations, ought to be punished with death. The breed of horses, or rather ponies, is of the most wretched description, but their cost is moderate, being only from 4s. 6d. to 11s. 6d. each."†

"The *Lahore* province, from its commanding situation, possesses many advantages over the rest of India, and under a proper form of government, would alone be sufficient to constitute the basis of a powerful and civilized kingdom. It is nevertheless in a most miserable state of cultivation, and one of the most thinly inhabited of India; the total population, dispersed over a surface of near 70,000 square miles, probably not exceeding in the aggregate four millions."‡

The *Balaghaut ceded Districts*. "The soil of these territories is generally good. The labour and expense of clearing black land are very great. Having cut down the shrubs and bushes on 100 acres, the farmer proceeds to plough east and west for *one month*, and then north and south for *another*. The *succeeding month* is employed in grubbing up the roots,

* Hamilton's Hind., 1820, vol. i. p. 163. Respecting *Patna*, see p. 261.

† p. 222. See also pp. 223, 275, 296, 348, 469. ‡ pp. 476, 506, 522.

after which, it is harrowed by a ponderous machine for *one month and a half!* After the first great harrowing, they again harrow with two smaller machines and six bullocks, for a fortnight, and finally with a still smaller, drawn by two bullocks. There is much waste land where poverty cramps and deadens the efforts of the cultivators.*

"The fields in *Mysore* are very imperfectly cleared, owing to the extreme imperfection of their instruments, and want of strength in their cattle. After six or eight ploughings, numerous small bushes remain as erect as before the labourer commenced, while the plough has not penetrated *three inches deep*. In consequence of incessant wars and calamities, prior to the final conquest in 1799, *many districts, formerly well peopled, do not yet exhibit the vestige of a human being.*"†

"*Sylhet* is the most easterly of the British possessions in Hindostan, being within 350 miles of the province of Yunan in China. Although so near to this rich empire, no intercourse whatever subsists, nor has the intervening country ever been explored, or even penetrated beyond a few miles from the frontier. It is hoped the Bengal Government will not much longer incur the reproach, of leaving so contiguous a country unexplored."‡

Of *Orissa*, the province in which the author resided, it is stated, "The low lands in *Orissa*, abound with hogs, deer, tigers, and jackals; and the high lands are infested with wild beasts in such numbers, that they are in many places regaining the country. Most of the iron exported from Balasore, is procured in the district of *Kunjeur*, which is fertilized by several streams, but a great proportion of it continues waste, desolate, and covered with jungle."§ Is there not a necessity for colonization in India?

A very interesting work has recently been published by a friend, entitled "*Indian Recollections.*" The following remarks shew the *pernicious influence of cast, in depressing the energies of Hindoos and Mussulman.*

"The greatest of all impediments to the improvement of the moral, social, and religious condition of the Hindoos, is the tenacity with which the distinctions of castes are holden. These follow them into all their pursuits, trades, and avocations. The agriculturists particularly labour under the greatest disadvantages, from this barrier to all improvement, as the following statement, made from actual observation, will fully prove. Loss of cast would follow the introduction of any improvement or alteration in the shape or construction of their agricultural instruments, which are the

* Ham. Hind., vol. ii. p. 325. † pp. 351, 352. Of *Hyderabad*, see p. 123, and of the Island of *Salsette* near *Bombay*, see p. 170.

‡ Vol. i. p. 191.

§ Vol. ii. pp. 33, 35.

same in appearance now that they were centuries ago. The European often smiles to behold the Bengalee ploughman going forth to work ; a yoke of kine are driven before him, whilst the plough is carried on his shoulder. Harness he needs not, as the plough consists of a long pole, through one end of which a piece of harder wood passes, forming the share and handle, whilst at the other end another piece, transversely fixed, answers the purpose of a yoke, this resting upon the necks of the kine, just before the high hump, precludes the necessity of any harness being used. The form of one of these ploughs may be pretty accurately conceived, by imagining an anchor with one end of the arms reversed, that is, pointing downwards, the stock forming the yoke. With this plough they merely scarify the ground, no furrows are made; in fact, they describe any line in their ploughing but a straight one. I have seen twenty ploughs at work in a large field, cross each other at all points, stirring it up to the depth of five or six inches; and in this manner the earth is prepared for casting in the seed, without fetching up a portion of new soil, as is the case with ploughing in England. On account of cast, the Bengali farmer cannot feed and rear sheep or poultry, except he be a Mussulman; and Mussulman farmers must not rear pigs, nor spin the wool of their sheep; this must be done by a low cast of Hindoos. Cows must not be fattened for slaughter by Hindoos, neither are they permitted to breed horses; this is all left to the Mussulman farmer, who, although much less fettered than his Hindoo neighbour, yet even he lies under many restrictions, which prove a great hinderance to his prosperity. However industrious the Hindoo farmer may be, yet he must not make or mend any implements of agriculture, or build an outhouse or tank (a pool); the *grammy* cast must do this. If his fish ponds are full of large fish, he must not catch any for sale; the *mutchewallah* must have all the sport and profit. If his land be full of fine brick earth, he must let the *hooman* make the bricks, and buy the quantity he wants from him; then he dares not use one himself, but, however small the job, must employ a regular builder. When his trees are laden with cocoa nuts, a particular cast must gather them; the owner even then must employ another cast to extract the kernel, which he is not permitted to press into oil; this falls to the lot of another low cast, and so on with regard to coir and besoms, from the husks and leaves, every process must be effected by a particular party, a breach of these regulations entailing loss of cast.

It is the same with regard to the produce of the fields. Cotton must be sold in its raw state, and those who spin it must not weave it. Sugar, tobacco, mustard seed, fruit, and vegetables, are all under some restraints, so that a man cannot do with the produce of his fields what he pleases, nor make improvements upon the customs of his fathers, under pains and penalties which, to a Hindoo, are worse than death itself. I knew an instance of a poor farmer losing cast, because he sowed different sorts of grain from what his ancestors had done. This was considered a scandalous deviation, and he was expelled from society. When the crops become ripe, it is often the case that the farmer, not being able to gather them fast enough, consequently the grain is shed on the ground. A labouring man in the harvest fields in England, does as much work in the course of a day, as ten Bengalee husbandmen; their implements are rude, and generally very inefficient, a small reaping-hook is the only instrument used to cut the corn, scythes being unknown. The hackerries, or carriages, are the rudest and most unfit for the purpose that can well be conceived; but in all these things, change or improvement is prevented by cast."*

* Statham's Indian Recollections, 1832, pp. 84—88.

Colonization in India further appears necessary, from *the extent of uncultivated land and the state of some of the native tribes.*

"India, taking it as a whole, is not a densely, but a thinly peopled country ; one hundred and twelve inhabitants to the square mile, is not such a population as a territory of such general fertility and extent ought and might maintain. The fact is, that many parts of India are over-peopled, others very thinly peopled, and some, indeed, almost destitute of inhabitants. Some fertile tracts in the alluvial plain of the Ganges contain four hundred, five hundred, and even six hundred inhabitants to the square mile, while the table lands are thinly peopled, and the mountains often destitute of inhabitants. Many of the rich valleys of the great snowy range, for example, would, for room, temperature, and salubrity, admit of the settlement of European colonies. As the climate is remarkable for its salubrity, European colonization is here gradually admissible ; we say gradually, because from distance and expense, there is, obviously, no other means of introducing it. Even in some of the warmer parts of India, colonization is not impracticable. The first settlers, in such situations, would naturally consist of capitalists, and the better orders of mechanics, who, from their habits, would suffer little inconvenience from the climate. Their posterity, even if they descended to the rank of day labourers, would be acclimated, and, like the Spaniards of the pure blood, in the torrid plains of America, suffer no inconvenience from heat ; but in this respect be on a perfect equality with the aboriginal inhabitants. The races of men, like the species of many animals, are easily acclimated in regions in which they were not born to dwell, and by necessary change in habits and manners, are readily accommodated to their new situations. The colonial history of every European nation, in fact, teaches us, that the physical frame of the European race affords no obstacle to its permanent location in tropical countries."*

The following extracts from Hamilton's "*Description of Hindostan*," will shew *the extent of uncultivated land in India*, and the consequent room that exists for colonization.

"The land in *Jessore* (Province of Bengal) is very fertile, and were it adequately peopled and cultivated, might be made to produce inexhaustible supplies of rice, for which the soil and climate are peculiarly suited. Even now, a great proportion of the southern tract, although so near Calcutta,

* *Free Trade and Colon. in India*, pp. 69, 70.

remains in a state of nature, covered with jungle; and only frequented by salt makers, and river pirates. Since the decennial settlement, cultivation has certainly been considerably extended and improved, probably to *one sixteenth* of the original quantity.”*

“The cultivation and population of the division of *Hooghly*, are certainly improving; but, notwithstanding its proximity to *Calcutta*, which presents a constant market for its surplus produce, it is surprising, *how large a portion still remains in a state of nature*;—the asylum of tigers, alligators, and a great variety of insects, vermin, and reptiles.”†

“In 1802, it was supposed that the cultivation of the District of *Nuddea*, subsequent to the first year of the decennial settlement, afterwards rendered permanent, had increased *one eighth*, and that the proportion of the uncultivated land to the cultivated, as it then stood, was as follows:—

Jungle	105,000 bigahs
Ground lying fallow	1,959,500
For cultivation	1,959,500.”‡

In the District of *Tiperah*, “in 1801, the uncultivated land was estimated by the Collector, to bear the proportion of *one eighth*, to the cultivated.”§

“*Dacca Jelalpore* has been in a progressive state of improvement since the famine of 1787, when extensive tracts of excellent land were utterly depopulated, and *still continue so*, overgrown with jungle, and so infested with wild elephants, that the peasantry find it almost impracticable to prosecute cultivation, their labours are so rapidly destroyed.”||

“In 1801, it was computed by the Collector, that *one fourth* of the whole District of *Mymunsingh*, remained in a state of nature.”¶

Of *Rungpore*, it is stated, “Wheat is a considerable crop, but except at the capital, and in some of the principal families, the people, *not having the art of converting it into flour*, boil it like rice! Barley is little cultivated, and maize almost unknown. The quantity of cotton cultivated is insignificant, although there is much waste land fit for it.”**

Dinagepore. “With this enormous population, there is much waste land, and a general complaint of the scarcity of workmen. The grand check here to excess of population, is disease, more from want of a *stimulating diet, and comfort-*

* Ham. Hind., 1820, vol. i. p. 135.

† p. 137.

‡ pp. 145, 159, 170.

§ p. 177.

|| p. 181.

¶ pp. 188, 189. Of *Sylhet*, see p. 192.

** pp. 204, 207.

*able dwellings and clothing, than any settled malignity of climate.”**

Cawnpore. “In the neighbourhood of the camp, agriculture has profited by the stimulus of a European market and high prices. Indian corn, barley, and wheat, are cultivated in great abundance; and turnips, cabbages, and European vegetables, are, during the season, in great abundance, not only in the gardens of the officers, but in the fields belonging to native farmers. Cultivation is, however, seen interrupted by the intervention of extensive wastes, which might easily be rendered as productive as the rest of the land.”†

Goruckpore. “Instances may be found of many districts subject to the British Government, in which the cultivated land bears but a small proportion to the uncultivated, but in none to so great a magnitude as in Goruckpore.—In 1814, the Superintendent of the police, reported that the whole tract north of the capital was waste, and almost uninhabited; and that in consequence, the existence of the police was merely nominal, some of the thannahs comprehending 1500 square miles.”‡

“In all the districts through the *Balaghut ceded Territories*, which are distinguished as dry grain districts, the whole extent of land in each village not cultivated, and not occupied by hills, very thick jungle, or other obstructions, may be considered as waste, capable of being reclaimed; and in such cases, the waste must often greatly surpass in extent the quantity of land under cultivation, during any specific year. But it appears chimerical, under the acknowledged poverty of the cultivators, and their destitution of capital, to calculate on any material addition to the land revenue, from high unirrigated, and very extensive wastes, which are certainly to be found in every district of India, south of the Krishna river.”§

“In 1806, the southern division of Arcot was in a very miserable state, and it still contains immense tracts of waste land, a considerable proportion of which is of an excellent quality, and susceptible of immediate cultivation.”|| Does not India admit of colonization? and would it not be greatly benefited by it?

The state of many of the Native tribes will appear by the following brief extracts from Hamilton’s Hindostan:—

* Ham. Hind., vol. i. pp. 224, 228. Of *Purneah*, see p. 234; and *Shahabad*, p. 279. † p. 335. ‡ p. 355. See pp. 362, 411, 433.

§ Vol. ii. p. 347. || p. 436. See p. 660.

"The *Kookies* are a wild race of people, who live among the mountains to the north of the Chittagong district, at a greater distance from the inhabitants of the plain, than another tribe named the *Choomeas*; they are consequently but little known to Europeans, and are seldom seen except when they visit the markets on the borders of the jungles, to purchase salt, dried fish, and tobacco. The Kookies are all hunters and warriors, and separated into a number of distinct tribes, all independent of each other. They are armed with bows and arrows, clubs, spears and daws. They choose for the sites of their villages, the steepest and most inaccessible hills, and each village generally contains from 500 to 2,000 inhabitants. This miserable race are of a most vindictive disposition, and blood must always be shed for blood on the principle of retaliation."*

"The *Choomeas* are a savage people, inhabiting the first range of hills to the north and east of the province of Chittagong, and are tributary to the British government."†

"The frontiers of Bengal bordering on Morung and Bootan, are infested by colonies of a wandering class of people, named *Keechuks* or *Geedarmars*, who are robbers by birth, and who seldom rob without adding the crime of murder."‡

"The impervious jungles of *Chuta Nagpoor* in the district of *Behar* conceal many strange tribes, who, even at this late period of Hindoo predominance, have not become converts to the Brahminical doctrines, and are consequently classed by the priests among the abominable. The *Khetauri*, the *Koeri*, and the *Dhanggar*, are still the principal inhabitants of Chuta Nagpoor, where it is said the latter, and probably also the former, do not speak the Hindoo language."§

"Although the *Alvar* tract is situated in the centre of Hindostan, and within 25 miles of *Delhi*, its inhabitants have always been described as singularly savage and brutal, and robbers by profession, never to be subdued. In this last capacity, under the name of *Mewaties*, they were formerly taken into the pay of native chiefs, on account of their expertness in the art of desolation! for the purpose of more effectually ravaging any country, which happened to be the seat of war."||

"In the southern division of *Malwa*, the savage tribe of *Bheels* are found in considerable numbers. These are a jungle people, and by some supposed to have been the aborigines

* Hamilton's Hind., vol. i. p. 173.
mountaineers, see p. 196.

† pp. 206, 208, 213, 249.

† p. 176. Of the *Cosseah*

§ p. 288.

|| p. 394.

of central Hindostan, extending west to Guzerat, where they meet the *Coolies*, and west to Gundwana, where they come in contact with the *Gonds*; but the points of difference which distinguish these tribes from each other respectively, and collectively, from the lower classes of Hindoos, have never been accurately ascertained.*

“The three *Naads* of *Coimbatoor* are inhabited by three classes of persons, whose languages, manners, and customs, are entirely different; viz., the *Todevies*, the *Koties*, and the *Bergies*. The first two are considered aborigines of the hills. It is said that all the males of a family have but one wife among them, but no mention is made in what manner the surplus females are disposed of.”†

“The most singular part of the *Ceylon* population, are the *Bedahs* or *Vaddahs*, who inhabit the distant recesses of the forest. Their origin has never been traced, and they appear to differ so much from the other natives, that they probably are the true aborigines. They subsist by hunting deer and other wild animals, and on the fruits which grow spontaneously around them: but they never cultivate the ground in any manner. They sleep on trees, or at the foot of them, and climb up like monkeys, when alarmed!—A few of the less wild, traffic with the *Candians*; but the untamed race, known by the name of *Rambah Bedahs*, are more seldom seen, even by stealth, than the most timid of the wild animals.”‡

The most affecting description of the uncivilized tribes of India, is that of the *Garrows*. “The tract at present occupied by the Independent *Garrows*, cannot be estimated at more than 130 miles in length, by 30 in breadth. When a quarrel arises between two of them, the weaker party flies to a distant hill; but both parties immediately plant a tree bearing a sour fruit, and make a solemn vow, that they will avail themselves of the earliest opportunity, of *eating their adversary's head with the juice of its fruit!* A generation frequently passes away without either party being able to execute the measure in contemplation, in which case the feud descends as an heir-loom to the children. The party that eventually succeeds, having cut off the head of the slain adversary, summons all his friends, and boils the head with the fruit of the tree, eats of the soup himself, and distributes the rest among his friends; the tree is then cut down, the feud being ended. A process somewhat different is followed

* Ham. Hind., vol. i. p. 729.
the *Gonds*, see vol. ii. pp. 6, 388.

† Vol. ii. pp. 96, 113. Relative to
‡ pp. 509, 523, 641.

when they succeed in massacring any Bengalee landholder. On these occasions great numbers of neighbours and relations are collected round the reeking heads, brought back as trophies; which being filled with liquor and food, the Garrows dance round them, singing songs of triumph! After thus rejoicing, the heads are buried for the purpose of rotting off the flesh, and when arrived at a proper state of putrefaction are dug up, cleansed of their filth, sung and danced round as before, and then suspended in the houses of the perpetrators of the massacre. In 1815, the skull of a Hindoo factor, who during his life had purchased the zemindary of *Caloomaloppara*, was valued at 1000 rupees; that of Indra Talookdar, agent to *Currybarry* zemindar, at 500 rupees, and the price of a common peasant's skull was only 10 or 12 rupees of deficient weight. To this custom of hoarding skulls, and of making them the *circulating medium*! is to be attributed the extreme care, with which the Garrows burn to powder the entire bodies of their people, lest by any accident the cranium of a Garrow should be passed off, as that of a Bengalee. With respect to religion, the unconverted Garrows of the hills believe in the transmigration of souls, as a state of reward and punishment. *Saljung* is their supreme god, and his wife named *Manim*, but they have no images or temples. In science they have not advanced so far as to write their own language; but a few have learned to write Bengalee, and although so much cotton is produced in their country, *it is only recently they have begun to practice the art of weaving it*. Such are the people, whom a strange concurrence of circumstances have brought into contact with the British nation, where the two extremes of civilization meet.*

It is to be deeply regretted, that so little has been even attempted for the improvement of these various uncivilized tribes. Conciliatory measures appear adapted to make a favourable impression upon them.† The late Bishop Heber's reference to the *Bheels*, well deserves attention, both in Britain and in India. In his tour from *Neemuch* to *Baroda*, he observes,—“Thieves and savages as they are, I found that the officers with whom I conversed thought them, on the whole, a better race than their conquerors. Their word is more to be depended on; they are of a more frank and lively character; their women are far better treated, and enjoy more influence: and though they shed blood without scruple in cases of deadly feud, or in the regular way of affray, they are

* Ham. Hind., vol. ii. pp. 756—762. † See vol. i. pp. 444, 730, 731.

not vindictive or inhospitable under other circumstances, and several British officers have, with perfect safety, gone hunting and fishing into their country, without escort or guide; except what these poor savages themselves cheerfully furnished, for a little brandy. This is the more touching, since on this frontier,—nothing has been done for them, and they have been treated with unmixed severity. In the south, where Sir John Malcolm could carry every thing his own way, he raised a corps out of their number, which he placed under the command of their own Chiefs. He also secured them the peaceable possession of a certain portion of their lands, which had been depopulated by the Pindaries; obtaining for them a freedom from taxes for a sufficient number of years, to make it worth their while to acquire industrious habits. He proceeded in nearly the same manner, and with full as much success, as Cleveland did with the *Purharees*. (Vol. i. 205—214.) In this part of India, nothing of the kind has been done; they have, indeed, had facilities held out to them to enter our local corps, but these are under the same severe discipline, and exact drill with the regular regiments—which it is idle to suppose a savage would endure. Though there is waste land in abundance, no effectual measures have been taken to persuade the princes of the country to allow or induce the Bheels to settle in it, and as these poor people themselves complain—*we punish them for robbing, while we give them no means of earning their subsistence in an honest way.*”*

The Editor of the *Westminster Review* justly remarks,—“The weakness, effeminacy, and cowardice of some of the Indian tribes—the immorality, the barbarism of all, have been frequently brought forward as objections to any system of European colonization. No protection being given to the moral and corporeal infirmity of the native, he would meet with no tender mercies at the hands of the comparatively strong and virtuous colonists. He would be treated worse than a West Indian negro. Now, the very reason why colonization is desired is, that *the East Indian may be elevated to a condition somewhat superior to that of his West Indian black brother*. At present, it might be hard to say whether of the twain is the more to be envied by the other. Colonization would make the oriental slave a free man—would give him an immediate market for his spontaneous labour. Let

* Heber's Journal, vol. ii. p. 72. See also pp. 100, 139. For some recent information of the *Bheels*, see *E. I. Mag.*, Feb. 1832, p. 156; and of the *Coles*, *E. I. Mag.*, Aug. 1832, p. 186.

Legislation throw around him her benevolent protection, if she will—but let him—a *British subject*—not be denied the benefits which free intercourse with his brethren would confer. Let the terms of colonization be stipulated by justice and philanthropy—at all events, let India become something better than one vast feeding-place, where foreign birds of prey congregate together to pounce upon the spoil, and having seized it, to wing themselves far away.

“The many interests involved in the possession of lands in India have been frequently and loudly urged as an impediment to the settlement of strangers, and the purchase of estates; yet, if closely looked at, the difficulty vanishes. Be the free-hold right where or what it may, to that right a pecuniary value must attach, and its amount must of course be paid by the purchaser of the fee-simple, and with the consent of the seller. The position of the zemindar is in this perfectly analogous to the holder of the tithe of an estate in England—the interest of the ryot is also a fit subject for calculation (and that his position would be greatly benefited by his becoming a free labourer might easily be demonstrated), and what is not held by the native, must, we suppose, be deemed the property of the Company. Now, if the Company consented to sell their share of the whole, contingent on the purchase of portions, much embarrassment would not be the consequence, relative to the portions belonging to Indian proprietors. And surely there are waste lands enough, without the perplexities of various claimants, and with these, experiments may commence.”*

The state of learning, morals, and religion in India, further demonstrates the necessity of European colonization.

This part of the subject is placed in a very striking view by the Editor of “*The Friend of India*.”—“There is no religion, which does not exercise a decisive and sensible influence over the secular habits and temporal welfare of its votaries. Among all systems of faith, in this respect Hindoism stands foremost. It has carried the rage for regulation, to a degree of harassing and microscopic minuteness, totally forgetting, that the wisdom of legislation appears as much in what it spares, as in what it touches. It has left its followers free in no one movement; it has attached to every action, however indifferent, some religious reward or penalty. It presses on its votaries with the ubiquity and weight of the atmosphere. It has imposed greater fetters on national industry

* West. Rev., Oct. 1829, p. 23.

than any other religion, and were all its injunctions allowed full operation, the whole business of life would stand still. The temporal misery it has produced is, alas! too visible in this country, which nature has adorned with her richest gifts; and could the natives, without the risk of losing cast, and sinking in public estimation, deliver themselves from the civil restrictions with which it has bound them, they would dissolve them without any hesitation. Hindoism has, for twenty centuries, been progressively developing its character and tendencies on a grand theatre, and we have, in the present state of India, the product of its labours. Let Christianity, genuine, vital Christianity, obtain, only for two centuries, the same ascendancy which idolatry has enjoyed in India, and how completely would the face of the country be changed!

"As Hindoism is incapable of carrying forward a nation in the career of improvement, so neither is it adapted for a high state of civilization; they cannot co-exist; but while there is no species of improvement to which Hindoism is not hostile, there is none which Christianity does not foster. From a careful examination, therefore, of the tendency of Hindoism and Christianity; and a comparison of their effects, incontestably developed in India and England, it is not presumptuous to assert, that India stands peculiarly in need of Christianity. We need Christianity to extinguish the fires of the funeral pile, into which superstition is annually casting its victims, and to send back the mother to the relief of her wretched family.* We need Christianity to annul the prohibition for widows to marry, to remove the thousands of widows annually created, out of the reach of danger and disgrace, and to restore them to the bosom of society;—to teach women to read, to cultivate their intellectual faculties, to raise them in the scale of being, and to open to society the benefit of their influence. Hindoism has practically taught its followers, that the great bulk of mankind exist only for the Brahmuns, that the whole duty of man consists in implicit faith in the Vedas, and obedience to the priesthood. It has forbidden the exercise of reason on the most important interests of society; it has locked up all knowledge in a language unintelligible to the great body of the people, and then forbidden them to study it under pain of eternal damnation. We need Christianity to break up this system, to dissolve the unnatural distinctions of the cast, to teach the natives that all men are equal in the eyes of their Maker, and to introduce a tone of manly free-

* Christianity has conferred this blessing upon British India.—AUTH.

dom both in thought and action—to cultivate the *language of the people*, and to encourage a spirit of inquiry after truth. We need Christianity to abolish the long and dreary pilgrimages so inimical to happiness, so destructive to human life,—to subvert the system of religious mendicity,—to suppress the numberless feasts, and to restore the time which they destroy to national industry. We require the pure faith and unblemished morality of the Gospel in lieu of the adoration of trees, rivers, and beasts, and the licentious example of the gods. We need Christianity, to restore to God his just rights, and to man his legitimate privileges. We need it, finally, and in the opinion of some this may appear the most urgent want, to develope the vast resources of this rich country, to remove every obstacle to its occupying that elevated rank in the scale of nations, which it is so well able by nature to sustain.”*

The late Bishop Heber describes the nature and influence of Hindoism, in the correspondence which closes the Narrative of his Journey through the Upper Provinces of India.—“ It is necessary to see idolatry, to be fully sensible of its mischievous effects on the human mind. But of all idolatries of which I have ever read or heard, the religion of the Hindoos appears to me the worst; in the degrading notions which it gives of the Deity;—in the endless round of its burdensome ceremonies, which occupy the time and distract the thoughts, without either instructing or interesting its votaries;—in the filthy acts of uncleanness and cruelty, not only permitted, but enjoined and inseparably interwoven with these ceremonies;—in the system of casts, a system which tends, more than any thing else the devil has invented, to destroy the feelings of general benevolence, and to make nine tenths of mankind the hopeless slaves of the remainder;—and, in the total absence of any popular system of morals, or any single lesson which the people at large ever hear, to live virtuously and do good to each other. I do not say, that there are not some scattered lessons of this kind to be found in their ancient books; but these books are neither accessible to the people at large, nor are they permitted to read them; and, in general, all the sins that a soodra is taught to fear are killing a cow, offending a Brahmun, or neglecting one of the many frivolous rites by which their deities are supposed to be conciliated. Accordingly, though the general sobriety of the Hindoos affords a very great facility for the maintenance of

* Friend of India, (Quar. Ser.) May 1825, pp. 53—55. See also, Statham’s Indian Recollections, pp. 349—364.

public order and decorum, I really have never met with a race of men whose standard of morality is so low; who feel so little shame on being detected in a falsehood, or so little interest in the sufferings of a neighbour, not being of their own cast or family; whose ordinary and familiar conversation is so licentious; or, in the wilder and more lawless districts, who shed blood with so little repugnance.

“Their own religion is indeed a horrible one: far more so than I had conceived. It gives them no moral precepts; it encourages them in vice by the style of its ceremonies, and the character of its deities; and, by the institution of cast, it hardens their heart against each other to a degree which is often most revolting. A traveller falls down sick in the streets of a village; (I am mentioning a fact which happened ten days ago!) nobody knows of what cast he is, therefore nobody goes near him lest they should become polluted:—he wastes to death before the eyes of a whole community, unless the jackals take courage from his helpless state to finish him a little sooner; and, perhaps, as happened in the case to which I allude, the children are allowed to pelt him with stones and mud. The man of whom I am speaking was found in this state, and taken away by a passing European; but, if he had died, his skeleton would probably have lain on the road side till the vultures carried it away, or the magistrates ordered it to be thrown into the river! A friend of mine, some months ago, found a miserable wretch, a groom out of employ, who had crept, sick of a dysentery, into his court yard. He had remained there, in a corner on the pavement, two days and nights. Perhaps twenty servants had been eating their meals within six yards of him, yet none had relieved him—none had so much as carried him into the shelter of one of the out-houses, nor had any taken the trouble to tell their master! When reproved for this, their answer was, ‘He was not our kinsman.’ ‘Whose business was it?’ ‘How did we know that the Sahab would like to be troubled?’ I do not say these are every day instances: I hope and believe not. Nor would I be understood, as denying that alms to religious mendicants are given to a great amount in Bengal; or that several of the wealthy inhabitants, in what they consider good works,—such as constructing public tanks, making roads to places of pilgrimage, building pagodas and ghauts, are liberal. I only mention these instances, because none of those that heard them, seemed to think them unusual or extraordinary. In a Christian country, I think they could not have happened; and they naturally arise from the genius of the national religion,

which, by the distinction it establishes, makes men worse than indifferent to each other.”*

Lord Teignmouth thus sketches the character of the Hindoos.—“If I were to describe the Hindoo character generally, allowing for individual exceptions, I should define it, a compound of insincerity, servility, and dishonesty. Their master passion is self-interest, which they pursue through all the mazes of cunning and duplicity. Their disregard for veracity is most striking; and the detection of falsehood excites no other sensation than that of regret, for the failure of the purpose it was intended to answer. *Their charity has more of ostentation than of benevolence. The apathy with which they see their fellow creatures suffering pain and distress is also very remarkable.* Their boasted tenderness to the brute creation is a negative quality, extending no further than to the not depriving animals of life, without any effort to prolong it or render it comfortable. The most unerring index to the national character of any people is, to learn their own sentiments of each other; and no people shew more reciprocal distrust, than exists among the individuals of every tribe and family. *In every country where idolatry has obtained a complete establishment, we not only find a general debasement of the moral principle, and corresponding corruption of manners, but even licentiousness, and the most shocking cruelty, deriving a sort of sanction from the Religion itself, or from the authority of customs and practices founded upon it.*”†‡

The paucity of European inhabitants and Christian Ministers, in India, is deserving of serious notice in reference to the subject under consideration. The number of Europeans in India is very inconsiderable. “The English (says

* Heber’s Jour., vol. ii. pp. 384, 385, 313, 314. See also, Tytler’s *Considerations on the state of India*, vol. i. pp. 243, 296.

† Considerations on Communicating to the Natives of India the Knowledge of Christianity, pp. 81, 82, 92. (Hatchard.)—1808.

‡ “Making roads, digging tanks, and planting trees, among the Hindoos, are religious duties, and almost every rich man performs one or another, or often the whole; but as the inducement is to obtain celestial favour, public utility, is, on these occasions, little consulted, and the works frequently prove nuisances. The plantation usually consists of trees totally useless, or of sour resinous mangoes, and soon becomes jungle, the harbour of wild beasts which devour travellers. The tank declines to a dirty puddle, which is soon choked up with weeds generating disease; and the road is wholly useless to passengers, as it does not lead from one market to another, but commonly from the house of the founder to some temple which he chooses to frequent, or to some tank, or river, where he performs his ablutions.” Hamilton’s Hind., vol. i. p. 99.

Heber) in the Upper Provinces are of course thinly scattered, in proportion to either the multitude of the heathen or the extent of territory. They are, however, more numerous than I expected; though there are very few indeed who are not in the civil or military employ of Government. The Indigo planters are chiefly confined to Bengal."* "Colonel and Mrs. Raper and Dr. Simpson are the only Europeans resident at Jyepoor."† Of the want of medical as well as ministerial characters, the Bishop observes on one occasion when at *Furreedpoor* :—"At present Mr. Warner's house (the Magistrate of these districts) was full of ladies, fugitives from *Chittagong*; but, except his own family and inmates, he had no society, no Europeans; *not even a medical man being within very many miles.*"‡§ The Author has travelled a hundred miles in *Orissa* without seeing a European. This scarcity of Europeans is impolitic in the Government. "In the course of this day's march," says the late Bishop Heber, when near *Shahjehanpore*, "a circumstance occurred, which proves, I think, how much the people of this country look up to the English for help and counsel in all emergencies. I was going along a jungly piece of road, when I saw a little cluster of travellers, of the lower class, surrounding somebody on the ground. As soon as they saw me, they immediately ran up, saying that one of their friends was sick, and they begged me to look at him and give him medicine. What struck me was, the immediate impulse which led these men to suppose, on seeing a European riding along the road, that he was likely to, help and advise them. Surely, if this opinion is general, it must be one of the best holds we have on our Indian empire."||

The following extracts from the late Bishop Heber's Journal, place this subject in a painfully interesting light. Of *Barrackpore*, where the Governor General has his country seat, and where there are very large cantonments, the Bishop says, "I went by water early enough in the morning to preach to the congregation, which, for want of a Church, assembles in the great hall of the Government house."||

When he was at *Dacca*, in July 1824, he observed, "I met a lady to-day who had been several years at *Nusserabad*,

* Jour., vol. ii. p. 370. † Vol. i. p. 11. ‡ p. 162.

§ "Abdullah, a servant of the Bishop, when on their voyage to *Dacca*, sent to an Indigo establishment near them, to know if any bread or leaven was attainable: the answer was, that the *Sahabs* had nothing of the kind, and never got any thing better than the unleavened bread of the country." Vol. i. p. 121.

|| pp. 536, 466. Hamilton's Hind, vol. i. p. 261.

¶ Jour., vol. ii. p. 47.

in *Rajpootana*, and during *seven years* of her stay in India had never seen a clergyman, or had an opportunity of going to church. This, however, was a less tedious excommunication than had been the lot of a very good and religious man, resident at *Tiperah*, or somewhere in that neighbourhood, *who was, for nineteen years the only Christian within seventy miles, and at least three hundred from any place of worship!*!! Occasionally he has gone to receive the sacrament at *Chittagong*, about as far from his residence as York from London! These are sad stories, and in the case of *Nusserabad* I hope not beyond the *reach of a remedy.**

At *Patna*, "The service was performed in a large and convenient room, the court of appeal, and a handsome service of communion plate was produced, preserved from the time that the Company's Chaplain, now removed to *Dinapore*, was stationed at Patna.† A very earnest and general wish was expressed, that Government would still allow them a Chaplain. This, with the present establishment and the great demands on it, is, I fear, *never likely to be granted*. It would be a great advantage and convenience to the place, and attended with little expense, if an allowance were made to the Chaplain at *Dinapore*, for a lodging and palanquin hire, and he were enjoined to visit Patna once a month. Some measure of the kind, with regard to this, and *many other stations*, almost similarly situated, I hope myself to suggest to Government, as soon as I am better informed in the necessary details of the plans."‡

Of *Dinapore*, the account is very humiliating. "Every thing, in fact," says the Bishop, "is on a liberal scale, except what belongs to the church, and the spiritual interests of the inhabitants and neighbourhood. The former I found merely a small and inconvenient room in the barracks, which seemed as if it had been designed for an hospital ward; the reading-desk, surplice, books, &c., were all meaner and more shabby than are to be seen in the poorest village chapel in England or Wales. There were no punkahs, no wall shades, or other means for lighting up the church; no glass in the windows, no font, and, till a paltry deal stand was brought for my use out of an adjoining warehouse, no communion table! Bishop Middleton objected to administer confirmation in any places but churches regularly built, furnished, and consecrated; but though I do not think that in India we need be so particular,

* *Jour.*, vol. i. p. 146.
at 300,000.—*Auth.*

† The population of Patna is estimated
‡ *Jour.*, vol. i. p. 242.

I heartily wished, in the present case, to see things more as they should be, and as I had been accustomed to see them. Nor in more essential points, was there much to console me for this neglect of external decencies. I had only *fourteen* candidates for confirmation, some of them so young that I almost doubted the propriety of admitting them; and there were perhaps a dozen persons beside in the church.

“Of the European regiment, though it was ‘*in orders*,’ that the men should attend church every Sunday, very few ever came, and seldom any officer but the adjutant; and the neighbouring planters seemed utterly without religion of any kind,—never applying to the clergyman except for marriage, burial, and baptizing of their children. The present room barely affords accommodation for *half the soldiers* who might be expected to attend, without leaving any for the officers’ families or the neighbouring planters. These, therefore, though room is generally to be had, have an excuse to offer to their consciences for not attending; and it is really true, for women and children of the upper classes to sit jostling with soldiers in a small room, without punkahs, with a drive of perhaps three or four miles before and after service, is not a prospect of making a man very fond of bringing his family to attend divine service. A spacious, airy church, would greatly remove these difficulties. Government did, I understand, promise one some time back: but the military officers, to whom the preparation of the estimate and plan were left, took no trouble in the business! What I saw and heard, both at and after church, made me low and sad; to which, perhaps, the heat of the day greatly contributed.”*

At *Ghazepoor* “some difficulties were felt about a proper place for divine service next day; the place (an old riding-house) which had been used as a church before the station lost its Chaplain, being in so ruinous a state, that the Quarter Master had reported it sometime since to Government, as unsafe for any persons to assemble in. A Mr. Watson, a tradesman in the place, however, offered his long room, (generally used for auctions, and sometimes for assemblies,) which, as the European regiment is absent, and the probable congregation less numerous than it otherwise would have been, answered the purpose extremely well, being large, airy, and furnished with seats and punkahs.”†

At *Chunar*, in Sep. 1824, the Bishop writes:—“This morning I had the agreeable surprise to find Messrs. Macleod

* *Jour.*, vol. i. pp. 244—247.

† p. 261.

and Frazer, had come from *Benares* during the night. We went to church together, where I also found Mr. Morris. I had consequently four clergymen with me, besides the Catechists Bowley and Adlington: *a more numerous body than could, thirty years ago, have been mustered in the whole Presidency of Fort William!**

Of the efficiency of the Clergy, the Bishop wrote to J. Thornton, Esq., May 1825:—"I am now speaking of the means of religious improvement afforded to a young man in India, and I am very thankful to be able to say, that though we are still most lamentably short of hands, for *one and thirty* Chaplains is a very bare complement, and it will seldom happen, that more than *one-half* of those will be resident and effective at the same time; still, if a young man can get the opportunity of hearing a sermon in Bengal, the chance is, that he will hear what will do him good!"††

It will probably be asked by some, But have not the Missionaries, sent to India by various Societies, supplied in a great degree the spiritual necessities of India? Alas! "the harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few." In some parts of Hindostan there is "a famine of hearing the word of the Lord." From Calcutta to Madras is 1050 miles, and with the exception of a Clergyman and a Missionary at Vizagapatam, there are only the Author's few colleagues in Orissa, in the whole route. From Cuttack to Bombay is about 1000 miles, and there is only a Chaplain or two in the Mahratta states to be found in the whole journey. Multitudes of the subjects of Britain in India have not heard the name of Christ. Would such a state of things as this which has been described, have existed, if colonization had been promoted in India for half a century?

The slow progress of the Civilization and Evangelization of India might naturally be expected from such a state of things. The want of Europeans in India is very sensibly felt in the civil administration of the country. The paucity of European Magistrates, and the well known character of the Darogahs, account for the present state of society in the country. The following statements from Hamilton's Hin-

* Jour., vol. i. p. 310.

† Vol. ii. p. 400.

† "There are many stations at which detachments of soldiers are fixed, which a Chaplain only visits alternate months, or sometimes four Sundays in a year. Indeed it has been only within the last two years, by the great exertions of Archdeacon Barnes in Bombay, and by my own influence with the Supreme Government, that even this kind of occasional and itinerant service has been provided for. Feb. 1826." (Jour. vol. ii. p. 432.)

dostan are painfully confirmatory of these remarks. "The jail is always the most prominent edifice in a Bengal district."*

"The *Boglipore* district, though not so populous as some others, is of such extent, that it is difficult for the Magistrate to exercise an efficient control, some of the tannahs, or police stations, being 100 miles from head-quarters."†

"In 1815, the Magistrate of *Allahabad*, had forty-seven police stations under his control; some situated seventy or eighty miles from head-quarters."‡

The character of the Darogahs and their minions in office, clothed with a little 'brief authority,' is known to all who have resided in India. "In many instances a Darogah of police, with his myrmidons on scanty allowance, prove the scourge of the division over which he presides. A Darogah is allowed only twenty-five rupees per mensem, out of which he is to provide himself and family with food and raiment suitable to the apparent respectability of his office, and pay the expense of a dozen journeys during the month into the interior of his jurisdiction. His establishment is only ten men, to preserve the peace of 400 square miles of country, and of these, the west country Burkendawzes appear to have no other object in view, than to get rich as fast as they can by lending money at usurious interest; a pernicious practice, to which they are all greatly addicted."§

The character of the natives of *Travancore*, as given by two successive Residents, is too applicable to the Hindoos generally. One of the Residents remarked:—"He never knew a people so destitute of truth and honesty, or so abandoned to vice and corruption, and that this is exactly the opinion they entertain of themselves; while the other asserts, that in no part of the world are men to be found to whose habits and affections the practice of vice, through all its debasing, loathsome, and hideous gradations, seems so familiar."||

What has been done for the improvement of the people of India? The advocates of the India Government fail not to eulogize its efforts, in the support of Colleges and Schools for the diffusion of general education. But what is the amount of these exertions? Would not an Anglo-Indian population increase it a hundred fold? "What," says a modern writer on India, "in fact, after all, are the means hitherto applied to the worthy objects which all these institutions have in view?"

* Vol. i. p. 199.
see pp. 162, 306.

† p. 250. Of *Moorshedabad* and *Benares*,
‡ p. 323. See also, pp. 402, 434, 436.

§ Vol. i. p. 206.

|| Vol. ii. p. 315.

Let them be regarded as operating within the narrow circle of the capital and its vicinity, and, though still small, they are something; but spread them, in imagination, over the vast population of India, and, estimating them at the highest rate of two lacs of rupees per annum, we shall have less than *one farthing per head per annum to expend on the education of the Hindoos.** These are somewhat sweeping charges; but they are confirmed by the recent evidence before the Lords' Committee of C. Lushington, Esq., late Secretary to the Bengal Government. "Strong as is the interest felt by the Government in the object of educating the natives of India, £10,000 is the only portion of a territorial revenue of about £22,000,000 at present devoted to that object; except some inconsiderable additions; occasionally a few score pounds a month are given to other institutions for native education."†‡

The general character of the British Government in India, in neglecting the interests of Religion, (how much more in supporting idolatry, and making it a source of emolument?) is very reprehensible. Bishop Heber remarks, respecting his journey through the Independent States of Western India:— "My Bengalee servants say, they never heard of such a journey as mine before, and that 'neither mountains nor any thing else stand in my way.' This is all absurd enough at the present moment; but the recollection of where I am, and the circumstances of convenience and safety under which I have traversed, and if it please God, am about to traverse, regions which are laid down as *terra incognita* in Arrowsmith's map of 1816, ought to make, and I hope does make, a strong impression on my mind of thankfulness to that great God, whose providence has opened to the British nation so wide, and so untried, a field of usefulness; and of anxiety, lest we should any of us, in our station, fall short of those duties which this vast increase of power and dominion imposes on us. I am often ready to break into lamentations that, where so much is to be done in my own peculiar profession, *the means at my disposal enable me to accomplish so little.*"§

A modern writer in India, very justly reprobates the conduct of the British people in its parsimonious and injurious neglect

* Ori. Herald, vol. vii. p. 488.

† East India Mag., May 1832, p. 453. See Free Trade and Colonization, &c., p. 78.

‡ See "The History, Design, and Present State of the Religious, Benevolent, and Charitable Institutions founded by the British in Calcutta and its Vicinity, by C. Lushington, Esq., 1825." Published in Calcutta.

§ Jour., vol. i. p. 595.

of the interests of Christianity among its own European subjects. "Observe the wretched little settlements of the Dutch and Portuguese, of every nation, save that one to whom unbounded dominion has been assigned in Asia; is there any one of them unprovided with the neat, though humble chapel; its modest spire; the little turret where chimes the bell, to summon "two or three together," whose requests are to be granted? At Anjeugo, Cochin, Goa, have the miserable remnant of nations, once powerful as ourselves, permitted the House of God to fall to the ground, though their own roofs are in ruins? We are accustomed to be very loud in our abuse of the intolerance and bigotry of these nations, but we should be glad to know which is most respectable,—*a sincere though mistaken zeal for the doctrines of Christianity, or an utter contempt and indifference for them?*"*

The indifference of the British Government in India to the interests of learning, morality, and religion, appears in the want of Schools, Colleges, Churches, and Ministers of Religion. A few brief extracts from Hamilton's Hindostan will demonstrate it. There are no regular schools or seminaries in the District of *Bahar* in which the Hindoo or Mahomedan law is taught; students in these branches of knowledge being instructed by private tutors. It was remarked by the Magistrate in 1801, that no new religious buildings of any sect were constructing, while the old ones were going rapidly to decay."†

"The District of *Shahabad* contains no brick nor mud private forts, nor are there any schools or seminaries within its limits where the Hindoo or Mahomedan laws are taught."‡

"In every District, subordinate to the British authority throughout Hindostan, the state of the police is the most important feature of its history, and *its jail the most imposing edifice.*"§ Colonization would give imposing edifices of a different, and a far more reputable and beneficial character.

"In the District of *Juanpore*, in 1801, there were no private schools or seminaries for teaching the Hindoo and Mahomedan law; such had existed, but the lands and funds destined for their maintenance had long been sequestered."||

"Besides the Catholic churches, there are at *Cochin* a great population of Protestants, the remains of the Dutch colonists. Among all the Europeans settled in India, the Dutch have the merit of having greatly promoted the dissemination

* *Ori. Herald*, vol. vii. p. 135. † Vol. ii. p. 262. ‡ pp. 280, 283.
 § p. 298. Of *Mirzapore*, see p. 310. || p. 314.

of Christianity, wherever they gained a settlement. In their time, Clergymen presided over Districts, and made annual visitations, but *all religious and scholastic Institutions have been neglected, since the transfer of the country to the British!**

"The Mahomedans have become numerous in the Nepaul dominions, and are increasing; as they are zealous in purchasing girls, and propagating their sect, Christianity has not been equally successful. In 1802, the church at Catmandoo (the capital) was reduced to an Italian padre, and a native Portuguese."†

The state of the descendants of Europeans, when thus neglected in India, may be better conceived than expressed. The following fact speaks volumes:—"There are a few families of native Portuguese scattered over the Rungpore District, but at *Goalpara*, there are as many as *twenty*. Here they are termed *choldars*, which seems to be a corruption of soldier. None of them can either read or write; only two or three know a few words of Portuguese, and they have entirely adopted the native dress. The only European customs they retain, are, that the women courtesy, and the men shew, by the motion of the hand as they pass, that they would take off their hats if they had one! The men retain some portion of *European activity*, and are much feared by the Natives; who employ them as messengers in making a demand, such as the payment of a debt, to the compliance with which, they think a little fear may contribute. The females gain a subsistence chiefly by sewing and distilling liquors, of which last article, the men consume as much as they can afford, and retail the remainder. Concerning the Christian religion, they appear to know little or nothing, nor have they any priest. Sometimes they go to *Bowal*, near *Dacca*, in order to procure a priest to marry them; but in general this is too expensive, and they content themselves with the public acknowledgment of their marriages."‡ How long will it be, ere Britain is aroused to fulfil her high destiny in India, by promoting as far as her influence extends, and her ample means command, the general diffusion of the blessings of civilization and Christianity, where the people are, to use the significant language of Scripture—"sitting in darkness, and in the region and shadow of death?"

* Ham. Hind., vol. ii. p. 307.

† p. 671.

‡ Vol. i. p. 212.

CHAP. II.

The utility of colonization in India, apparent in the improvement of its produce—the increase of British trade and commerce with India, and the Eastern world—the permanence of the British power in Hindostan—increase of the civilization, and consequent happiness of its inhabitants—and the accelerated progress of Christianity, with all its valuable institutions—confirmation of the statements.

One of the first advantages, which strikes the intelligent mind, of an enlightened colonization in India is, its adaptation to promote *the improvement of the produce of the country*.

“ It will be necessary to give a detailed account of some of the staple articles of the Indian commerce, in order to illustrate the advantages derived from European industry, the mischiefs which arise out of its exclusion, and the long train of evils which originate in restrictions and monopolies. We shall select the articles of *indigo, cotton, sugar, tobacco, coffee, and pepper, as the most prominent examples.*

“ *Indigo* is the article which suffers the least from the pernicious interference of the monopoly, and nearly the only one which receives any considerable benefit from the direct application of European skill and capital. Europeans began the culture and manufacture of indigo about forty-five years ago. What was manufactured by the natives of India, prior to that time, was trash unfit for the European market, then almost wholly supplied by South America, which furnished England alone with about 1,200,000 lbs. weight. There are at present in Bengal 309 manufactories of indigo for exportation, of which *thirty-seven only* are conducted by natives, and these in imitation of the European process. The Indians, however, cannot even imitate us to any advantage with so many examples before them, and in full possession of all the land, to the complete exclusion of their competitors; for the indigo thus prepared is full 15 per cent. lower in value than that manufactured by Europeans; and as to indigo made by the old native process, it is still wholly unfit for the foreign market: and even when re-manufactured by Europeans, which is sometimes done, it is still, from the deterioration it has undergone in their hands, a very inferior commodity. The average yearly quantity of indigo produced for some time back in the British dominions in India, has ranged from eight millions five hundred thousand

to nine millions of pounds weight, worth from £2,700,000 to £3,300,000.* Here is a property worth, on an average, £3,000,000 per annum, created solely by the skill, capital, and enterprise of British-born subjects living in India, on mere sufferance. In 1786, the import of Bengal indigo into this country was 245,000 lbs. On the average of the four years ending with 1827, it amounted yearly to 6,054,799 lbs. an increase of nearly five and twenty-fold. Before Europeans undertook the manufacture of Indian indigo, it was, as already stated, so bad as to be unsaleable in any foreign market. On an average, it is now about 12½ per cent. better than South American indigo. In short, about four-fifths of the consumption of Europe, Asia, and America, is now supplied with *good* Indian indigo, a commodity which, five and forty years ago, had no existence. The benefit which some of the most important manufactures of Great Britain derive directly from this improvement on the part of their countrymen in India, is too obvious to be insisted upon. On the average of the four years ending with 1828, the total yearly consumption of Great Britain was 2,421,879 lbs. of which *one-eleventh* part only was South American, the whole of the rest being East Indian. The benefit generally conferred by the manufacture of Indian indigo on the manufactures and commerce of this country, amounts to this, that it is the principal, and nearly the only, means to be depended upon, which the monopoly-principle leaves open to enable India, to pay for *the manufactures of this country, and that it does so, to the yearly value of three millions sterling.*

"All that can be said in respect to indigo is, that it *suffers less* than other articles from the injurious effects of the monopoly-principle. To say, however, that it does not suffer, would be most untrue. The prohibition to hold lands, or to take se-

* "The following is the process of making indigo. When the plant is brought in, it is placed in a large vat filled with water, where it is left to steep, until the colouring matter is extracted, which is soon done, when it begins to ferment. The time of its steeping varies according to the heat of the weather. Great skill and judgment are necessary to know when to let off the water into the vat below. This liquor being fully impregnated with the colouring matter, is then beaten by the natives with large oars, until it appears almost like curds and whey. It requires great experience to know when it is beaten enough, to let the particles of colour sink to the bottom of the vat. When it has thus been beaten, it is left to settle; and when this is accomplished, the water is drawn off, and the sediment is carefully taken out and spread into cakes, which are cut into squares and dried. When completely dry, these cakes are packed in chests and sent to market."—Statham's Indian Recollections, 1832, p. 439.

curity on lands,—a tax equal to half the gross produce of the land imposed upon those who hold it;—the precarious and dependent footing of Europeans living beyond the protection of the King's Courts; the imperfect administration of justice in the interior;—and the hostile leaning of the Government and its agents towards all the private enterprises of British subjects, are most serious obstacles to this branch of industry. One would, indeed, have thought, without knowing the results, that they must have proved insuperable impediments to a branch of industry, which is the only one, that Europeans have been enabled to prosecute with success in India upon a large scale. But the vigour and elasticity of British enterprise are capable of conquering many difficulties, and this is a proud example of it.

“The following facts respecting the *cotton trade* will place the principle, which it is our object to illustrate, in a very clear point of view. In the year 1814, or the last of the East India Company's close monopoly, the quantity of cotton wool imported from India into Great Britain was 2,850,818 lbs.; in 1818 it rose to 67,456,411 lbs., but afterwards fell off greatly from this amount, and on the average of the five years ending with 1827 it was only 18,821,217 lbs. The cause of this is obvious enough. The rude produce, of unassisted native industry, is wholly incapable of competing with the improved produce of European industry, in the different colonies of America and elsewhere. The best East India cotton, which is that brought to this country, (for the coarsest is consumed on the spot, and the middling sort sent to China,) is *inferior in value to the worst that is brought from any other country*. It is, in short, nearly in the condition in which Indian indigo was before it was manufactured by Europeans. The East India cotton in the London market is inferior to the best West India cotton by threepence per pound. It is equal to half the value of Berbice cotton. The best cotton of the Spanish main is full 50 per cent. superior to it. Pernambuco and modern Egyptian cotton* are at least 60 per cent. better,

* “The reader is not to imagine that the Turks, or the Arabs, or the Copts of Egypt, acquired all at once the art of growing fine cotton, on the mere fiat of the Pacha. A Frenchman, of the name of Jumel, introduced a new species, or, at least, variety, of the plant, and instructed Mahomed Ali, his officers and slaves in general, in the European mode of cultivation and preparation. As appears from the examination of their mummies, the Egyptians seem to have been cultivating cotton to very little purpose, as far as quality is concerned, for about four thousand years! Monsieur Jumel did more for the improvement of this branch of husbandry in a few months, than the primitive civilization of the East, when left to itself, had been able to

while it must not be forgotten, that the old Levant cotton is just what it was before,—a coarse commodity, fit for no purpose but that of making candlewicks, to which it is well known to be appropriated. Bourbon, Manilla, and Sea Island cottons are superior in a still greater ratio. To what is such an inferiority owing, but to this, that *the skill of Europeans is directed to the culture and preparation of all these varieties, while the East India cotton is left to the rude and slovenly industry of the native inhabitants?* In fact, no attempt whatever has been made to improve the cotton of India. It is grown and prepared just as it was three hundred years ago, and in all likelihood, three thousand. The soil and climate of India must not be blamed for this. They are equal in capability to those of any other portion of the tropical world, and superior to the greater number.

"The consumption of cotton in Great Britain, for the last ten years, has been nearly doubled, and in 1828 it amounted to 732,152 bags. Let us see to what extent the British dominions in India, adding to them those of tributaries, with a suitable soil and climate, with 184,000,000 of inhabitants, and with 1,280,000 square miles of territory, have contributed, under the management of the East India Company, to the promotion of the greatest and most important of all our manufactures. On the average of the years 1827 and 1828, the annual consumption of Great Britain was 197,544,880 lbs.; of which the United States of America furnished 151,834,800 lbs.; Brazil, 17,754,880 lbs.; Egypt, 6,957,600 lbs.; the West Indies, 9,010,560 lbs.; and the East Indies, 11,987,040 lbs. The deductions to be made from this statement are sufficiently conclusive, but they are, at the same time, humiliating. We depend upon a rival commercial nation, and a nation which aims at becoming a manufacturing one, in spite of nature and circumstances, *for nearly seventy-seven parts in the hundred, of the raw material of our great staple manufacture.* The colony of a nation not only less civilized than our own, but emanating from one of the least civilized in Europe, furnishes us, from territories in the southern hemisphere, corresponding in latitude and climate, with much of the British dominions in the northern hemisphere, with nine parts in the hundred of our consumption. Egypt, where the growth of exportable cotton commenced only seven years ago, furnishes us with

effect in forty ages. So much for a people, who, in manners, customs, and civilization, are said to bear the nearest resemblance, of all others, to the Hindoos!"

four parts in the hundred of all we consume; and the dominions of the East India Company, where British sovereignty has been established for sixty-four years, contributes only the pittance of *seven parts in the hundred* to the material of our staple manufacture. This is, however, very far from depicting the whole amount of the mischief done by the exclusion of European improvement from the soil of India, even in this limited view of the evil. The United States of America not only furnish us with above twelve times the quantity that the territories of the East India Company do, but that quantity being full fifty per cent. more valuable, the true amount contributed is in reality eighteen-fold as great. Brazil not only furnishes us with above forty-eight per cent. more in quantity than India does, but the quality of what she supplies being seventy-five per cent. better, she necessarily supplies 160 per cent. more in value. But what is still more mortifying than all this, Mahomet Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, in as much as the average of his cotton is above eighty per cent. better than the average of Indian cotton, contributes more towards the support of our great staple manufacture, than the Hon. East India Company by five per cent. It appears by the American accounts, that, in the official year ending Sep. 30th, 1827, the United States exported to Great Britain and Ireland 212,707,481 lbs. of cotton wool, which would have afforded employment to about 118,170 tons of shipping. By the same accounts it appears, that of the tonnage which cleared out from the United States, from Great Britain and Ireland in that year, 218,519 tons were American, 99,114 only, British. If the exportation of cotton wool was in a due proportion to that of other articles of merchandise, (and there is no reason for supposing that it was not,) it would necessarily have afforded employment to 81,297 tons of American shipping, but only to 36,873 tons of English shipping. On the other hand, were our Indian possessions capable of supplying us with the cotton which we must now receive from the United States, the British tonnage employed, instead of being 36,873 tons, would, of course, amount to 118,170 tons, or there would be additional employment for British shipping to the extent of 81,297 tons. To what extent does the Indian cotton afford employment to British shipping? To the extent of 8,900 tons, as nearly as we can estimate it. *If such statements as these,—statements which no ingenuity or artifice can gainsay, do not open the eyes of the merchants, the manufacturers, the shipowners, and the landholders of the United Kingdom; in short, of all who are interested in the*

honour, power, and prosperity of their country, to the flagrant evils inflicted by the system of exclusion, we know not what will.

“The quantity of *sugar* imported into Great Britain from the East Indies, in 1814, was only 4,904,368 lbs. ; in 1826 it rose to 38,399,536 lbs. No less than 20,859,440 lbs., or more than one-half of this last amount was the produce of the island of Mauritius ; that is to say, the imports into this country from a small island with an area of 372,528 acres, one-eleventh part of which only is under any culture, and one-fifteenth only under the culture of the sugar-cane ;—the imports from an island with a somewhat precarious climate, and a fertility of soil not very distinguished ;—the imports from an island, that at the utmost contains a population of no more than ninety-five thousand inhabitants ; and, finally, the imports from an island, of which the British nation had possessed the sovereignty but twelve short years, are greater in the grand staple of the tropical world, not only than those of all British India, of which we have possessed the sovereignty five times as long, with its area of 600,000 square miles, its population of eighty-three millions, its fertile soil and its genial climate, but larger than those of the whole Eastern world put together, (the said small island excepted,) embracing a population of certainly not less than 300,000,000 of people ! In the first year of the free-trade system, the importation of sugar from India rose to 13,923,616 lbs., or owing to the mere impetus given by the cheap freights and abundant capital of the English trader, they were augmented at once by nearly 65 per cent. The Indian sugars, however, could neither be imported good enough, nor cheap enough, for the consumption of Europe, and for some time the importations were little better than stationary. In due time, however, the manufacture of sugar commenced in the Mauritius, and within four years from the time that the system of free trade came into operation, there were imported from that island into Great Britain 5,678,888 lbs. ; this was in 1819. In the following year there were imported from the same place 14,524,755 ; and in 1828, 27,400,887,—an augmentation of 382 per cent. in four years.

“The inequality of duty between Mauritius and other East India sugars is not the cause that the trade in the one article has been stationary, and in the other advancing with an extraordinary rapidity of increase. A new soil, as yet unexhausted by bad husbandry, the introduction of European machinery, and the superintendence of European resident proprietors, are the true causes. During the last eight years

there have been sent to the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, but chiefly to the latter, by a single iron founder, no less than *two hundred sugar mills*, the greater number of them with steam-engines attached. *To the territories of the East India Company not one has been sent.* There, under the present system, no such improvements are introduced. The existing system is, in fact, based upon the exclusion of European skill and capital, which is equivalent to the exclusion of all effectual skill and capital, from the improvement of the soil and its productions. Consequently, the sugar-cane continues to be grown in continental India by the same rude husbandry, and to be manufactured by the same miserable process as, in all probability, it was three thousand years back.

“A short description of the Indian modes of growth and manufacture will, at once, shew the reader that it is hopeless to expect from them either a good or a cheap product. The grower is a miserable peasant, without skill and without capital, paying, as a tax, to the East India Company, from fifty to sixty, and even seventy per cent. of the gross produce of the soil;—who neither manures his ground, understands how to relieve it by a rotation of crops, or makes any attempt whatever to improve the variety of the plant.* The sugar-mill consists of two small rollers, from four to six inches in diameter, turned in opposition to each other by two men, or by a wretched bullock. The boiling utensils are four small coarse earthen pots, of about the value of two-pence. The grinding, boiling, and distilling houses are one and the same, and consist of four stakes driven into the ground, with a mat over them for a roof! The first manufacturer carries the process no further than expiessating the juice, the result being an ugly brown mass, containing both the sugar and molasses. This unsightly product is carried to another description of manufacturer, fifteen, twenty, or even a hundred miles off, who re-dissolves it, and, with the assistance of alkalis to neutralize the acid which has been generated through the tedious and paltry process of his predecessor, gets, after all, no more

* “Thirty years ago, the cane of Otaheite was introduced into the West Indies, and from its vast superiority over the old varieties cultivated, both as to quantity and quality of produce, it soon superseded all others; indeed it may be said to have produced a revolution in the value of the land. This great improvement has been introduced into Java, into the Philippine Islands, and universally adopted in the Mauritius. Not so in that portion of the Indies, under the special protection of the Honourable the East India Company, where, down to the present day, *it is as little known as the tree of Knowledge.*”—*Mosley's Treatise on Sugar.*

than twenty-five per cent. of sugar, and this ill granulated, and deficient in saccharine matter. What chance can such barbarous child's play as this have, even in the fairest and most open competition, with the ingenuity, the judicious economy, the enterprise, the skill, the capital, the machinery, and, what is not less potent than all these, the commercial probity of the European colonist?

"The sugar-cane is known to be an indigenous product of India, and in fact it is, more or less, a product of agriculture in every considerable country of the vast regions comprehended under that name, from the eighth degree of south, to the thirtieth degree of north latitude, and from Persia to China, both inclusive. Of all this wide extent, there is no portion more suitable to its growth, than *our own possessions*. This, indeed, is a point so long admitted, that it would be useless to insist upon it. *To produce sugar in abundance, and to produce it of the best quality, all that is requisite is to remove the idle and pernicious restraints on the settlement of Europeans.* The effect of this must be the immediate application of European capital, skill, and machinery, to the production of the most important of all tropical commodities; and one, without a free culture and free commerce in which, half our expectations of extended commerce with the East must end in disappointment.

"*Indian tobacco* is a still more deplorable example of the slovenliness of Indian husbandry, than even cotton or sugar. This commodity has been so long and so generally cultivated, and used throughout Hindostan, that, although unquestionably a native of America only, some speculators have imagined the probability of its being also indigenous to India. Notwithstanding this long culture and long use, however, the tobacco of India, owing to the sheer ignorance and negligence of the native grower, is the very worst in the world, and nearly unfit for any foreign market; altogether so, indeed, for the market of Europe.* We have in vain looked for the article of *Indian tobacco* in the prices current of Antwerp, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and Hamburg. Even in the London prices current we can discover it but occasionally. In fact, only a trifling quantity, scarcely worth naming, has now and then been imported for trial, in the urgency and difficulty of

* "Trifling quantities of tobacco are sent to the Peguans and Malays, people less civilized than the Hindus themselves. Such are the total exports in this great staple, by one hundred and thirty-four millions of people!"

finding remittances. The following is its condition:—The mere husbandry from the first is conducted in the most slovenly manner. In gathering, the footstalks are left appended to the leaves, with a due proportion of earth and sand. The bales are packed in a careless manner, and, consequently, the article is incapable of withstanding the effects of a long voyage. In short, the commodity reaches Europe in an unmarketable state, wholly unfit for competition with what has been grown, prepared, and brought to market by a more intelligent and skilful industry. The very lowest quality of American tobacco is worth in the London market 20 per cent. more than the best Indian tobacco. The average of all American tobaccoes is above 150 per cent. better. The very finest tobacco of the United States is 650 per cent. more valuable, than the finest Indian tobacco brought to the London market. The reader is not to imagine that soil or climate has any thing to do with this inferiority. Tobacco is one of the most hardy and most universal of plants, having a geographical range of at least fifty degrees of latitude on each side of the equator.* Skill, industry, and capital alone are wanted to perfect it in India.

“With respect to the suitableness of India for the growth of tobacco, it deserves notice, that the finest sorts already grown there, are produced in latitudes exactly corresponding with those of the countries which we have just quoted, as yielding the commodity in the greatest perfection. In one or two districts, indeed, even native industry has succeeded in producing some fine parcels. It is from these that the celebrated snuff of *Masulipatam* is manufactured; but the reader must not imagine that this is the product of native ingenuity. The natives were first instructed in the art of preparing it by the French, and those who are curious in tracing inventions, will find it to this day invariably packed in bottles of French manufacture.

“Of coffee, as the growth of British India, we have very little to say, because, in reality, the production of this article is too trifling to give room for details. Small quantities of coffee have been produced, for some years back, by European speculators in the southern parts of India, but it will scarcely be credited, and yet it is strictly true, that the coffee plant, introduced a century ago in every genuine colonial possession

* See the result of some recent improvements in the cultivation of tobacco and cotton, at Cuttack in Orissa.—E. I. Mag., Oct. 1832, p. 393.

of European nations, whether in Asia or in America,* should *only have been introduced into Bengal in the year 1823*; and this, too, although its native country be within the limits of the East India Company's monopoly, and although the Company's territory be nearer to, and has had all along a far more extensive intercourse with, Arabia than any of the parties which have elsewhere cultivated the plant so early and so successfully. A few enterprising and intelligent Europeans, encouraged too by the promise of permission to hold lands on lease, (for this purpose only,) commenced the cultivation in the year 1823—and small quantities of coffee of excellent quality have been already produced. There is no article of colonial produce, which illustrates in a more forcible manner, the beneficial effects of European care and superintendence, than coffee. In fact, the success, with which it is grown and brought to market, affords no mean test of the civilization of the nation or party producing it. Its geographical limits embrace at least thirty degrees on each side of the equator. It is a hardy plant easily acclimated; nor is it remarkably fastidious, even in point of localities, preferring only mountainous tracks unfit for the growth of grain, the sugar-cane, cotton, and other staples.

“While the exclusion of European capital and industry in India has hindered the culture of coffee in that country, it is instructive to learn what the capital and industry of an inferior people has been able to accomplish in Brazil, a country, as we have already said, which, of all others, bears, in soil and climate, the nearest resemblance to our Eastern possessions. In the year 1820 the quantity of coffee produced in Brazil amounted only to 14,900,000 lbs.; in 1822 it was 24,300,000 lbs.; in 1824, 36,700,000 lbs.; in 1826, 41,600,000 lbs.; and in 1827, 57,900,000 lbs. Here is an increase, in seven years, of 43,000,000 lbs. The culture of coffee has been prosecuted in the territories of the East India Company, for a longer period than the one now stated; but the produce, instead of having increased, as in this case, by 288 per cent. is so trifling, in amount, that the commodity is not known, even by name, in the market of Europe. This is a fair example of the

* “In 1718 the Dutch began to cultivate coffee in Surinam; in 1721 the French began to cultivate it at Cayenne; in 1727 at Martinico; and in 1728 the English began to cultivate it in Jamaica.” See A treatise concerning the property and effects of coffee, by Benjamin Moseley, M. D. “In the year 1752, or *seventy-seven* years ago, the export of coffee from Jamaica was estimated at 80,000 lbs. weight, which is a great deal more than all British India at present exports of its own growth.”—*Ibid.*

effects of colonization, under very unfavourable auspices, and of the consequences of restraints and exclusions, under as favourable ones as can easily be imagined; for, in the first case, we have Portuguese colonists, with slaves for labourers, and in the last English capitalists, and a population of freemen to cultivate the soil.

“The only portions, of the Continental dominions of the East India Company, where *pepper* is grown, is the coast of Malabar; and from thence Europe was, at one period, supplied with the largest portion of its consumption. That part of India (to judge from etymological evidence) is the parent country of the plant, from whence, however, it has spread to other parts of India, being, at the same time, still confined to the Eastern world. The total produce of pepper for exportation has been estimated at 42,812,500 lbs., of which Malabar produces only 2,412,500 lbs., or little more than one-seventeenth part. In 1812 the produce of pepper in Malabar was 3,238,540 lbs. In 1826 it fell to 2,412,500 lbs. The cause of this decrease in the cultivation is but too obvious: a heavy export duty was at first levied upon the commodity, and then a land-tax still heavier, in the absurd and vexatious form of a tax on each plant. The discussion of the East India Company’s servants, respecting the mode of levying duties on this article, is exceedingly curious. One officer proposed an export duty of twenty-seven per cent, without considering, that, the Act of Parliament of 1813 did not authorize the local government to impose new duties of customs, without certain inconvenient references to England. Another, more knowing, proposed to evade the law by substituting a land-tax equal to one-fourth of the gross produce, which, in fact, as in that thinly-peopled country, *where lands fitted for the growth of the pepper vine exist in an abundance too great to be occupied*, and where, consequently, no rent can exist, was virtually a kind of excise upon capital. The land-tax, for reasons evident enough, was preferred. In the meanwhile, the culture of pepper was carried on in Sumatra, Siam, and other barbarous countries free from land-tax, free from rent, and free, for the most part, from export duties; nay, what is more remarkable still, it was carried on under circumstances equally favourable, in one of the Company’s own Eastern possessions. It was not in nature, that the inhabitants of Malabar should have been able to carry on the culture of pepper with such competition, and, consequently the pepper gardens fell into decay, or were abandoned. It is now understood, that the tax has been withdrawn, but in all probability after

the irretrievable ruin of the pepper trade. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the chief remedy for the evils which we have pointed out in the foregoing pages is European settlement, or, more explicitly, the introduction of European example—of European skill—of European enterprise, and of European capital.”*

A second advantage of Colonization would be, *the increase of British trade and commerce with India and the Eastern world.*

“A rapid view of the staple articles of export to India, and of the staple productions of that country, will exhibit, in a clear and incontrovertible manner, the evil effects of the existing system. We begin with the *articles of export*. The most valuable and important export of this country to India consists of *cotton manufactures*. This branch is nearly altogether in the hands of the private trader, and so it advances from year to year. In the year 1814, the East India Company exported manufactured cottons to the value of £16,252. This was all that the Company effected for the grand staple manufacture of the kingdom. In the same year the free trader exported to the value of £74,673. The total number of yards of cotton cloth exported to India in 1814, was 818,208, and of cotton twist 8 lbs. In 1827 the value of cotton manufactures exported to India was £1,928,487, of which the East India Company exported only £21,550 1s. 11d. worth. The total number of yards of cotton cloth exported was 42,919,222, and of cotton twist, 3,063,968 lbs. Of the first, the share of the East India Company was 630,639 yards, and of the second, 412 lbs. In thirteen years the East India Company’s trade in cotton manufactures had advanced very little more than 32 per cent.; that of the free trade had advanced in the same time by 3,832 per cent. The export of cotton manufactures to India constitutes little less than eleven parts in the hundred, of our exports to all parts of the world, in this grand staple of our industry.† This is undeniably a great and valuable branch of the national commerce, but that it has not obtained its acme may easily be proved. It has hardly reached the Chinese empire, a country of rude manufacturing industry, in comparison with Great Britain, and a country in which the raw material is so dear

* Free Trade and Colonization in India, pp. 21—40.

† “The cotton produced in this district (*Dacca*) is mostly sent to England raw, and the manufacturers of England are preferred by the people of Dacca themselves for cheapness.” Heber’s Jour., vol. i. p. 141. AVTH.

as to be yearly imported in great quantity. Hindostan alone contains 134 millions of people, for whom the supply of 1827 will afford little more than *three-tenths of a yard per head*; but to this must be added the population of India beyond the Ganges, of the Indian Islands, of Persia, and of Arabia, amounting in all, probably, to not less than 50 millions. For this aggregate population of 184 millions, 42,919,222 yards would afford little more than two-tenths of a yard for the consumption of each individual. If we add, 150 millions for the population of China, the supply will not amount, for each individual, to much more than *one-tenth of a yard*!

"The East India Company have always dealt in *woollens*, and, to the infinite detriment of the fair trader, they still persevere in doing so. The woollen trade, therefore, to India, not to mention that the free trader is wholly excluded from China, the great market for that commodity, affords a very different result from the cotton trade. In 1814 the total value of woollens exported to India, including China, was £1,084,435, of which the East India Company exported £1,064,222, and the free trader only £20,213. In 1827 the total exports of woollens to India and China amounted in value only to £817,159, or had fallen off by 23 per cent. The East India Company exported of this amount to India £126,820, and to China £413,412, or in all, £539,732, and the free trader to India only £277,427. The export of the free trader had advanced, therefore, on the limited field of India, by above 1,272 per cent., and that of the East India Company had declined by 49 per cent., or, in other words, fallen to nearly one-half of what it had been thirteen years before. The Company, notwithstanding these unsuccessful and humiliating results, perseveres, with unaccountable tenacity, in maintaining its monopoly of the woollen trade to China: it even forbids the officers of its own ships from being concerned in this favourite branch of trade; and in India, while the exportation of every other article to China (Turkey opium excepted) is free, it has enacted a law, expressly forbidding all British subjects from supplying the Chinese with this great staple of British industry! The incapacity of the Company to supply the Chinese market has conferred a very useful privilege on the commercial rivals of this country. The *Russians* supply the Chinese from the north, and the *Dutch* and *Americans* from the south. The British trader has *the satisfaction* of seeing the ships of the latter nation, *legally* clear out from the ports of the United Kingdom with cargoes of woollens and other British manufactures, while no British

ship can presume to engage in such a commerce, and while the law declares even a participation in the adventure, on the part of the British merchant, to be a misdemeanour. We put it to the common sense and common interests, of the *wool growers* and *woollen manufacturers*, whether the free trade, which, in fourteen years, raised the cotton exports to India from £90,925 in 1814, to £2,059,374 in 1828, does not afford them a fairer prospect of extending the consumption of woollens, than the patronage of the East India Company, according to the faithful statement which we have just rendered of its history?

“The India Company had long been in the habit of sending *metals*, as well as *woollens*, to India and China; and indeed, their exports to those countries were nearly altogether confined to those two articles. On the average of the eleven years, from 1781 to 1791, they exported to the yearly value of £141,985; the export of the last year named amounting only to £108,560, and being less by full £55,318 than that of the first. They exported to China in the same period, to the yearly value of £48,827, so that their total average exports were £190,812. In 1814, the first year of the free trade, the total quantity of metals exported to India was 14,334 tons, and the total value £494,970. Of this the East India Company exported 9,813½ tons, value £374,583, and the free trader only 4,520½ tons, value £120,387. In 1827, the total quantity exported rose to 34,093 tons, and the value to £768,985. Of this quantity the East India Company exported only 8,512 tons, and the free trader 25,580 tons. This subject, however, requires explanation. The metals exported in 1814 consisted only of *iron*, *steel*, *copper*, *tin*, and *lead*—the free trader has now added *brass*, *quicksilver*, and *spelter*. The East India Company deals only in *iron*, *copper*, and *lead*, relinquishing the three last-named metals to the free trader, and the benefits of this relinquishment are remarkable. The total quantity of *iron* exported in 1814 was 11,108 tons, of which the East India Company exported 7,085 tons, and the free trader 4,023 tons. The quantity of *iron* exported in 1827 was 19,261 tons, an increase only of 73 per cent. Of this the East India Company exported 5,423 tons, and the free trader 13,838 tons. In the first period the exports of the East India Company exceeded those of the free trader by full seventy-six per cent. In the last they fell short of them by sixty per cent.

“In 1814 the total quantity of *copper* exported to India and China was 1,881 tons, valued at £242,239. Of this the East

India Company exported 1,505 tons, and the free trader only 376 tons. In 1827 the quantity exported was 2,613 tons, an increase of thirty-eight per cent.; the East India Company now exported only 168 tons, or about a ninth part of what they had exported thirteen years before. The free trader exported 2,445 tons, or between six and seven-fold more than he had done in the commencement of his trade. The quantity of copper furnished to China by the East India Company out of the 2,613 tons above mentioned, (but in which, however, is included brass and manufactures of the two metals,) was 23 tons 14 cwt.

"In 1814 the total quantity of *lead* exported to India and China was 726 tons, valued at £19,393; the East India Company exporting 605 tons, and the private trader 121 tons. In 1827 the exports amounted to 4,488 tons, of which the East India Company exported 2,646 tons, a large portion of which, however, appears to consist of military stores. The free trader exported only 1,942 tons, which, however, is an advance of more than 1,500 per cent. upon his first attempt. Of the exports of the East India Company, 1,660 tons, valued at £33,359, were for the market of China. Deducting this, therefore, from the whole amount of the Company's exports, there will remain for India only 886 tons, which is exceeded by the free trade by nearly 120 per cent.

"The consumption of *spelter*, or *zinc*, in India has always been large. About £50,000 worth of this commodity, under the name of *tutenague*, used to be imported from China, whence it was smuggled,—the exportation of it from that country, as, indeed, of all other metals, being contraband. In 214 years, the East India Company had not discovered that tutenague and spelter were one and the same metal, under different names. The free trader soon discovered it, and spelter now forms one of the most valuable and important of our exports to India. In the five years ending with 1827, spelter was exported from this country to India, to the amount of 32,553 tons, (being at the rate of upwards of 6,000 tons per annum,) and to the value of £685,532. This branch of trade may, indeed, be considered as one of entirely new creation, for India is the only market which Great Britain has for the commodity. The Indians are now supplied with the article, at about one-fourth of its cost when it was supplied by China, and probably to the extent of treble the quantity.

"To the metals now enumerated, we may add *tin*, *steel*, *wrought and unwrought brass*, *pepper wares*, and *tin plates*, *plated ware*, *jewelry*, *machinery*, *small arms*, and *cannon*.

These, which are all the produce of British industry, were exported in 1827, to the declared value of £766,375, or, excluding military stores exported by the East India Company, and which must, of necessity, be exported by any British Government exercising the sovereignty of India, to the value of £536,590. The exportation even of these minor articles then exceeds by 40 per cent. the whole boon conferred by the Legislature upon British manufactures and industry, when the East India Company, bound hand and foot, came under obligations to export British produce annually, to the pitiful amount of £380,837. Other articles might easily be added. *Glass and earthenware*, for example, heretofore confined, under the monopoly, to the European consumer, have now, *by their cheapness, beauty, and suitableness, begun to reach the natives of the East from China to Arabia*. The first of these articles is by far the most considerable in amount; and we find that, on the average of the five years ending with 1827, the total annual value of it sent to India was £118,299. To these proofs, that India is an extensive market for the consumption of European productions—to this overwhelming mass of evidence, in support of what was once called ‘nothing but a sanguine theory,’ and a ‘deplorable delusion,’ we do not know that the advocates of monopoly have ventured to say any thing, beyond throwing out a hint now and then, that the private merchant is carrying on ‘a losing trade.’ It is a strange losing trade, that for fourteen years has gone on increasing year after year, and which at the end of the period, is nearly 40 per cent. more than at the beginning of it.”*

A third advantage of European colonization would be—*the permanence of the British power in Hindostan*.—

“One would expect,” says our author last quoted, “from the assertions of the advocates of restrictions, that such relations, as subsist between the people of India and ourselves, had no parallel in the history of the world. There are, however, many cases exactly similar in every essential point, and we shall advert to a few of them. The *Mahomedans* of Persia and Tartary kept these same Hindoos in subjection for *seven centuries*. They were rude, they were intolerant, they persecuted for conscience’ sake. They were, at first at least, necessarily ignorant of the language, manners, and habits of the aboriginal inhabitants; and when they became acquainted with them, it was only to treat them with derision or contempt. They altered the whole laws of the kingdom;

* Free Trade and Colonization, &c. pp. 6—15.

they imposed Mahomedan institutions, and a Mahomedan language. Yet, with all this, there were few insurrections against their authority ; and, *in the long period of seven centuries, not one successful case of rebellion.* One race of Mahomedans, and one dynasty succeeded to another race and another dynasty, in the dominion of India. The patient and docile Hindoos quietly looked on, and paid their homage and their taxes to each successive conqueror. In a word, they submitted to braver and more civilized races than themselves, which was in the natural order of things. The Mahomedans were not prohibited from occupying the soil : they, in fact, became possessed of extensive estates in land throughout the country ; but the Hindoos were not, in consequence, dispossessed. The Moslems constitute, at present, through emigration or conversion, full *one-seventh* part of the whole population ; that is, they amount to perhaps fifteen millions of settlers. Still the Hindoos hold, after so many centuries of rude dominion, by far the larger portion of the land, to the moment when we ourselves became possessed of the sovereignty of the country. This is rather a strong case. It may be rationally asked, Will one of the most civilized and humane of the nations of Europe, in a civilized age, act a worse, or a weaker part than the semi-barbarians of Persia and Tartary, in a very barbarous one ?

“ One of the most remarkable examples of dominion, maintained by foreign conquerors for a succession of ages without revolt, rebellion, or expulsion of the conquerors, there being neither prohibition to the conquerors to own land, or colonize in any other manner whatsoever, is that exercised by the present race of *Tartars* over the vast empire of China, containing double the area, and nearly twice the population of our East Indian dominions. If the circumstances of this dominion be considered, it will be found a much more wonderful event, than even the establishment of our own extraordinary empire. A mere tribe of shepherds, having nothing but their good swords to rely upon, effected the conquest of the greatest and most civilized empire in the East, in a far shorter time than was taken in the formation of our Eastern dominion, and they have kept peaceable possession for 168 years. They govern that empire apparently without any extraordinary difficulty, and with as few insurrections as can well be expected in an over-peopled country, liable from that circumstance to dearths and famines, and consequently to the anarchy and disorder which arise out of them. They go a little farther than we do ; maintaining the

military power, they surrender the civil into the hands of the native inhabitants ; we are not quite so generous ; we seize the whole military and civil power, to the entire exclusion of the conquered. We take the most effectual means to exclude capital from the country, as well as to withhold from the Hindoos the example of morals, industry, arts, and science ; and we end by pronouncing such a form of administration the most acceptable, popular, and appropriate which human wisdom could devise for the government of eighty or ninety millions of people, fifteen thousand miles distant from the power that essentially rules them. What figure would the conquerors of China have made in maintaining their dominions, had they contented themselves with the expedient of sending an army of some forty thousand men, with a few civil functionaries from the wilds of Tartary, to the rigid exclusion of the settlement and colonization of the rest of their countrymen ? The Chinese, united and intelligent far beyond the inhabitants of Hindostan, would not have endured the silly experiment for a moment ; and fortunately for the Manchou Tartars, they had no East India Company to persuade them into such a blunder.

“ The illustration afforded by the history of *Turkish* and *Russian* conquest and dominion is, perhaps, more in point than any others, and we shall briefly refer to them. The history of *Turkish* conquest is shortly, but with sufficient accuracy, as follows :—A tribe of shepherds from Tartary wrests its Asiatic dominions from the remnant of the Roman Empire, —passes the Hellespont, —overwhelms the most civilized state of the fifteenth century, and keeps possession of the finest portions of Europe for three hundred and seventy-six years, the conquerors, even when fully settled and colonized, not exceeding in number *one-fifth* part of the conquered inhabitants ; many of the latter being scarcely less warlike than themselves ; —being for the most part opposed to them in religion, manners, and interests ; and being, moreover, excited to, or abetted in, rebellion for at least a century back by a powerful and warlike neighbour. To what are we to ascribe this permanency in the Turkish dominion, under auspices apparently so unpropitious ? No doubt in a great measure, to the same causes which give stability to our own dominion in India, and which promise, under almost any probable circumstances, however blundering and unskilful our management, to give it a long duration, namely, —the diversity of languages, manners, religions, and interests of the conquered ; their ignorance of, and indifference to, political freedom, and the facility

consequent upon all this, of employing them as tools for securing each other's submission. About *a dozen nations*, speaking as many languages, form the aggregate of the Turkish population. Among twenty-four millions of people, the conquerors scarcely form, throughout, above one-fifth part; yet this fraction has been sufficient, taking the average of Turkish conquests, to have maintained a dominion of four centuries' duration. It is needless to add, that the making and maintaining of the Turkish conquests have depended solely on the principle of settlement and colonization. Two millions of Turks, possessing as governors no good quality, save personal courage, have, when settled in Europe, proved adequate to a long maintenance of authority over eight millions of Christians; and others: but surely nine hundred or a thousand Turks, the proportion of the English to their Indian subjects, never could have effected such a purpose. The extravagant and unprofitable experiment, which the skill of the English on the one side, and the superior docility of the Hindoos on the other, has rendered practicable in our case, would, in reference to the blundering barbarism of the Turks, and the superior energy and intelligence of their subjects, be too ridiculous to imagine.

"The history of Russian conquests is still more to our purpose. The *Russians* proceed on principles diametrically opposite to those we have adopted in our Indian administration; and it is obvious to common sense, that they owe their success and their security to doing so. The nations subject to the Russian dominion amount to about seventeen millions of people, spread over an area said to be equal to a ninth part of the habitable globe, and that part too, one abounding in extraordinary difficulties of communication. Russia, like Great Britain and Turkey, owes, no doubt, much of the facility with which she maintains her dominion, to the diversity of tribes, religions, languages, customs, and modes of civilization almost infinite, which prevail among the people subject to her authority. Among these there are about *sixty distinct nations*, with as many languages; and as to forms of religion, we have the Christian and Mahomedan, with all their sects; we have Jews, Hindoos, Worshippers of fire, and followers of the Grand Lama. The aggregate of energy, of the warlike spirit, and of the rude spirit of independence, is, however, far greater in the conquered subjects of Russia, than in the Indian population subject to Great Britain. If to this, again, we add the inferior resources of Russia, in comparison to England, or, what is the same thing, her inferior civilization;

and if we take also into account the greater distance of her resources, or what is equivalent to this, her inferior means of speedy communication with her distant conquests, we shall be convinced, at once, that the task which Russia has to perform, in maintaining her dominion, is a far more difficult and gigantic one, than ours in maintaining our Indian.

“With respect to colonization, every one knows that it is the policy of Russia, not only not to discourage it, but to give it the most positive encouragement. The Russian Government having no preserve of patronage to hedge in,—no territorial resources to throw away, affects no unfounded jealousy of Russian subjects. On the contrary, it has recourse to colonization as the cheapest, safest, and most efficacious means of maintaining its authority in its distant possessions. This course it has systematically pursued for full three centuries, and with a safety, success, and advantage which are sufficiently known. Russians are found as colonists from Wologda and Woronesch to Kamschatka and to Chinese Tartary. But the liberality of Russia is far from being confined to native Russians, or to Russian subjects. The Russian Government may be said to invite all the world to settle in its dominions, and to have no more apprehension of strangers than of its own subjects. Among colonists of the latter description are to be found *Servians, Albanians, Wallachians, Moldavians, Poles, Germans, French, and even English and Hindoos!* The *Germans* alone amount to nearly half a million. Has the misconduct of these colonists driven the conquered inhabitants into rebellion?—have they polluted the simple manners of the natives; or have they proved idle and useless intruders where they have settled? Quite the contrary;—they have raised flourishing cities in the heart of Siberia; explored mines of the useful and precious metals in the same country; cleared, cultivated, and peopled the desert banks of the Wolga, and, by the introduction of the silk-worm, the vine, and the olive, given a new character, and a new aspect to the Crimea.

“Our own country affords remarkable examples of a peaceful submission to foreign conquerors, and of the benefits derived from the amalgamation of conquerors with conquered. The *Romans* (the relative states of society in the world being considered) were, when they conquered Britain, substantially as distant from it as we are now from India; yet they subjugated a people more brave, more untractable, more untameable than the Hindoos—occupying a country less accessible to

invasion and conquest ; and, imposing upon them their language, laws, and institutions, held them in peaceful subjection for between *three and four centuries*. There was no prohibition to Roman subjects to settle, to colonize, or, in a word, to improve the natives by their capital, their industry, or their example. The stability of the Roman dominion appears to have been confirmed by a policy the very reverse of this. Hume, speaking of Agricola, the ablest and the wisest of the conquerors of Britain, eulogizes him in the following strain, for doing that which a company of merchants would have us believe must ruin us :—‘ He introduced law and civility among the Britons, taught them to desire and raise all the conveniences of life, reconciled them to the Roman language and manners, instructed them in letters and science, and employed every expedient to render those chains which he had forged both easy and agreeable to them. The inhabitants having experienced how unequal their own force was to resist that of the Romans, acquiesced in the dominion of their masters, and were gradually incorporated in that mighty empire.’—The Romans were succeeded by the *Saxons*, a rude and ferocious people, who were equally successful in maintaining their authority. The Saxons were succeeded by the *Danes*, and these by the *Normans*. *The Ancient Britons never regained their independence.* In fact, where shall we find in the page of history, one example of a rude people permanently conquered by a brave and a more civilized race than themselves, regaining their liberty and independence, and expelling their conquerors ? Another race of foreign conquerors may supplant us in India ; but we have nothing whatever to fear from its native inhabitants. The people of the East are, and have been in all ages, more passive and pusillanimous than the people of the West. The dark-coloured races are more passive than any of the fairer races of men. The Roman dominion over the more manly and free nations of the West scarcely lasted *six hundred years* ; over the timid and subservient nations of the East it lasted *one thousand years longer* :—such a prospect as this ought to satisfy our thirst for oriental dominion.

“ From the confidence with which the arguments against European settlement, as respects India, have been urged, we might be almost tempted to believe that all experience was on the side of the advocates of restriction ; and that the East India Company was deterred, by some awful precedent, from following the example of other people. Colonization has,

however, been pursued, *even in India*, not only with safety, but with advantage, and that an advantage, too, invariably proportioned to the extent to which it has been carried. The colonists, in such cases, have not only produced no danger to the mother country, but, in every emergency, proved its best support. The name of *Portugal*, from the feebleness of that power in Europe, would hardly have been known in India in the present day, had she not acted, from the very first, on the principle of colonization and settlement. The consequence of her having done so, however, is, that the Portuguese name and language, and even Portuguese influence, are at present more generally and widely diffused throughout the East, than those of any other European nation. The free settlement of Europeans has been acted upon in the *Philippine Islands* for about four centuries, among a far less hospitable race than the Hindoos. It is not enough to say, in this case, that the practice has been safe only; the *Spanish* dominion could neither have been established nor maintained without it; the European settlers not only preserve the country from insurrection, but protect it from foreign aggression. It is their union and amalgamation with the natives of the country, that have saved the dominions of the Philippines to Spain, even in her present state of colonial weakness.

"In the larger portion of the great island of *Java*, European settlement has been tolerated for about two centuries, and *Dutch* colonists hold great and extensive landed possessions. This is just the part of the island where there has never been an insurrection. On the other hand, insurrections and formidable rebellions have been frequent in those portions of the country where European colonization has been forbidden by law: nay, more, *it is a matter of notoriety, that the arbitrary expulsion of European settlers, holding leases of land, from which the native proprietors were deriving signal advantage in that interdicted portion, was one great cause of the present ruinous war in the island!*

"The same principle has been acted on in *Ceylon*, with its Hindoo, its Mahomedan, and its Cingalese population. When we received the government from the Dutch, eight out of the twelve members of the council of government were colonial landholders, men born in the country. No sooner did the administration fall into the hands of the East India Company, than the danger of colonization was again conjured up, and the usual prohibition duly enacted. His Majesty's Government, in humble imitation, continued it for a short period, but, seemingly ashamed of such a piece of folly, took off this

prohibition in 1810, and still more completely in 1812. Some years after this a formidable insurrection took place in the Candian provinces, where there were no European colonists; if there had, most probably there would have been no insurrection, or, at all events, that insurrection would not have come upon the Government as it did, surprised, and unprepared.* The impression of these facts, gathered from the history of so many nations must be irresistible, in favour of British colonization in the East.

The civilization, and consequent happiness of the inhabitants of India, would be greatly promoted by colonization.

The British Government in the East, has doubtless been a great blessing to its numerous subjects; but that happiness has been increased, in proportion to the humanity and liberality by which it has been administered. Its approximation to the principles of an enlightened people has been attended with great benefit. The increase of Europeans in India would be accompanied by a greater portion of moral power, the infusion of which, in the institutions of the people and the general proceedings of their rulers, would promote the welfare of all classes of society. The following fact may afford a pleasing specimen. The permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis, was a very beneficial regulation. "The measure which introduced this change in the tenure of land has been, in its general effect, *an infinite blessing to the country*, by the creation of a permanent interest in improvement, and the security which it affords to possession. Before its establishment the most fertile provinces on the banks of the Ganges, were subject, under our Government, to almost periodical famine, which swept away millions of men, and villages by thousands; reducing, in the language of Lord Cornwallis, 'a third of the Company's territories to the condition of a wilderness, inhabited only by wild beasts.'[†] Since its operation began, these villages have been rebuilt, and these wildernesses have been covered with beautiful harvest."

To the sentiments of the late Bishop Heber considerable deference will be given. He observed, "Lord Cornwallis's famous settlement of Zemindary rents in Bengal, is often severely censured here, as not sufficiently protecting the ryots, and depriving the Government of all advantage from

* Free Trade and Colonization, pp. 42—49, 76, 77.

† "The first year of his (Mr. Carter's) administration, (1770) was distinguished by one of those dreadful famines which so often affect the Provinces of India; a calamity by which more than *a third* of the inhabitants of Bengal were computed to have been destroyed." Mill's Hist., vol. iii. p. 431.

the improvements of the territory. They who reason thus, have apparently forgotten, that *without such settlements those improvements would never have taken place*. Almost every Zemindary which is brought to the hammer, (and they are pretty numerous!) is divided, and subdivided, each successive sale, among smaller Proprietors; and that the progress is manifestly going on to a minute division of the soil among the actual cultivators, and subject to no other burdens than a fixed and very moderate quit rent,—a state of things by no means undesirable in a nation, and which only needs to be corrected in its possible excess, by a law of primogeniture, and by encouraging, instead of forbidding, *the purchase of lands by the English*. On the desirableness of this last measure, as the most probable means of improving the country, and attaching the peasantry to our Government, *I find in Calcutta little difference of opinion*. All the restriction which seems necessary, is, that the Collectors of the Company's taxes shall not be allowed to purchase within the limits of their districts: and if the same law were extended to their Hindoo and Mussulman deputies, a considerable source of oppression which now exists, would be dried up, or greatly mitigated.*

“The revenues of the Indian Government (says the Westminster Review) would ultimately, and, to some extent, immediately, be benefited by the settlement of Europeans. They would pay for these estates—redeem the land tax—advance public improvements—become instruments and valuable agents on a thousand occasions—they would purify the public morals—elevate the line of civilization, and, in a word, become central sources whence the stream of improvement would be poured forth. They, too, would form a nucleus of defence against foreign invasion infinitely more valuable and economical than any standing army. The story of the long endurance of the Roman sway has been often told. They amalgamated with those whom they conquered, and elevated their descendants to the same immunities themselves enjoyed. It became, after one generation had passed away, a pride and a privilege to be a member of a Roman colony.”†

The utility of Europeans in India, will appear by the following statements from Hamilton, who will be considered an impartial person.—“The most valuable products of the District of *Moorshedabad* are silk and indigo; but the works, erected by the Europeans for the manufacture of the latter, are

* Heber's Jour., vol. ii. p. 300. † West. Rev., Oct. 1829, pp. 23, 24.

viewed by the zemindars with great jealousy, (although manifestly tending to increase the produce of their lands,) on account of the protection which the factories afford to the under tenants against the exactions of their landlords."*

"By the exertions of Mr. Smith, (a merchant who settled here in 1810,) the town of *Nauthpore* was greatly improved, the streets widened and straightened, the communications cleared, and much jungle cut down. Mr. S. also induced workmen in brick to come from *Nepaul*, where they are more skilled in building, as living almost entirely in brick houses, and several of the natives were persuaded to erect brick dwellings."† The reader will, doubtless, notice the influence of a single merchant.

"*Mirzapore* is at present one of the greatest inland trading towns, and has long been, and still continues, the mart for all the cotton of Agra and the Mahratta countries. The inhabitants are more remarkable for their active industry, than in any part of the Company's dominions out of the three capitals, to which they have been greatly stimulated by the energy and enterprise of the British indigo planters and merchants settled near them."‡

"The town of *Banda*, which a few years ago was a village, is now become a large and populous place; its prosperity having been greatly accelerated by the *gunge*, or mart, and other works erected by Mr. Richardson, while Magistrate of the District."§

Let Europeans be allowed freely to settle in India, and what would be the pleasing result? Education would be extended;—schools and colleges would be established;—places of public worship would be erected, and the general welfare of the original inhabitants promoted;—knowledge would be diffused, and the press, in connexion with the labours of Missionaries and the regular Ministers of the Gospel, would make a powerful impression. What is the result of a contrary policy?—

"Wide o'er the regions of the Orient world,
Her murderous sway dark Superstition holds;
And the far Occident still sees unfurld
Slavery's black banner float in ample folds.

"The burning altar smokes,—and wrapp'd in flame
The widow dies,—a living victim bound:
While Juggernaut's grim car rolls on the same,
Wheeling o'er human necks its impious round.

* Ham. Hind., vol. i. pp. 161, 177.

† p. 311.

† p. 238.

§ p. 325. Of *Delhi*, see p. 421, and vol. ii. p. 327.

“Reeking with blood the East lights up her pyres,
 Where idol gods through frantic crowds are borne;
 And in the West are kindling other fires,
 'Mid chains and groans, and mingling hate and scorn.

“To cheer the gloom of these benighted skies,
 The *Press*, its radiance o'er the darkness flings;
 The *Herald of that Sun* which soon will rise,
 With freedom, peace, and healing on its wings!”*.

The accelerated progress of Christianity in India, with all the valuable institutions which it fosters, may be confidently anticipated from an enlightened colonization.

“The great majority of British sojourners in India are in the Bengal provinces, and a vast number of these within the comparatively narrow limits of the town of Calcutta; the whole number of such sojourners does not exceed *three thousand persons*, of which we compute that about two-thirds are inhabitants of Calcutta; the remaining third, dispersed and powerless, being scattered over the nearly 600,000 square miles beyond its limits. It is, therefore, in the European towns alone, and especially in Calcutta, that there exists any thing like an efficient cause for change and improvement; and, considering the smallness of the means, change and improvement have, since the era of the free trade, been great and remarkable. One striking example may be given. The native inhabitants of Calcutta having been admitted to sit as petty jurymen in criminal cases, an official list of qualified persons was duly published. The qualification, in respect to education, was, such a knowledge of the English language as should enable the party to follow the judge in his charge; and in point of property, an estate of the value of £500 sterling, or the payment of a house rent of £5 per annum. Persons possessing an estate of the value of £20,000 were exempted from serving on common juries. The lists, admitted to be imperfect, shewed eighty-four qualified Indians, of whom no less than fifty-seven were men possessing an estate of £20,000 or upwards.

“The number of schools instituted at Calcutta and its vicinity, for the instruction of natives in English education, during the last few years, is extraordinary. In the City, there are twenty private religious, or benevolent institutions engaged, directly or indirectly, in the promotion of European education. In some of these, natives of the highest rank and greatest

* *Ori. Herald*, Jan. 1824.

wealth have associated themselves with Europeans. Five years ago, there were, in Calcutta or its neighbourhood, forty-three private schools, for the instruction of the Indians in English. As to disinclination to European learning, this is wholly out of the question. On the contrary, both the interests and the practical good sense of the natives lead them to give it a decided preference, notwithstanding some foolish attempts made to restrain them, by diverting their principal attention to the barren field of their own languages, literature, and philosophy! Even the Hindoo religion seems to be giving way before the light of reason; and it is well it should, for, independent of its spiritual consequences, the influence which this degrading superstition exercises over civil society, is pernicious and demoralizing, far beyond that of any other known form of worship.

"English laws and institutions, at least such as are suitable and rational, are equally popular with the Hindoos, notwithstanding the pains taken at one period to convince the English public to the contrary, and to make them believe that they were unalterably attached to their own. What but this attachment has peopled the towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay? What but this partiality makes a real property in Calcutta worth twenty years' purchase, when in the provinces it is not worth five? What but this makes a Hindoo contented with an interest of five or six per cent. for his money in the capital, when he might receive in the provinces twenty or twenty-four? The Indians, in short, are thoroughly imbued with a just sense of the advantages of being considered British subjects, and of living under the protection of English law. When the natives, living within the pale of the English law, contrast their own prosperity and security with the poverty, disorder, and anarchy of the provinces, how should they feel otherwise?

"Some eminent persons have expressed an opinion, that the Hindoos stood in no need of improvement, or at all events that they were not likely to be bettered by any intercourse with us. This wanton hypothesis is fortunately nearly obsolete. If it be right, that a mischievous, degrading, and often a blood-thirsty superstition should be supplanted by rational religion,—that knowledge should supersede ignorance,—that feebleness and sloth should give way to energy and industry,—that poverty should be exchanged for wealth,—then the Hindoos stand in need of improvement, and it is our duty not to refuse it to them.

"If the account given of the predilection of the Hindoos and other Indians, for our language, literature, useful institutions, and knowledge, be just, (and we have full reliance upon its being so,) every Indian, who acquires an English education, becomes, of necessity, a convert to what may be called our political opinions, and consequently an additional support to our dominion. Should the natives abandon their own superstitions, (the matter is already in progress,) and adopt our religious opinions, this will be an additional tie. Their conversion, whether civil or religious, must necessarily be gradual, and will be the safer and more efficient for being so; but every convert, of either description, will be an additional stay to the support of our dominion. Every conquest of this description, which we make upon the province of ignorance and dissatisfaction, will be a fresh accession to our own strength. The result, hitherto at least, has been exactly what we are describing it. Those among the natives who understand our language and manners, and whom experience has taught to appreciate our institutions, are invariably found to be the most faithful of our subjects; indeed, perhaps the only portion of our Indian subjects at all attached to our rule,—the only portion, in truth, who have any good reason for it."*

The late Marquis of Hastings, whose enlightened attachment to the cause of education in India is well known, expressed himself in the following language, to one of the addresses presented on his resigning the Government of India, Jan. 1823.—"I do indeed join with you sincerely, in reckoning upon a permanent and advantageous change, in the condition of a vast portion of the Indian people. Security and leisure will afford opportunities for the active influence of the moral instruction which we labour to disseminate; and moral instruction cannot be diffused without promoting the happiness of society. Were this anticipated, merely in *a moderate circle*, there would be comfortable reflection in having contributed even, in a minor degree, to such consequences; but when one looks to the immense population to which it is hoped this powerful agency will apply, there is a triumph in having co-operated in a purpose worthy of our country, though my share in the effort may not have gone beyond the giving *impulse* to the able instruments around me." Let Britain pursue the work of civilizing and evangelizing India, and it will raise, to adopt the language of one of the addresses to his Lordship;—"A moral monument to the British character,

* Free Trade and Colonization, &c., pp. 83—87.

in every way superior to the palaces, the tombs, and the mosques of native emperors, which are now in ruins."

The natural and beneficial influence of Christianity in promoting the happiness of a people, is very justly stated by the "*Friend of India*."—"It was not the intention of Christianity to prescribe a general code of civil and municipal law for all mankind; this would, in itself, have been impossible; for men, in different stages of civilization, require different, and, sometimes, directly opposite laws; the progress and the decay of nations, require a diversity of legislation. Christianity aimed at a nobler object. It struck at *the root of human misery*, and pointed its weapons against the principle rather than the development of evil; against that fatal principle, which adapts itself to all the various states of society. Human misery, whether among civilized or barbarous nations, has its foundation in the heart, in the degeneracy of the moral principle; political causes, though concurring to the same unhappy result, are but of a secondary order. Divine Revelation therefore, ascends to the primary cause, and labours to eradicate the principle of moral evil, and to implant in its stead, just sentiments respecting our duty both towards God and our fellow creatures. Let these just moral sentiments take root in the heart, and civil and political improvements will necessarily follow. Wherever the benign influence of Christianity is felt, society advances with rapid strides to the attainment of whatever confers dignity and happiness on man; and it is only because its influences are unfelt or neutralized, that so much misery remains on the earth. To reason from its perversion rather than from its tendency, is against every rule of logic; to lay to its charge the miseries which have grown out of the subversion of its principles, is to deviate widely from truth. We are fairly borne out in asserting, that it is the natural tendency of Christianity to produce such happy effects on the temporal prospects of man, and that every obstacle to its progress, in any country, is equally an obstacle to its national prosperity."*

Confirmation of the above statements is scarcely necessary, but the sentiments of a few public characters may be read with interest.

"We might benefit both ourselves and India, by an enlightened system of colonizing portions of that fertile country; and the arts of Britain would yield a manifold return to us, if restored to their original climes of the East. The Roman me-

* *Friend of India*, May 1825, pp. 48, 49, 52.

thod of *a chain of colonies*, over the remote provinces of India, would both tend to secure the country and would spread a taste for our arts and manufactures."* (*Douglass.*)

"If Europeans of character and capital were allowed to settle in the country, with the permission of the Indian Board, the Court of Directors, or the Local Government, it would greatly improve the sources of the country, and also the condition of the native inhabitants, by shewing them superior methods of cultivation, and the proper mode of treating their labourers and dependents."† (*Ram Mohun Roy.*)

"With a view to encourage the residence of British subjects in my dominions, for the better civilization of my people, and the introduction of various arts and sciences, I hereby assure them of my special protection. They shall have free liberty to dwell therein; to build ships, and houses, and cultivate lands; to carry on lawful trade and traffic; to come and go at their own will and pleasure, without let and hinderance of any kind, and *without payment of any duty or tax than before mentioned.*" (*Radama, King of Madagascar.*)

"Of all the interests which have ever been submitted to the consideration of men, those of India are the most extensive. The good or the evil which an administration may do, has never been presented in proportions sufficiently colossal. If the English public once begin to think about them, they will soon be interested: they will no longer be able to exclude from their thoughts the consideration of all the good which they may do, and all the evil which they may avoid. But that apathy with which the human mind always considers things that are far distant, must first be conquered.

"In effect, the English will see unfolded to them such details of injustice, such traits of rapacity, of despotism, of corruption, as will shock them, still more from the stigma this will affix to the English name. They will deem themselves responsible before God and man for the fate of *a hundred millions* of subjects, which they have acquired by means stained with many crimes, and to whom they have given the most absurd government that can be imagined. Then will the whole community unite their voices in the general clamour; every one will reproach himself for his former silence and apathy; every one will second, with all his power, the general efforts to prepare, from that time, the abolition of the Company at the expiration of the Charter. Who would not

* Douglass' Prospects of Britain.

† E. I. Mag., March 1832.

blush, in short, to have confided the government of a country so important to the human race, to a company of merchants? to have considered the fate of human beings as a *commercial speculation*? to have consented that the happiness or the misery of thousands of individuals, the progress of civilization or barbarism, true religion or polytheism, of moral education or ignorance, should melt away into half-pence and farthings, to the account of profit and loss, in the books of an anonymous society? to have, in fact, constituted a divided sovereignty, cut up into scrip receipts or bonds, which are bought and sold daily, according to the state of the market; so that the sovereign of yesterday, is a stranger to India to-day, and may become sovereign again to-morrow, only because he has taken advantage of the variation of half per cent., to sell out or re-purchase a certain portion of India stock."*—*(Sismondi.)*

"If it were possible," says Mr. Mill, "for the English Government to learn wisdom by experience,—which governments rarely do,—it might here, at last, see with regret, some of the effects of that illiberal, cowardly, and short-sighted policy, under which it has taken the most solicitous precautions to prevent the settlement of Englishmen in India; trembling, forsooth, lest Englishmen, if allowed to settle in India, should detest and cast off its yoke! The most experienced persons in the Government of India describe, what to them appears the difficulty, almost or altogether insuperable, of affording protection either to person or property, in that country, without the assistance of persons of the requisite moral and intellectual qualifications, rooted in the country, and distributed over it in every part. They unite in declaring that there is no class in India, who possess these qualifications; that the powers necessary for an efficient police cannot be entrusted to the zemindars, without ensuring all the evils of a gross and barbarous despotism. And they speak with admiration of the assistance rendered to government, by the gentlemen distributed in every part of England. Is it possible to avoid seeing, and seeing, not acknowledge, the inestimable service which might have been derived, in this great exigency, from a body of English gentlemen; who, if they had been encouraged to settle, as owners of land, and as manufacturers and merchants, would at this time have been distributed in great numbers, in India. Not only would they have possessed the requisite moral and intellectual qualifications—things of

* Ori. Herald, vol. x. pp. 419—423.

inestimable value; they would have possessed other advantages also of the highest importance." (*Mill, Historian of British India.*)

"The present system of licensing individuals who proceed to reside in India, can be conveniently and advantageously relaxed. In the absence of all restrictions upon individuals, there certainly would not be any formidable efflux of needy adventurers; they could not get to India if they would. India does not afford a possible means of subsistence to either the mere agricultural peasant or the lowest description of artisan. The agricultural peasant could not compete for three months with the Indian cultivator, for many reasons. It would be advantageous, to encourage the resort to India, of individuals possessing more or less capital. No benefit arises from the prohibition of Europeans to possess, or occupy, lands in the interior, and they should be permitted to possess lands, provided the Natives are guarded against their oppression, by making the European possessors of land, in the interior, amenable to the Company's Courts; the less the supreme Court is allowed to interfere the better. It would be the direct interest of any European, embarking capital in manufacturing or commercial speculation in India, to cultivate the good opinion and to secure the co-operation of the Natives; common good policy would cause him to do so. This being the interest of the European, and if the protection afforded to the Natives by the courts of justice is improved, no danger would result from an unrestrained admission of Europeans into the interior; and there would not be the slightest objection to their being allowed to go thither. The class of persons who would go out to India would have some small degree of capital, and would generally be people of respectability, who would have a knowledge of their own interests."* (*C. Lushington, Esq.*)

"The settlement of Europeans would be advantageous to India; the revenue would be benefited by taxes on the articles he consumes; the general wealth of the country would be increased by improvements in its productions; his example would introduce among many of the Natives some European habits, which are habits of greater comfort and expense than native habits. Increased production, commerce, and consumption, will render the taxes more productive; and every improvement in agriculture must add to the rent of the land, the main source of revenue to the state; irrigation would

* E. I. Mag., June 1832, p. 562.

render much land highly productive, that is now comparatively unproductive; and, since the rent of all waste land, not specially assigned, belongs to the Government, there would be an accession of revenue in all cases in which such land might be brought under tillage. Intercourse with Europeans leads to the use of wine and spirits; and the servants of Europeans are better clothed and housed than others. At Calcutta, there is a very marked tendency among the Natives to indulge in English luxuries; they have well-furnished houses, watches, carriages, and wines. European capitalists would improve the cultivation, manufactures, and commerce of India, especially in sugar, indigo, cotton, and tobacco. Instead of danger, there would be additional security from any number of Europeans likely to visit India; they would be very useful agents of police, and centres of information. They would have great influence over those connected with them; they would be bound to England by a common feeling; for they never can become sufficiently strong to be independent of England."* (*Holt Mackenzie, Esq., late Secretary to the Bengal Government.*)

"The real source of our strength, next to our military power and skill, being the unity of purpose and justice of principle which have distinguished our Government, the security of our dominion cannot fail to be increased by every measure tending to remove needless distinctions, and to combine all classes in the administration of the laws."† (*The Right Hon. C. Grant, President of the Board of Control.*)

"A more general residence of Europeans would certainly be attended with great advantages, if they carried capital or skill with them to India; but, I think that any unrestricted residence of Europeans in India, would be productive of more harm than good."‡ (*Hon. M. Elphinstone.*)

"In every point of view, colonization is the only remedy, the 'one thing needful,' for the salvation of Hindostan; whether we look to augmenting the efficiency of the civil Government, and enabling it to fulfil the duties to which it is now confessedly inadequate, without an addition to its expenditure, which the revenue of the country could never support; or the defence of the country against foreign invasion, without rendering it onerous, out of all proportion, to the mother country; or, lastly, to the improvement and well being of the subject millions committed to our sway, and the eventual

* E. I. Mag., April 1832, p. 342.

† E. I. Mag., August 1832.
‡ Asi. Jour., Nov. 1831, p. 270.

establishment of Christianity over some of the fairest portions of the habitable globe."* (*The Author of Reflections on the present state of British India.*)

Lord Grenville, in a speech during the Parliamentary discussions, at the renewal of the Indian Charter, in 1813, has the following beautiful and philosophical passage:—"To what extent this trade [of *India*] may then be carried, presumptuous indeed would be the man who shall now venture to pronounce. On what evidence, what conjecture, would he found his judgment? What present knowledge, what past experience of *India* could possibly decide that question? 'No commerce,' *Trebatius*, or *Quintus Cicero*, returning from a campaign in *Britain*, would probably have informed the Roman senate, 'no commerce can ever be carried on with that uncivilized, uncultivated island, divided absolutely from the whole world by tempestuous and unnavigable seas, and inhabited only by naked and houseless barbarians.' 'No commerce,' some sage counsellor of *Henry* or *Elizabeth* might, with equal authority, have assured those monarchs, 'can ever be opened with the dreary wilds of *North America*, a land covered with impenetrable forests, the shelter only of some wandering tribes of the rudest and most ferocious savages.' Yet of these predictions the folly might be palliated by the inexperience. In the defect of better knowledge, such conjectures might even pass for wisdom. But what shall we say to those who deny the possibility, not of opening new sources for the commerce of mankind, but of enlarging its present channels? Who tell us, that the trade we now carry on with *India* must, in all future times, be limited to its actual amount? Strange and unprecedented necessity! which has thus set bounds to human industry and enterprise, arrested the progress of commercial intercourse, and by some blasting and malignant influence, blighted the natural increase of social improvement. With full and confident assurance, may we repel these idle apprehensions. By commerce, commerce will increase, and industry by industry. So it has ever happened, and the great Creator of the world has not exempted *India* from this common law of our nature. The supply first following, the demand will soon extend it. By new facilities, new wants and new desires will be produced. And neither climate, nor religion, nor long-established habits, no, nor even poverty itself, the greatest of all present obstacles, will ultimately refuse the benefits of such an intercourse to the native

* *Oriental Herald*, April 1829, pp. 114—123.

population of that empire. They will derive from the extension of commerce, as every other people has uniformly derived from it, new comforts and new conveniences of life, new incitements to industry and new enjoyments, in just reward of increased activity and enterprise.”*

“What then,” says *Lord Teignmouth*, in his reply to Major Scott Waring, “is our obvious policy?—to implant in the minds of the Natives principles, that if they reason at all, they may reason to some beneficial consequence;—such as will connect attachment with allegiance, and give them an interest in the prosperity of our European Government; in other words, the principles of the Christian Religion. Major Scott Waring asks, if it can be supposed possible, ‘that thirty thousand British subjects could retain an empire containing fifty millions of people, if the Christian Religion was universal in India?’ The question will not at this time be deemed to require a solution; and on his principles the case will never occur. But it is more pertinent to ask, whether the British dominion in India, would not acquire additional solidity, by the accession of a body of Natives united to us by the bond of a common faith? The Major foresees no danger in the operation of bigotry, superstition, and prejudice, which, whilst they exist in their present force, must oppose a bar to the cordial union between the Natives of India, and their European Rulers. I see the subject in a different light, and without wishing to circumscribe the limits of that toleration which has been hitherto adopted, feel the necessity of introducing a principle of counteraction and melioration, by implanting amongst them the doctrines of Christianity.”†

The Author cannot better close this chapter, than by the following glowing paragraph from “*Chenevix on National Character*:”—

“It is by the empires which Britain has created, by the degree of civilization which she has diffused, and the tracts of earth over which she has spread it, that she must be judged by posterity. The only rule for appreciating nations is to compare original means with the ends attained; and in what nation did the latter ever shew such an excess above the former as in Britain? The Greeks had greater natural advantages, but used them not so wisely. The Romans did for themselves as much as a people could do; but the rest of mankind felt rather their ambition than their benevolence. Among modern states, not one could be named that has disseminated so much good, and so little evil, as England. Spain and Portugal discovered new seas and lands: England discovered and enlightened them. Germany

* West. Rev., Oct. 1830, p. 15.

† Considerations on communicating to the Natives of India the knowledge of Christianity. 1808, p. 89.

has not been in a situation favourable to maritime adventures. France, with extensive coasts, and all the power and knowledge which could make her great by sea, has indeed completed voyages of circumnavigation; but she has planted few colonies, and can appeal to no deserts, once unpeopled, to prove that the men who now inhabit them are her offspring. The public monuments of England can bear no comparison with the stupendous edifices which the Romans erected in their conquests. They are surpassed by those of ancient Greece, of modern Italy, and of nations much inferior in the arts of embellishment. Upon the useful establishments which make her present superiority, and so far surpass the conceptions of all other nations, time can more easily lay its pitiless hand, than upon hewn stone and brass. The roads, six times as numerous, and incomparably more practicable than in any other country, must leave less traces behind them than the ancient causeway; and, overgrown with grass, their thin beds of loose pebbles may be turned up by the ploughshare. Their present perfection may make their obliteration more easy. The canals which now are thronged with traffic; which in their ordinary course are so modest, though so magnificent when any obstacle is to be overcome; may more easily burst their dikes, or be filled up with mud, than those whose boast was architecture, not trade. The subterraneous works of the greatest city of the world, the dwelling of more than a million and a half of men, may lie underground forgotten, and leave no towering arch to strike the eye, like the Appian or the Clodian aqueducts. Envy, too, may pen the history of England, and rival nations gratify their enmity by detraction. Spain may tell how the Catholics have been persecuted, and the library of the inquisition record the condemnations of the men who were punished for conspiring against the sister-in-law of King Philip. France may charge her civil wars with perfidy; her revolution with cruelty; her policy with intrigue. All nations may lend her their own vices. The United States, indeed, will call her ancient annals theirs, and glory in having had such princes as Edward and Henry; but will they be thus candid on her future story? They must; their own existence will testify against whatever malice they may yet retain. When they behold themselves, and think how they were founded; when they read their own laws and constitution, and reflect from whom they held them, and the spirit which enacted them; when they see, in other regions, other nations happier and freer than natural circumstances would have made them, and find the languages of all to be derived from one source—from the idiom which Shakspeare, Bacon, and Newton spoke; they will be forced to say, '*Had England not been great and generous, these things could not have been.*' When the greatest of republics shall allow that Britain was the freest of kingdoms, all will own, that no nation of the world was ever so prolific a parent of mighty empires."*

* Vol. ii. pp. 575—578. Eccl. Rev., April 1832, p. 337.

CHAP. III.

Answers to objections to colonization in India, arising from the number and character of its population—the supposition that the Natives would be deprived of their property by the settlers—apprehended injurious tendency to the present measures adopted for the improvement of India—probable character of the emigrants—and its tendency to promote the independence of India—concluding remarks, on the relation of Britain to India, China, and the Eastern world.

One of the first objections, to the colonization of Europeans in India, is—that *the number and character of its population* are opposed to it.

Colonization and settlement, in the abstract, are two very different things.—“The colonization of India may appear impracticable; but, although there may be no room for colonization, there is ample room for settlement, in a country of fertile soil, far more thinly peopled, than any part of Europe, and a country, too, without capital, knowledge, morals, or enterprise. Mere day-labourers, of course, there is, generally speaking, no room for; but there is ample room for skilful mechanics, for agricultural, commercial, and even manufacturing capitalists. The free settlement of all these classes, under equal and suitable laws, will prove the only means of civilizing and humanizing the inhabitants of India. Our countrymen, living amongst them, will instruct them in arts, in science, and in morals; the wealth and resources of the country will be improved; the Hindoos will rise in the scale of civilization, for they have sufficiently evinced that they possess both the capacity and inclination to do so. We leave it, to the abettors of restriction, to point out what evils are likely to spring from such changes.

“In the teeth of all history, and of all experience, the Hindoos, the most docile of mankind, and for a people so uncivilized, surprisingly addicted to commerce, have been represented by the advocates of restriction as a mass of inflammable materials, capable of being ignited by simple commercial contact with the most commercial nation in the universe. Metaphor has been resorted to, to colour the alleged precariousness of our tenure of Indian dominion from such an intercourse. Sometimes a sword is held dangling over our

heads ; sometimes we are sitting on a barrel of gunpowder, an English merchant the incendiary to light it ! But of all others, the most favourite figure of speech, upon such occasions, consists in representing all Hindostan as suspended by a pack-thread, which 'the touch of chance,' or the indiscretion of a free trader, might break, sending our dominion, of course, to perdition. One strong and indisputable fact will settle this question at once in the mind of every man of sense. We hold our Indian empire by the power of the sword. Saving the honour, firmness, probity, and intelligence of the national character, our civil institutions are valueless, and our administration of justice avowedly imperfect and insufficient. They, in fact, afford very little support to the army. That army is the smallest in the world, in proportion to the population of the country ; and it is inconceivably small, if we consider that it is not a national army, maintaining subordination to national laws, but that it is the instrument of maintaining authority over a vast and distant conquest. The whole Indian army, regulars and militia, does not, in round numbers, exceed 300,000 men ; and this, let it be recollected, is a perpetual war establishment. It is sufficient to maintain internal tranquillity, and to protect us from foreign invasion ; nay, it is sufficient to enable us to commit aggressions upon our neighbours, and to make external conquests.

"No assertion is more frequent with the advocates of restriction, than that the Hindoos are a people unchangeable in their manners and opinions, and having a strong repugnance to all that is foreign ;—to every thing like change, necessarily including every thing like improvement. The late Sir Thos. Munro, a most distinguished public officer, expressed this opinion in an unqualified manner, in his evidence at the bar of the House of Commons, in 1813. Nothing can be more natural, than that such notions should be entertained by a few solitary Europeans, living amongst millions of Hindoos, or of any other people whatever. All advance in civilization is slow, and nearly imperceptible ; and no wonder that an isolated observer, however great his natural acuteness, seeing the Hindoos subjected to no material cause of change, should be ready to pronounce their manners and character immutable. A few scattered Englishmen, living in Russia, in the commencement of the reign of Peter the Great, would have pronounced the Muscovites as unchangeable as the Hindoos are now pronounced to be ; and, if they did not reason from analogy, but took it into their heads that Muscovites differed morally, if not physically, from all the rest of

mankind, they would have been utterly incapable of forming any rational conception of the vast progress which the Russians have made within the last century. Such observers would have pronounced, without hesitation, that a Russian would for ever continue to tremble at the sight of a Swede ; that Russians of rank would, to the latest time, prefer quass and votka to burgundy and champaign, cabbage and grease to French cookery ; that a Russian nobleman would as soon have parted with his beard, as a Persian ; and that his head, to the latest posterity, must continue as ' populous,' as Gibbon represents that of the Emperor Julian. Sir Thomas Munro's observations applied to about thirteen millions and a half of Indians, among whom there were, exclusive of civil and military servants, certainly not a *hundred free settlers*. As long as we take the utmost pains to exclude all causes of change and improvement, no doubt there will be neither change nor improvement. Admit these causes, and the Hindoos will be found as improveable as other races. The changes, and even improvements which the Mahomedans effected, are alone sufficient proof that the Hindoos are neither unalterable nor unimproveable. Every where they improved the government, the laws, the arts, and even the literature of the country. We are compelled at length, however reluctantly, to abandon our extravagant and fanciful notions of ancient Hindoo civilization, and to come to the rational conclusion, that the Hindoos were always inferior to their conquerors, of whatever denomination : these conquerors effected all, in improving them, that was within the scope of their ability ; but still, as they were not a very powerful, or a very civilized people themselves, they are far indeed from having effected what is in our power to accomplish."*

It must be evident to those who are acquainted with the state of India, that this objection is founded in error, and that the settlement of Europeans of good morals, property, and talent, is practicable, desirable, and eminently calculated to promote the real welfare of the various nations and tribes that people Hindostan.

A second objection is, that *the Natives would be deprived of their property by allowing colonization in India.*

" Our modern colonists have, in general, displaced the aboriginal population, and taken entire possession of the soil. In India this would be impracticable ; the population is too thick to be removed, and the colonists must be content to

* Free Trade and Colonization, &c., pp. 68, 71, 72, 81—83.

occupy a portion of the land, leaving the largest share in the possession of the Natives.”*

“When a people colonizes in a country, occupied by another less advanced in arts and improvements, they make room for themselves, not by displacing the indigenous inhabitants, but by the creation of new resources; by applying more skill and labour to the cultivation of the soil, and to every other means of sustenance and convenience! Analogy would induce us to expect the same results from the same causes, whether operating in the East or in the West. And if we proceed to examine the result of continued communication, so far as it has been practicable under the system hitherto adopted, we shall find that we have not been deceived in adopting this as our criterion. Wherever the European inhabitants are more thickly congregated, as at the three seats of Government; wherever individuals have habituated themselves to much intercourse with the Natives, and having survived the originalities of family and friendship, and contracted new ones, have ceased to contemplate Britain as the *vista* of their earthly pilgrimage; in short, wherever there is an approximation to that state of things which colonization would exhibit, there we find the Europeans animated with the most kindly feelings towards the Natives; most ably and actively co-operating for their improvement, and reaping the most ample returns of confidence and attachment. Thus, at Calcutta, there are Bible Societies, School Societies, and a School Book Society; and in the principal School Society and School Book Society, we see Europeans and Natives acting together as members of the same Committees, and joint secretaries giving to each other the right hand of fellowship.”†

“The pretence that our colonizing in India would be an encroachment, and an intrusion, seems a very idle one; if colonization makes the Natives happier and better, it matters little by what name it is called. Enjoyment may be an intruder, though a very welcome one, and the encroachment of good upon evil deserves no reprobation. ‘But we shall *supplant* the Natives,’ has been urged. Is the colonist, then, a conqueror? Not he—he comes with his purse to purchase the lands on which he settles, to unite his interests permanently with the interests of the country; his gains are to fructify there; the prosperity of the colony is his prosperity;

* Friend of India, May 1825, p. 37.

† Ori. Herald, vol. ii. pp. 195—205.

he takes nothing but that for which he gives an equivalent; and his very success depends on his giving to the community more knowledge, activity, and wealth, than it possessed before. And it is undoubted, that the districts (Tirhoot and Purneah) which are the most thickly peopled with Europeans, are the most industrious and the most prosperous in India."*

" Except when the laws are bad, or badly administered, and a country consequently reduced to a state of anarchy, the strong cannot dispossess the weak. If the laws be tolerably administered in India, Englishmen cannot possess themselves of the lands of the Hindoos, except by giving a valuable consideration for them. Unquestionably the Hindoos will not part with them, except for such consideration, for they are a parsimonious people, and in all affairs of property a careful and acute people. If an Englishman gives a just equivalent for the real property of a Hindoo, it is not necessary to say, that this is an accommodation and an advantage to the Hindoo, and not a matter of injustice or of oppression. The Hindoo proprietor may have more land than capital; he may be involved in pecuniary difficulty like the proprietors of other countries. By selling a portion of his estate, he may not only improve the remainder, but relieve himself from his difficulties. To deny him access, therefore, to the best market for his land, is not only no protection, but a positive injury, as well to himself as to the whole society to which he belongs.

" What would the landed gentlemen of England say of a law, which prohibited the wealthy capitalists of London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Bristol, from becoming purchasers of the estates, which they were anxious to dispose of? Would they deem such a law a protection to their property; or rather would they not reprobate it as an act of deliberate spoliation? What would be thought of a law, made for the protection of the Irish, which prohibited English capital from being invested in the soil of Ireland, and made it a misdemeanour, for an Englishman to be found in that country without a licence from a Secretary of State? The same general principles which are applicable to Ireland, are equally applicable to India. There may be trifling differences in the modes of their application, but these will be found trivial and unimportant. Human nature is pretty much the same in all ages and climates. What is fundamentally true of it under a fair complexion, is equally so under a brown or a black one.

* West. Rev., Oct. 1829, p. 22.

It cannot be transmuted to serve the interested purposes of patronage or party."*

It would appear, from the letter of a correspondent of the *Sumbud Cowmoodee*, that the majority of zemindars in the mofussil of India (the country) are friendly to the measure of European colonization. We extract part of a conversation on this subject, between an opponent of the measure and a zemindar. *Op.*—"We suppose then you will not sign the petition [against colonization]; are you not aware of the evils that will arise from the coming of the Europeans?" *Zem.*—"We do not anticipate any evil whatever from it; on the contrary, the landlords will receive more rent; more labourers will be required, and they will receive higher wages; the land will be improved, and we shall see other improvements. When there is a deficiency of rain, the cultivation will be carried on, raising water by machinery. Knowledge will be promoted in the country villages; now the people are afraid whenever they see the *Sahebs*, but then they will be familiar with them: the poor, receiving higher wages, there will be a greater diminution of robbery in the country. If all this good is to be expected, why should we pray for its prevention?"†

A third objection to colonization is, *its apprehended injurious tendency to the present measures adopted for the improvement of India.*

The late Bishop Heber, in his route near Buxar, very pleasantly remarks,—"We brought to by a grass field, divided into butts, by rows of the tall and beautiful cotton grass. I never saw, I think, finer land. The banks of the river are all a light, marly loam, like garden mould, dry, sound, and friable, without any intermixture of stones or cold clay, and with very little sand. Abdullah, who is a warm patriot, so far as his admiration of the climate, soil, and productions of Hindostan goes, and who is much pleased to observe the interest I take in these matters, said, 'Ah, my Lord, why not get leave to buy land in this good place, and good climate; my Lady and children have always good health here, settle it on young Lady, native of country, and call it *Harrietpore*.' I laughed, and told him the reason of the law which hinders the English from buying land in India; he owned it was a very good law, to prevent the English Collectors and Magistrates from being tempted to extort lands, as the Mussulmans had done, from the people by false accusa-

* Free Trade and Colonization, &c., pp. 54, 55.

† E. I. Mag., Feb. 1832, p. 194.

tions ; and added,—it was wonderful how the English Parliament took notice of every body and every thing.”*

This objection is met, in a very sensible manner, by a Hindoo writer in the *India Gazette*, of April 1830:

“Our author proceeds to shew the evil effects of ‘colonization,’ against which he raises two objections; first, that, in case any dispute happen between the Government and the natives, those Englishmen who may settle here, would side with the former because they are of the same complexion and religion; secondly, that if these Englishmen be treated in a manner which they may not like, they will endeavour to bring the natives over to their party, and raise factions against the Government. In answer to the first, we will ask the writer to point out a case, in which all Englishmen would join the Government against Hindoos? Will there be none to commiserate the deplorable condition of the natives? This is indeed thinking too ill of human nature. How is it possible, that those Englishmen who will come here with a view of profit, will rise against the natives, when it is their interest to live peaceably with them? We are of opinion, that such a case as our author imagines, is utterly impossible; we cannot believe that all Englishmen would join the Government against Hindoos. What was done when the ‘Stamp Act’ was about to be established? Did not the English as well as the Hindoos oppose such a measure? And why, we would ask, but because it was prejudicial to the welfare of both nations? So that, after all, it comes to this, that according as the Government may have recourse to good or bad measures, will the English and the natives side with or against it?

“The second objection is as groundless as the first. He says, ‘that he is afraid the English and the natives will combine to oppose the measures of Government.’ But we reply, nothing indeed can be more natural and desirable than this, when the Government becomes oppressive and tyrannical. The object of every Government is to protect and not to tyrannize over its subjects. If then, the British Government in India become so bad, as to have recourse to any steps that will be eventually productive of pain to the greater number, we believe it will be our duty to oppose them, rather than to let them tyrannize unchecked. So that the very objection of our author proves that ‘colonization’ is beneficial to the welfare of the Hindoos. For if they keep up a close correspondence with the Englishmen who may settle here, the Government will be cautious before it contemplates or enforces any tyrannical measure.

“That colonization will be productive of ‘greater good to the greater number,’ is a position which we hold to be sacredly true. No one will deny, that since the coming of the British to this country, the inhabitants have improved in knowledge and increased in civilization. What was the state of India a few years ago? Veneration for the idols (or gods, as they call them) was the sole occupation in which they were employed. A soodra dared not eat his dinner, nor drink water, before he had fed a brahmun; who, perhaps, he knew was guilty of the most horrible crimes. But setting aside these absurdities, the face of India, as well as the inhabitants, has undergone a great change within a few years, and the improvement that is now very rapidly going on, induces us to prognosticate many important circumstances. We may be allowed, perhaps, to pierce the dim shades of futurity, and gladden our heart with the hope that India will one day be

* Heber’s Jour., vol. ii. p. 260.

among the first of empires in civilization and happiness. If the attempts of a few liberal Englishmen, who are at present living in this country, have so much contributed to improve the condition of the natives, how vast will be the advancement, when they will be more freely allowed to come and settle here! We have been sorry to hear one objection started against colonization, that the fate of the original inhabitants of America should be a warning to us. To this we reply, that the case between the Hindus and Americans is quite different. The latter were nearly a set of barbarians when Europe sent colonies to their country; whilst the former are advancing in civilization. If the Hindus suffer by colonization, the fault is to be ascribed, not to their stars, but to themselves, to their indolence and inattention.*

The probable general character of the emigrants is felt by some as a serious objection to colonization in India. This fear appears to arise from an incorrect view of the subject. The Editor of *The Friend of India*, in an article upon colonization, very justly observes,—“India appears to admit only such a *modified colonial system*, as shall secure the employment of European intellect and vigour in directing Asiatic labour. This would be far more consonant with the dignity of the European character, and with our superior civilization, than any constant personal labour at the plough or the anvil. It would more directly meet the wants of the country, and promote the happiness of the native population and the increase of the resources and prosperity of the country, without degrading the character of the emigrants. The advantage of this European energy would be more particularly felt in the agriculture of the country, through the introduction of beneficial reforms and the general infusion of energy into the whole system. India might thus participate in the agricultural improvements which we have been so long maturing in England, and the stream of improvement, gradually spreading over the country through a thousand channels, might dispense fertility, without contracting any impurity from the soil over which it passed, or occasioning damage by any sudden and violent change. The admission of Europeans to purchase land, and form settlements in the country, would perhaps realize every expectation relative to the benefits of colonization. Government have recently relaxed the exclusive system, by admitting Europeans to hold lands, to the extent of a thousand bigahs, for the cultivation of coffee. May the experiment pave the way for European capital and energy to flow upon the country in a quiet and gentle stream, and multiply the points of mutual interest and attachment between Europe and India.”†

* Asi. Journal, Nov. 1830, p. 245.

† Friend of India, May 1825, pp. 39, 41, 47.

The present system in India is evidently founded in error. "The project of bestowing peculiar patronage on the weak and disfranchised classes of society is one, from which arbitrary Governments have often endeavoured to draw to themselves a little popularity. The East India Company, like others of the same family, has repeatedly come forward as the champion of the Hindoos. Having themselves already loaded these Hindoos with taxes, and disfranchised them, they manfully step forward to protect them against imaginary danger from others. We have one notable example on record of the consequences of such patronage, the protection which Spain afforded to the American Indians, against its own European subjects or their descendants. The case is so much in point that it deserves to be adverted to. By the code of laws made for the protection of the native Americans, they were pronounced to be of pure blood; their chiefs had the privileges of Spanish nobles; the natives who lived in separate villages were restrained from wandering from them, with the most patriarchal tenderness for their safety; they were governed exclusively by officers of their own tribes; above all, neither Spaniards nor persons of the mixed races, were allowed to settle among them,—to buy, or in any manner to encroach upon their lands. To prevent their simplicity from being abused, the Indians were prohibited from disposing of their real property, even amongst themselves, without the intervention of a magistrate; they could neither contract nor conclude bargains for a greater sum than the value of three Spanish dollars. Every species of oppression to which they were exposed was minutely guarded against by law, and a suitable remedy provided for it. In a word, they were placed under the protection of all the constituted authorities of the Spanish Government, who were bound to defend them from injustice and secure them from wrong. Such were the elaborate pains taken by the Government of Spain for the protection of its Indian subjects. The consequences are too well known. The Indians, not only deprived of all national independence, but reduced to a state of *pupilage*, by the affected securities bestowed upon them, lost all energy of character, even that little which belonged to them under their native Government; while the mixed races, and creoles, who not only had no patronage or peculiar securities, but, on the contrary, were subjected to innumerable disabilities, have, in spite of all the efforts and oppression of Spain, acquired a force of character, the results of which are sufficiently known."*

* Free Trade and Colonization, pp. 99, 100.

"The colonists of India (says the Westminster Review) should be persons of capital, knowledge, and activity. To such, the numerous resources which the cheapness of labour—the productiveness of the soil—the high rate of interest—the low state of civilization—the indolence of the few, and the ignorance of the many, would, in different ways, afford encouragement and profit. There is scarcely, any one department of agriculture or manufacture, which would not be invigorated by the application of wealth and active intelligence. Even the means of communication, one of the most important objects for the creation and dissemination of prosperity, are inconceivably imperfect.* Every implement of husbandry is of the rudest construction, every mechanical contrivance, evidence of the infancy of art. All that has been done for the prosperity of India of late, may pretty distinctly be traced to the presence of Europeans—notwithstanding all the impediments to their settlement, all the clogs on their industry, the insecurity of their tenures, the jealousy of their influence, and the openly avowed hostility of the rulers of India, to any thing which bears the appearance of 'Colonization.' The presence of English settlers in different parts of India, would in itself be a protection of the highest value to the Natives in their neighbourhood, who are now exposed to the extortions of collectors, the injustice of magistrates, the violence of military authorities, or the petty tyranny of the servants of the police."†

The candid reader must be convinced, that,—"In reality, from the very nature of things, the free adventurers to India would of necessity be composed of the most respectable emigrants that ever quitted one shore for another. The length of the voyage—the state of society in India—the character of the climate, would inevitably preclude the resort of such emigrants as were not possessed, of what India stands so egregiously in need of—capital—talent—integrity, and enterprise."‡

But the most serious objection, in the view of many persons, to the settlement of Europeans in India, is, *that coloni-*

* "Universal poverty," says Mr. Colebrooke, "prevents such undertakings from motives of public spirit, and nothing is applied to such works from the revenues of the state. Remains of stupendous causeways, ruins of bridges and magnificent stairs on the banks of rivers, not replaced by similar undertakings of a modern date, suggest melancholy reflections on the decline of the country."

† West. Rev., Oct. 1829, pp. 24, 25.

‡ Free Trade and Colonization, &c., p. 64.

zation would ultimately promote the independence of India, after the example of America. The futility of this objection is easily shewn.

“ Anglo-America and India stand as it were in complete contrast and opposition to each other, in reference to the question of colonization. America, when colonized, was destitute of inhabitants, or very nearly so, and at the moment of emancipation, the wages of day labour were perhaps not less than £70 a year. The British territories in India are peopled throughout, to the extent of one hundred and twelve inhabitants to a square mile, and the wages of common labour are not above £3 per annum. America, when ripe for independence, was peopled by one race of free men, having the same institutions, manners, religion, language, and interests ; in India there are at least *thirty tribes or nations*, speaking as many distinct languages. There are several forms of religion ; and these again are broken down into sects and casts, the followers of which are full of antipathies towards each other. The Indian nations, in short, unknown to each other, destitute even of a general medium of communication, have no common interests, and, therefore, no common feeling of national independence. The notion of their conspiring or combining to rid themselves of the dominion of strangers is purely chimerical. *Who, in fact, in this vast heterogeneous mass are to be deemed the strangers?* The Mahrattas are as much strangers to the people of Bengal, or to those of the Carnatic, as we are ; and, without doubt, would be much more unwelcome ones. The Seiks are strangers to the Mahrattas, and either would submit to the other's barbarous rule far more unwillingly than to ours. About fifteen millions of Mahomedans, differing from each other in nation, in sect, and often in language, are opposed to a Hindoo population of eighty millions—nay, opposed among themselves to each other. Where are the materials for unanimity of purpose, conspiracy, or combination, in this most discordant mass of human beings ?

“ The Americans, when ripe for independence, were a free, bold, energetic, and highly-civilized people. The Indians know not what freedom is : they are, for the most part, a timid, often an effeminate, and, as a nation, a feeble race of semi-barbarians. In every circumstance, in short, in which it can be possible to institute a comparison, the Indians and Anglo-Americans are the very antipodes of each other. The states of society in the two countries are, without exaggeration, more dissimilar than in China and Lapland. We and others conquered the Hindoos, because they were feeble and

disunited. They are now, and they always have been, readily retained in subjection, for the same reason that they were easily conquered.

“With the fullest and freest liberty to settle, the European colonists in India will still constitute a prodigious minority. To imagine their revolt, therefore, is nothing less than ridiculous. Their security for centuries—as long as they continue a distinct race—as long as their faces remain white, and they speak the English language—must depend upon the mother country. Instead of endangering our dominion, therefore, they will become its natural, and, through their knowledge and influence, its best, its cheapest, and its firmest supports. The very charge of danger alleged against their free settlement may, with infinite truth and justice, *be urged against the system of restricting it*. The Hindoos, instead of being a people difficult of management, are, in reality, of all the conquered people that ever existed, the most easy. Had they been otherwise, the barbarians of Persia and Tartary could not have held them in easy subjection for seven centuries; nor could the commercial and exclusive Government of the East India Company have lasted for a single day. The administration of the East India Company is, in itself, a proof with how little government—with how imperfect a government—the Hindoos may be kept in subjection. The administration of India, as it is now constituted, disclaims all support derived from the influence or public opinion of Englishmen. It creates in its own hands enormous and pernicious monopolies; it refuses to grant, or is incapable of bestowing, an adequate administration of justice; it denies to the people a share in their own Government; it places all power in the hands of a small party, or faction, of its own countrymen; it rules the country by an army, chiefly levied from a disfranchised and insulted population; and, finally, the spirit and tendency of its constitution is, to leave to the precarious guardianship of about thirty thousand Europeans, the sovereignty or dominion over an empire of one hundred millions of people. This is a real trial of the docility of the Hindoos; such a trial of men’s temper and forbearance as was never made before in any age or climate; a scheme, *the object of which must appear, to any rational and impartial observer, as little better, than an experiment to ascertain the extent of the danger and jeopardy to which a people, in the wantonness of selfishness and error, may hazard a vast and costly acquisition.*”*

* Free Trade and Colonization in India, pp. 67, 68, 70, 71.

But the independence of India, when she can govern herself, is not to be deprecated; and it is grateful, to behold the enlarged and disinterested sentiments expressed upon this subject, by those who are well acquainted with the state and relations of British India. The following extracts appear peculiarly interesting.—

The Author of the pamphlet on "*Free Trade and Colonization in India*," whose knowledge of the East was probably derived from actual residence, justly observes;—"The only suitable and efficient means of improving our conquered subjects,—the only means by which one people ever conferred lasting and solid improvement upon another,—is a free and unshackled intercourse between the two parties. Will the stability of our dominion be impaired by the improvement of the Hindoos? Poor and ignorant nations are always the most liable to delusion, and the most subject to insurrection; wealthy and intelligent ones the least so. In proportion, therefore, as the Hindoos become instructed, and are rescued from their present poverty, they will be the more easy of management. This, of course, supposes the introduction of laws and institutions suitable to, and keeping pace with, their advancement in civilization. They cannot always be governed as mere helots; nor would a nation of helots be worth governing: they must be gradually admitted to a share in their own administration. If this principle be prudently and liberally acted upon, we may maintain our Indian dominion for many centuries. Sooner or later, be our administration good or bad, and soonest unquestionably in the latter case, we must lose it; for a relation which separates the governors from the governed, by a navigation of 15,000 miles, cannot be a very natural or a very useful connection to either party. In the meanwhile, such of the Hindoos as have partaken of European education, are not ambitious,—they are a frugal, and rather a mercenary people, with very little disposition to engage in politics."*

"Considered as a measure of policy, a *Christian population*, holding a decent rank in the motley throng of tribes and casts, would tend to consolidate the strength of the state, and add to the probable duration of the empire. With a view to the creation of so important a link in the chain, combined with other reasons, a gradual extension of the colonizing system has been recommended by Mr. Colebrooke. A colonization of the nature alluded to, far from being likely to termi-

* *Free Trade and Colonization*, p. 86.

nate in the separation of the colony, would rather serve to perpetuate the union, by the addition of a tribe whose interest and doctrines must attach them to their European superiors. With habits more analogous to those of Europe; the Creole Christians would certainly be better customers for its productions than the other sects. For the furtherance of such an object, all that is necessary is, to allow the natural course of events to take effect, without either encouragement or restraint; and to permit Europeans, and their legitimate progeny, to settle in India and acquire landed property. At present it is only the illegitimate offspring that is privileged, while the legitimate descendant is prohibited from obtaining a property in the soil of his birth. Colonization, in the moral sense of the term, is never likely to take place in Hindostan, as no inducement exists to attract the common labourer or artisan. The voluntary resort would be confined to merchants, traders, and factors; to navigators, and seamen of a superior class; to master planters, and overseers of plantations; and to the civil and military servants of the Government: but the influx of emigrants would never be in such numbers as to interfere with the ordinary employments of the native population. In process of time, however, when ages have passed away, should the increase of a Christian Creole population terminate in separation; which, however, is more likely to happen from other causes, the event when it arrives will be advantageous to both parties, and its approach ought to be hailed as a common benefit.*

"The consequence of our teaching the Natives the value and extent of their power, will lead to their asserting their independence, to the subversion of our rule; but this consummation is not likely to occur, till the light of knowledge has spread widely beyond the risk of extinction, bringing with it the secure establishment of Christianity: then the change of dominion, it is hoped, will be effected without convulsion. We shall retire gracefully; gratitude will succeed to resistance; and instead of being execrated as reckless tyrants, our memory will be revered as belonging to enlightened benefactors."†
(*C. Lushington, Esq., Sec. to the Bengal Government.*)

The late Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, anticipated the civilization and consequent independence of India, —not with regret but with satisfaction.—"We should look

* Hamilton's Hindostan, vol. i. Intro. p. 29.

† East India Mag., May 1832, p. 456.

upon India not as a temporary possession, but as one which is to be maintained permanently, until the Natives shall, in some future age, have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices, and become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular Government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it. Whenever such a time shall arrive, it will probably be best for both countries, that the British control over India should be gradually withdrawn. That the desirable change here contemplated may in some after age be effected in India, there is no cause to despair. Such a change was at one time in Britain itself, at least as hopeless as it is here. When we reflect how much the character of nations has always been influenced by that of their Governments, and that some, once the most cultivated, have sunk into barbarism, while others, formerly the rudest, have attained the highest point of civilization,—we shall see no reason to doubt that, if we pursue steadily the proper measures, we shall in time so far improve the character of our Indian subjects, as to enable them to govern and protect themselves.”*

We may anticipate the most pleasing and valuable results from an enlightened and liberal Government of India. The history of all nations confirms these expectations; may this consummation, so devoutly to be wished, be speedily realized.

“ The progress of nations, in valuable improvement and effectual civilization, has never been brought about in any age or climate, except through an intercourse with strangers;—operating most beneficially through commerce, emigration, and peaceable settlement, but also operating beneficially, even through conquest itself. Primitive civilization has been confined to a very few spots of the globe. Wherever it has existed, it will be found, when abandoned to its own efforts, immature and insipid. It is the forest fruit tree transferred to the orchard, but of which, while denied the benefit of grafting, no care can improve the fruit. We have only to refer for proof to the civilization of the Hindoos themselves, especially where there has been the least of admixture with strangers;—to the civilization of ancient Egypt,—of Assyria,—of Arabia, before the time of Mahomed,—of ancient Persia,—of China,—and of Peru and Mexico, before the Spanish invasion. In all these countries despotism was established,—the people were slaves,—society made a certain progress, and then it stood still for ages, apparently incapable of moving onwards. Wherever civilization has struck a vigorous root, and produced wholesome and mature fruit, it will invariably be found to have been brought about by an admixture with strangers,—in short, by the ingraftment of exotic improvement on the rude stock of domestic acquisition. The Greeks were barbarians, until their intercourse with Italians, with Egyptians, with Persians, and even with Indians. The Romans were a rude people until their collision with strangers; they chiefly owed their civilization to their admixture with the Greeks. The Western nations of

* Asi. Jour., Nov. 1830, p. 237. See E. I. Mag., Sep. 1832, p. 221.

ancient Europe owed almost every thing to their subjugation by Rome, and the planting among them of Roman colonies. The nations in the immediate neighbourhood of China have, at one time or another, been conquered by that people; who settled among them, communicated to them their language, laws, arts, and customs. In proportion as Chinese conquest and Chinese intermixture have taken place, will these nations be found improved; and it is a conclusive fact, that the few tribes excluded from this advantage, continue to the present day in a savage state. The nations bordering upon Hindostan are civilized, or otherwise, just in proportion to the degree in which they have intermixed with the Hindoos, or been isolated from them. The Hindoos themselves, again, have been improved by an admixture with Tartars, Persians, and Arabs, as is sufficiently attested by the disappearance of human sacrifices, and other atrocities, of the existence of which, and in times not very remote, their own writings, if good for nothing else, afford sufficient evidence. The Arabs, left for ages to themselves before the time of Mahomed, continued in a stationary condition, but made a sudden start in civilization as soon as they went abroad, and came into collision with strangers. The intermixture of these Arabs with Persians and Tartars, through conquests made upon the latter, improved the Persians and Tartars. In the great Eastern Archipelago, the Hindoos and the Arabs, each in their turn, have improved the inhabitants. That improvement has just been in proportion to the commerce held with these strangers, and where that commerce has not taken place at all, the Islanders are either cowering savages, or ferocious cannibals.*

"Our own country is an example not less instructive. What would the inhabitants of the British Isles themselves have been at this day, had the Romans forbore to invade our country,—had they left our ancestors in *undisputed possession of their freedom, their painted skins, and their human sacrifices?*" Has civilization not advanced amongst us with every new admixture with strangers, whether Roman, Saxon, Danish, or Norman? and this, too, although the intermixture was accompanied on all these occasions by violence, the very occupants of the soil being often expelled from their possessions. In later times, and in a different form, we have derived abundant advantages from the settlement of foreigners amongst us: we are under serious obligations, on this head, to Jews, Flemings, and Lombards. But surely all this is too obvious to be insisted upon. The only wonder is, how any man of sense should have thought of making the Hindoos, in their relation to us, the sole exception to a principle which has always embraced, and still continues to embrace, all the rest of mankind. Are the English and the Hindoos the only two people to which society, in the course of thirty ages, has given birth, who are wholly unfit to be intrusted to a social intercourse with each other?"†

The position and influence of the British empire in Hindostan, present a most interesting and imposing character to the politician, the philanthropist, and the Christian. Its situation is commanding. Who can view its relation to *Burmah, Siam, Tibet, Tartary, China, Persia, Arabia, and Egypt*, without being deeply impressed with its importance to Britain, both

* See *Friend of India*, May 1825, on Colonization in India.

† *Free Trade and Colonization in India*, pp. 58, 59, 91—93.

politically and morally? The civilization and evangelization of Hindostan, afford vantage ground for every beneficent project connected with the Eastern world. What an outlet to the manufactures of this kingdom, if properly improved, is presented in the East! Why is China hermetically sealed against British commerce, except as conducted by a handful of British subjects? The impolicy and injustice of this system become daily more and more apparent, and the remarks of the Westminster Review, on "*The East India and China Trade*," are not less just, than pungent and facetious.—"The representatives of the people have weighty duties; and a full consciousness of this must have been present, to enable the Members to have proceeded thus far as befitted the gravity of a Select Committee, without bursting into laughter at the solemn absurdities of the most absurd nation under the sun, —always excepting the nation that copies them. Nothing but official dignity could have carried men through the examination of such an enormous farce. A Government in China that restrains foreign trade, in order that it may collect a revenue of £650,000, and sell the patronage of a single port to the highest bidder; and a Government in England that does the same. Tea prohibited from being carried in the vessels that could carry it cheapest, in order that it may be carried in some other that shall be dearer. A *Hong* with pig-tails, in Canton; and another without, in Leadenhall Street. 'Outside merchants and shopmen' allowed to trade with foreigners, but not in certain articles, as tea, &c. which must be reserved for the *Hong*. *Hongs*, after all, 'in a deplorable condition.' *Hongs* never smuggle, because smuggling is 'to their injury.' Governments in both countries, much moved by 'moral principle.' Concluding question, this; whether, if the Chinese should be found some morning to have sent the *Hong* to sea upon empty tea-chests, and to have conveyed their moral Government, canal-wise to the other side of the Great Wall, they would not have done the most sensible thing recorded in their history?"*

The adoption of an enlightened and extensive colonization of Europeans in British India, and the opening of the whole of the Eastern world to British enterprise and commerce, appear fraught with the most important and valuable effects, not only to the East, but also to the West. Is there not in the East four or five hundred millions of people, who are

* See West. Rev., No. xxvii. Jan. 1831.

ready to purchase or barter their own produce or our manufactures? Would not the intercourse, the actual residence, and especially the philanthropic and Christian labours of Europeans, be attended with beneficial results, in elevating the Eastern nations in the scale of civilization?—Surely a brighter day has dawned in the East. May “the sun of righteousness arise with healing in his beams.”

The Author knows not better how to close this book, than in the eloquent language of a late eminent Missionary in India. “It must have been to accomplish some very important moral change in the Eastern world, that so vast an empire as is comprised in British India, containing nearly One Hundred Millions of people, should have been placed under the dominion of one of the smallest portions of the civilized world, and that at the other extremity of the globe. This opinion, which is entertained by every enlightened philanthropist, is greatly strengthened, when we consider the long-degraded state of India, and of the immense and immensely populous regions around it; the moral enterprise of the age in which these countries have been given to us; and that Great Britain is the only country upon earth, from which the intellectual and moral improvement of India could have been expected. All these combined circumstances surely carry us to the persuasion, that Divine Providence has, at this period of the world, some great good to confer on the East; and that, after so many long and dark ages, each succeeding one becoming darker than the past, the day-spring from on high is destined again to visit these regions, containing the birth-place of humanity, filled with all that is magnificent and immense in creation, made sacred by the presence of patriarchs, prophets, and the Messiah Himself, as well as the theatre of the most remarkable revolutions that have ever been exhibited on earth.

“At different periods it seemed doubtful whether *Portugal*, or *Holland*, or *France*, should obtain the ascendancy in the East. But on them it was not conferred. A day of trial was given to these powers, but they were found unworthy of the great trust, and incapable of accomplishing the good intended for India: they were therefore rejected. For a considerable period the power of Britain in India appeared very precarious; and, amidst such an uncertainty, but little opportunity for improvement was afforded. Latterly, however, our power has been so consolidated, in the decided preference of our sway in the minds of the governed, and in the complete dependance of every remaining power in India, that the im-

provement of the intellectual condition of the Natives, as the means of uniting them to us from principle, has become the soundest policy, and a point of such paramount necessity and importance, that almost every one, at all conversant with the state of our Indian empire, is become a convert to this opinion.

“When it is considered, that the intellectual condition of our Indian population is far lower than that of our ancestors at the period of the conquest; that there is not a single school or book in India by which the mind can be enlightened; that all the countries around Hindostan are enveloped in the same darkness; that the great mass of society in every country have emerged out of darkness by a progress so slow, as to be almost imperceptible; and that the population, to be raised into thinking and active beings in India, amounts to nearly one hundred millions,—all idea of the danger to the parent state, from attempting to improve the mental condition of society there, must be very extravagant. Many centuries must pass away, before India shall be in the condition of our American subjects at the commencement of their revolution; and after all these centuries shall have rolled over our country, if her power, and splendour, and foreign possessions shall be retained so long, and she should, five or six hundred years hence, lose India, she will derive a greater glory from having elevated into a mental and moral existence all these millions, than she could derive from adding all China and Tartary to her Eastern possessions: and India, thus enlightened and civilized, would, even in an independent state, contribute more to the real prosperity of Britain as a commercial people, by consuming her manufactures to a vast extent, than she does at present, or ever will do, remaining uncivilized.

“But let Hindostan receive that higher civilization she needs, that cultivation of which she is so capable, let European literature be transfused into all her languages, and the ocean, from the ports of Britain to India, will be covered with our merchant vessels; and, from the centre of India moral culture and science will be extended all over Asia,—to the Burman empire and Siam, to China, with all her millions,*

* The following remarks upon *the claims of China*, appear deserving of the most serious attention.—“It has often excited my surprise, that the attention of our religious, and especially our Missionary Societies, has not been more directed to China, and to our present extraordinary state of exclusion from civil and religious intercourse with that interesting portion of the globe. In point of population, it contains *one-sixth*, and, indeed, little short of *one-fifth* of the entire mass of human beings, who now cover the

to Persia, and even to Arabia; and the whole Eastern hemisphere will be gilded with the rays of that Luminary, whose beams are the alone source of all the life and moral beauty found in our world. And when we consider that so many millions of the population of India are our fellow-subjects, what a stimulus to seek their good! What an imperative, what a paramount duty! Is it not manifest, that in the mental and moral improvement of this vast empire, Great Britain has a

surface of the globe; and in this respect, therefore, it presents stronger claims on the concentrated efforts of Christian enterprise than any other country under the sun. *Up to the present moment, (if I am not much mistaken,) no British Christian has ever invaded its boundaries in the character of a Missionary of the Cross!* Missionaries of other connections have long bestowed upon it their most marked and persevering exertions; and a succession of those of the Romish and Greek churches, the former for two centuries, and the latter for a shorter period, have maintained a permanent footing, and made a considerable number of converts. What was wanting, however, to give permanency to their efforts, we now possess—viz. the written word of God, in which the people may read, in their own tongue, his wonderful works to the children of men.

“What are the chief impediments to enlarged efforts for the evangelization of China? The jealousy this singular people entertain of all intercourse with foreigners is well known; but this is an obstacle which Portuguese, French, Italians, and, I believe Spaniards, under the Church of Rome; and Russians, under the guidance of their own hierarchy, and with the aid of their late enlightened emperor especially, have successively overcome; and I know no other obstacle, except what is of our own creation. The greatest is, unquestionably, the want of a becoming sense of the importance of the work; that cold insensibility, which can witness so many millions of our fellow-creatures perishing in ignorance of the only way of salvation, without making one effort to avert a fate so painfully affecting. But there is one other difficulty, to which I am anxious to call the attention of your readers. Suppose a number of zealous, devoted men of God, panting for the conversion of the Heathen, were desirous of conveying to this people the knowledge of a crucified Saviour, how would they proceed? It is an affecting thought; but, if I am not labouring under a very erroneous impression, they would be driven to the necessity of applying to a foreign power for aid in the fulfilment of their benevolent design, in consequence of our laws, virtually, if not in their very letter, shutting out all British subjects from every such enterprise!

“What I would recommend, therefore, is, that our Missionary Societies and their supporters generally, should petition both Houses of Parliament, now that they have entered upon an inquiry into the regulations which may be expedient to adopt for the future intercourse of British subjects with India and China, (an inquiry which Mr. Peel justly designated, as one of the most important that ever came before Parliament,) praying that, whatever commercial regulations may be adopted, no steps may be taken which shall in any way prevent Christians of every denomination, from directing their benevolent attention to the introduction of Christianity into the latter empire.”—*Bap. Mag., April 1830, p. 162.*

work of benevolence before her which, in national glory, will eclipse all her other achievements, as much as the meridian sun exceeds in splendour the morning star. *Know, then, the country of the Howards and the Wilberforces, thy high destiny!—Never were such miseries to be removed—never was such a mighty good put within the power of one nation—the raising a population of sixty millions to a rational and happy existence, and through them, the illumination and civilization of all Asia!***

* Ward's View of the Hindoos, vol. iii. preface, pp. 17, 18, 51—54.





RELIEVING THE SICK ON THE BANKS OF THE GANGES.

APPENDIX.

HUMANE HINTS

FOR THE

MELIORATION OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN BRITISH INDIA.

On the connection that exists between Britain and India, and the consequent duty of the former, to promote the welfare of the superstitious and degraded inhabitants of the East, Lord Teignmouth very justly observes,—“Were the same superstitions, or the same barbarous and licentious rites, which are now exhibited on the banks of the Ganges, to be practised on the banks of the Thames, or even in the remotest part of the British Islands, they would excite the strongest possible feelings of horror, and stimulate our efforts to substitute a purer and more benign system in the place of Hindoism,—this compound of cruelty and crime. But surely, to the eye of reason, the distance of that part of our dominions, in which this system prevails, makes no real difference. It is equally a portion of our Empire; subject to our rule, and contributing largely to our prosperity. May we not still further consider the Natives of Hindostan in the relation of tenants, to whom we are bound by the obligations and duties of landlords? If these circumstances are attentively weighed, they will exhibit a most extraordinary phenomenon. The most enlightened, improved, and (may we not say?) religious nation upon earth, standing for many years in the closest of all social relations to a people bowed down under a degrading superstition—might it not be very naturally supposed, by those who, in the varying fortunes of nations, acknowledged the hand of a superintending providence, that it had been the design of heaven,—in bringing these vast countries under the dominions of a nation enjoying the purest of all systems of religion,—that their benighted and depraved inhabitants might thus receive the light of Christian truth, and the blessings of a

sound morality? They who might hesitate to accede to this, would readily acknowledge, that it is at least our duty to endeavour, in every way, to promote the well-being and happiness of our Oriental fellow-subjects.*

“As far as cruelty (cruelty of any kind) is tolerated in a state, its pretensions to civilization may be questioned, and its views must be considered proportionably contracted.” The Quarterly Review for Jan. 1828, justly observes,—“Superstition, ignorance, and delusion must be dispelled; *new rights and new duties must be inculcated; motives, charities, affections, hitherto unknown, must be imparted*: mountains must be removed, a moral reformation must be wrought in the character of the people of India.” “Must new rights and new duties be inculcated;—motives, charities, and affections, hitherto unknown,” be imparted to the inhabitants of India? Where can they be originated so well as in the mother country, and then assisted and matured by the humane and pious in every part of India? Philanthropic exertions to improve the state of society, would greatly facilitate the progress of Christianity, and enable Britain, with greater ease, to discharge the debt she owes to the eastern part of her empire. The Reports of the Royal Humane Society, instituted in London, 1774, are highly interesting, and display the humanity and magnanimity of the Christian character. The cities of Calcutta and Madras are enrolled among the number of Foreign Humane Societies; but what are these two institutions for the whole of Hindostan? What influence can they exert for the elevation of the native character? A Humane Society, embracing various philanthropic objects, at every principal station, would be highly beneficial. British India needs the efforts of such Societies, to raise the tone of sympathetic and heroic feeling in the preservation of human life. In India “dying men are no more regarded than dying weeds.” What a perfect contrast is formed by the apathy and cruelty of the Hindoos—as seen in suffering a boat full of people to drown, without trying to assist them, in their Pilgrimages, Ghaut Murders, Infanticides,† &c.—and the noble efforts of Britons for the rescue of their fellow creatures from a premature grave.

The following miscellaneous articles, it is hoped, are calculated to promote the welfare of British India. It is a Syrian

* Considerations on communicating to the Natives of India, the knowledge of Christianity. (Hatchard) pp. 92, 93.

† See Statham's *Indian Recollections*, for numerous facts of this character.

proverb, "*A glance is enough for the intelligent.*" The institution of the Royal Humane Society is attributed to Dr. Hawes, of whom it is stated;—"To the persevering efforts of this gentleman, and especially to his disinterested early efforts, the English nation is indebted for the formation of a Society which, whether we reflect on its purposes or success, does honour to our country, and exhibits, most impressively, the power of a single mind to accomplish objects of the most benign character and extensive utility." May the perusal of these pages stimulate some humane and energetic minds to commiserate the miseries of India, and, in connection with the general diffusion of Christianity, promote among its inhabitants the adoption of those various philanthropic measures, for the alleviation of human misery and the preservation of life, which confer so many blessings upon the British Isles.

(1.) *Attention to promote the salubrity of the Presidencies, and of the Cities and Towns in India, is very important.* Of the insalubrity of Calcutta, a correspondent in the Columbian Press Gazette, in 1825, writes;—

"It is very lamentable, to notice the great supineness which prevails in Calcutta with regard to any attempt to improve its healthiness, or even to inquire into the causes of the dreadful mortality which, year after year, visits the poor natives of this city; especially, when we view examples of the most praiseworthy energy in every other part of the world, and in every other town in the Company's possessions. At Madras we lately saw orders issued for cutting down the hedges, which it was agreed prevented the proper ventilation of the place. At Bombay the improvements in new roads, and proper attention to cleanliness, have made the Island, which was before much below Calcutta in salubrity, full five per cent. superior to it. In every large town in our provinces, the alterations taking place are most judicious and very extensive, under the superintendence of local Committees, composed of all the Civil Officers, with the assistance of the resident Engineers and Executive Officers; *the whole of the town duties of the respective places being appropriated, I believe, to these purposes alone.* In Calcutta we have the Lottery Committee making a gradual progress in improving the centre of the town; but in all the vast extent of the suburbs, with a population thrice that of Calcutta, we see no measure whatever adopted either to drain the stagnant tanks, to remove filth, to cut down weeds and jungle, to make roads, or to preserve them. While the suburbs remain in their present close and pestiferous state, it is impossible, but we shall always have to record the same scenes of misery, the same *daily deaths of hundreds*, both in and out of Calcutta, with which the papers have, for the last two months, been so plentifully, and, alas! so vainly filled. *Why is nothing done to prevent this periodical destruction? Why are the Natives allowed to die by thousands, without any attempts to remove the causes of this devastation?* The answer to these questions is obvious enough, but I may not venture to give it."*

* "The attention of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta has been directed to an Essay on Public Health in India, by Dr. Ranken, applying especially to the choice of situations for the establishment of Civil

It appears, that attention is increasingly excited to this subject. "The roads in the eastern suburbs of Calcutta are undergoing a thorough repair; some of them are to be widened, and other improvements are to be effected, which will be conducive both to the comfort and health of the inhabitants; in particular, all the superfluous vegetation is to be removed. A canal from the northward to Chitpore, by that adjoining the Salt Water Lake, and terminating at Entally, is commenced; and a still more important improvement, with a view to diminish the causes of malaria, is in contemplation, namely, to drain the Salt Water Lake."*

(2.) A suggestion in the India Gazette, in 1825, for the erection of Porticos at the Ghauts in Calcutta, appears worthy of notice.

"You would permit the Hindoos to be carried to the side of the river to die, 'provided they were kept there under shelter, and not exposed without covering to the scorching of a noon-day sun, or the drenching of a tropical shower.' Unfortunately there is no shelter at any of the Ghauts, which appears a great oversight on the part of the Lottery Committee. There should be a handsome portico, or double colonade, erected at each Ghaut, along the strand. Every person who has had to embark or land at either of the Ghauts during the heat of noon-day, and to wait for a boat or carriage, must know how desirable such a shelter would be: and how much more so would it be, to those whose occupation keeps them for hours or days in attendance at the river's side, and to the unfortunate creatures forced down thither, by a lamentable superstition, in the extremity of sickness! The only Ghaut that is so covered in, that I recollect, is at Cossipore; the work, not of the Government, but of a rich native gentleman, who also made, at his expense, the road from the Ghaut to Dum Dum, which has so greatly improved that part of the suburbs." "The Lottery Committee," says the Editor, "are necessarily limited in their useful labours to the improvement of the city, and it is not at the Ghauts of Calcutta that these cruelties [of exposing the sick] are practised. We agree with our Correspondent on the importance and necessity of the improvement he suggests; which, while it would adorn the view of the city from the river, would be invaluable in point of utility, and greatly add to the convenience of the inhabitants, and of all persons resorting to the capital of British India."

(3.) *The necessity of some humane efforts in India, on behalf of Sailors of the various countries employed by Britain,* appears from the following simple appeal, extracted from a Calcutta Paper, Sep. 1825.

Stations and Military Cantonments. The greater part of the diseases that prevail in India, are ascribed by Dr. R. not so much to the extreme heat or atmospherical vicissitudes, as to the presence of noxious impregnations in the air, exhaled during the decay of vegetable and animal matter. In proportion as these abound, situations will be unhealthy, and salubrity of site will be found exemption from their influence."—*Asi. Jour.*, Aug. 1827. *Heber's Jour.*, vol. i. p. 582. *Hans. Hind.*, vol. i. p. 49.

* *Ori. Herald*, Sep. 1829.

"There is no situation, in the whole round of human sufferings, which appears so dreadful to encounter, nor so awful to contemplate, as that of a *shipwrecked sailor*; nor is there any humane person who would not stretch out his hand, at the risk of his own life, to rescue him from the grasp of death. Falconer has indeed given us an able description of their situation and sufferings; but who can paint the feelings of the mind when the perils and troubles at sea are past;—We arrive at the entrance of our destined haven, with hearts elated with joy at the prospect of meeting our wives, our children, and our friends. All, in a moment, is blasted:—for the approach to this port (Calcutta) is dangerous beyond all the toils of our voyage. *On the coast of Bengal there is no assistance, in any part, to render us relief. No Life Boats; no enterprising men to venture their lives for us, and no chance of escaping death.* If we should reach the shore the mouths of ravenous tigers are open to receive us. How dreadful to every feeling mind must be the situation of every sailor wrecked upon this coast; and of late we have had examples sufficient to call the attention of Government to the lamentable truth—that no life boats—no light houses—nor any means of saving the shipwrecked sailor, exist on this coast. Looking to the coast of our own country; the coast of America, and almost all the coasts of the civilised world, we find them more or less provided with the means of saving from death the shipwrecked mariner. I would fain hope to see something of this kind on this coast; such as life boats stationed at Saugur; one on Light-house Point, another at Point Palmaire, with some beacon to attract attention. Their establishment would encourage the efforts of a sailor's perseverance. There is no danger insurmountable in the mind of a British tar; who is the bulwark of our country, the maintenance of our rights by sea, the slave of our trade and commerce, and deserving the fostering hand of every Government, and the consideration of every mercantile body. I am, Sir, *A BIT OF A SAILOR.*" The Editor of the *John Bull* remarks,—"We have heard that it has been determined to station boats permanently at Edmonstone's Island, with a view to afford assistance to vessels that, like the *Lotus*, are so unfortunate as to suffer shipwreck on the sands, at the mouth of the Hooghly. We shall be glad to find that this measure has been really determined on. Such boats as those spoken of might have saved the *whole crew of the Lotus, and probably not a little of the stores*, besides affording shelter and sustenance until the men could be taken off."

How far the deficiency, here complained of, is now supplied, for the relief of our valued seamen, the Author is not informed; but it is presumed, the insertion of this short article may awaken attention to their claims on British humanity.

(4.) The following letter, on the *great difficulty of obtaining suitable medicine in seasons of great sickness*, written in Calcutta, and published in the *Bengal Hurkara*, Sep. 1825, demands the attention of the humane both in India and Britain.—

"This dreadful scourge of the human race, the cholera morbus, seems to continue with little if any abatement. There are, I believe, few families who have not suffered, and are not daily suffering, the loss of one or more of their domestics; for, notwithstanding the prevailing sympathy, few, comparatively speaking, possess the means of affording relief. I am one of this class, and I know a great many others thus situated; they would most willingly contribute all in their power, by strict attention in administering medicines, did they possess or could they purchase them; but there are

many, like myself, who cannot afford to do so. *I know of no public or private Dispensary that will, in a direct way, gratuitously supply them.* I have been informed that a direct application from a private person (as the master of a family), to the Hon. Company's Dispensary, cannot be complied with, being against the rules. The signature of a medical man is necessary; to obtain which a favour must be craved, obligation incurred, or compensation made. I do not mean to insinuate any thing unfavourable against an institution which confers its benefits with the most liberal hand; or any thing prejudicial to an honourable and humane profession, every individual member of which, probably, if applied to, would give the requisite signature or recipe; and many, probably, the medicine itself, without remuneration. But private practitioners are frequently, for hours together, from home; and I hope I may be excused, in these times of dreadful visitation, where *delay is death!* for urging the expediency of—a more direct and ready access to the Dispensary, which it is conceived should be somewhere available.

"I am informed that native doctors are in attendance at the several thannahs, but from what cause I know not—whether for want of proper attention in these officers, or their too general failure in the cure; and perhaps, a consequent despair in the sufferers and their friends,—I believe applications are seldom made in these quarters. I almost daily hear of dozens cured by individuals who afford a proper supply of medicines; and who, with a tender feeling of humanity, far above all praise, assiduously watch the progress of the disorder, and carefully attend the suffering patient. My object, in calling public attention to this state of things, is, *to obtain a more direct access to medicine*, to be offered to those who have the desire patiently to attend to administering it, for the preservation of their suffering fellow creatures. Should you think proper to suppress my letter, submitting something of your own for the attainment of an object so desirable, the saving of human life, what more can be desired by—HUMANITAS."

(5.) *The establishment of a Dispensary at each civil and military station in India, and at the principal Towns in the tributary and allied states, supported by subscription and the assistance of Government, would be highly beneficial.* The late Rev. W. Ward observes, respecting the Hindoos, "The imperfections of their medical system, and the ignorance and rapacity of the quacks who bear the character of physicians, greatly add to the general misery. It would be an act of philanthropy to improve the medical knowledge of the Hindoos; and this might easily be done by instituting a college at Calcutta for the instruction of the medical class; and by disseminating, in the native languages, European ideas on the nature of diseases and their remedies; shewing, at the same time, the absurdities in the Hindoo practice."* The establishment of such institutions, in different parts of the country, would be attended with the most beneficial results. The Marquis of Hastings gave some attention to this subject, and established a native medical school in Calcutta. The late Dr. Breton, the Superintendent, published translations of several tracts

* *View of the Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 282.

on medical subjects, in the Bengalee and Hindostanee languages. They amounted to fifteen in number.* The general circulation of these works, and the adoption of this medical system in the country, are highly deserving the attention of the philanthropic and liberal, both in Britain and India, and especially of a Government desirous of the melioration of the state of the Hindoos and Mussulman.

(6.) The following letters, on *the treatment of Cholera Morbus*, were addressed to the Editor of the India Gazette; and, if known generally in India, especially among the Natives in their different dialects, would be beneficial.

"During my residence at the Isle of Bourbon, I observed the good effects of distilled or strong vinegar, on the natives afflicted with the cholera, when rubbed in all parts of the body, and more particularly on the parts where the circulation of the blood appeared suspended. Immediately after the vinegar is applied, the patient is to be rubbed with flannel, as it is of the utmost importance that he should be kept warm. In the hospital at Batavia, the patients were put into warm baths, of a high degree of temperature, and frequently bled until the spasms ceased, and then mercurial preparations, &c., were administered, according to the violence of the disease or constitution of the individual; by which means numbers were saved.

"But if it be useful to administer remedies to the sick, it is not less necessary to ascertain the causes of the disease, and to warn those who expose themselves to their fatal effects. The attacks of cholera in India generally occur during the change of seasons, but more particularly in the rainy season, when the evaporation of the waters on the surface of the ground, occasions a considerable degree of damp. The sudden change of temperature is one of the causes of the sickness. During these variable seasons the body should be preserved in a uniform state of heat; a free perspiration being kept up without producing a profusion of sweat, as the debilitating causes (independent of the insalubrity of the air) are already sufficiently great. To prevent other weakening causes, violent exercise should be avoided, particularly at night, as it is attended with serious consequences. Long walks at night, exposed to the rays of the moon, are more pernicious than those taken during dark nights, although the beauty of moonlight tempts many people to walk. Perhaps the excesses committed by the Bengalees, during the night of the late festival, have caused so great a mortality among them, as their customary food is very simple and not alecholic. The following should be avoided:—Exposure to the dew at night, which falls in great quantity when there are no clouds to intercept the radiation of the sky. Excess of exercise. Excess of eating and drinking, &c. Some persons of strong constitutions can commit excesses in all seasons, and even bear the pernicious influence without sustaining any bad effects; but delicate or sickly persons, and particularly those not seasoned to the climate of hot countries, should avoid any thing that may cause an alteration in the state of their health. Woollen clothes should be worn; gin and brandy in water are recommended by skilful physicians, but great quantities are to be avoided. Any acid substances, fruit, &c., which may occasion weakness, must be avoided, and in these seasons stimulants and tonics must be taken.

† Asi. Jour., Feb. 1826, p. 223.

"If, in awaking the attention of some people to their own preservation, I succeed in preventing sickness, I shall have attained the object of publishing this advice.

"Calcutta, Sep. 16th, 1825.

B. BOURET."

The following letter was addressed to the Editor, with the hope that its publication might cast light on the treatment of cholera in peculiar cases:—

"The wife of my Khansama, a woman of about twenty years of age, was attacked with cholera morbus, with all the usual symptoms, but more vomiting than purging. About half an hour after the commencement, her husband applied for medicine. I gave her the cholera mixture, sold by Messrs. Bathgate and Co., Calcutta. This was rejected three times successively, in the course of about three quarters of an hour; a cataplasm of pounded chillies, warmed, was applied to the stomach, and the feet and hands, which were cold, were rubbed with cloths. Finding the cholera mixture would not remain in the stomach, I tried laudanum and ether, but these too were twice rejected: the patient sinking very fast with strong spasms, and being nearly senseless. I almost began to despair of her life; but, having heard that *calomel had frequently been found effectual in desperate cases*, I gave her eight grains of it with the usual quantity of laudanum and ether (thirty drops of each); this remained on the stomach a short time, and vomiting again took place. A large worm of the common *Teres* or round sort, about the size of a small quill, and eight or nine inches long, was thrown up, and in a short time another. I then gave her two grains more, which in a short time brought off two more. The woman then rapidly recovered, and is now perfectly well. She was a Mousalmanee; I saw her twice, and my writers and a Christian servant saw her also. The symptoms were exactly those of violent cholera, of which I have seen many hundred cases; but the pulse was stronger than is usual in that disorder.

"Naemullah, Sep. 1825.

H. P."

The Asiatic Journal for January 1828, contains the following method for treating the cholera:—

"I was attacked with cholera, and given over, having had the last symptoms, of a general cramp over the whole body, with sinking of the eyes, when I was cured by a powerful medicine, prescribed by Mr. Gay, an able medical practitioner, though only a sub-assistant surgeon. A number of people have been cured by taking that medicine.

"We have been furnished with the prescription for the above medicine, with a request that it may appear in this journal; it is as follows:—

Anticholera Drops, No. 1.

Take of Daffy's Elixir (with a larger proportion of Senna)	2 oz.
Aromatic Spirits of Ammonia	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.
Oil of Cloves (made an Essence of with Alcohol)	0 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.
Oil of Juniper	6 drops.
Oil of Peppermint	8 drops.
Oil of Cajuput	10 drops.
Sweet Spirits of Nitre	3 drams.
Camphor Mixture	10 drams.

Make a mixture and take 1 oz. or two table spoons full.

No. II.

"The same, leaving out the camphor mixture, and adding half an ounce of the compound tincture of camphor.

"Should repeated doses of this mixture not check the watery motions, ten drops of laudanum may then be added to each dose, increasing it five drops each time, till it composes the bowels; an hour or two after which, if the patient be not very much exhausted, six grains of calomel, with a scruple or fifteen grains of rhubarb, ought to be administered in a little ginger tea, and the latter to be made use of pretty freely after the bowels have been opened by the medicine.

"Should the cholera commence with evident acidity at the stomach, the cure ought to be commenced with eight grains of calomel and a drachm of prepared chalk, with a little ginger powder; after which, mixture No. I. should be persevered in till the stomach is composed.

"Mr. Gay attributes the success he has experienced, from the use of the Anticholera Drops, to 'their powerful action on the digestive and urinary organs, which, by some mysterious cause, become so greatly affected as to encourage (it is believed) the congestion of the blood; which, being reduced into a congee-water-like fluid, is evacuated in large quantities, and necessarily produces that prostration of strength and restlessness, which are ever attendant on cholera. The symptoms in this formidable disease strongly point out the necessity of stimulants to keep up the circulation of the blood, which the Anticholera Drops are admirably calculated to effect, particularly when assisted by stimulating frictions of cajuput oil, or (which is better when spasms come on) a mixture of cajuput oil, æther, and laudanum, in equal parts.' He recommends the patient's thirst to be quenched with small, but repeated, doses of strong ginger tea, prepared with toast and water."

Perhaps the following information, derived from various sources, may prove interesting.—

"The plan for the treatment of cholera pursued with most success, (says Dr. Graham,) consists in bleeding from the arm, to the extent of sixteen or twenty-four ounces, and immediately afterwards administering calomel with opium in very free doses, of from fifteen to twenty grains of the former in a dose, with one or two grains of opium, which is to be repeated, if necessary, every two or three hours, till the urgency of the symptoms subside. To these should be added a most liberal use of the most diffusible *stimuli*, as the sweet spirit of nitre, carbonate of ammonia, hot arrack and water, &c. The hot bath is proper, and stimulating embrocations to the abdomen and limbs."

Dr. Ansie's treatment was by anti-acids, and he generally gave preference to the subcarbonate of *magnesia*, in a full dose; seldom less than two drachms and a half, or three drachms dissolved in water. By this means he saved many hundred lives in India, and since his return to England it has been ordered with equal success.

A happy blunder.—"By mistake, twenty grains of calomel, six minims (equal to 120 drops) of laudanum, were given at an interval of less than half an hour. The patient was inclined to sleep; nothing more was done; and in two hours and a half he was as well as ever he was in his life."*

"Dr. Kennedy, of the Bombay establishment, has published at Calcutta, a Tract on the epidemic cholera. Dr. Kennedy's plan consists of bleeding, with reference to the state of the patient; promoting the vomiting in the early stages by simple emetics or warm water, and when more advanced,

* Oriental Herald, vol. xii. p. 529.

administering castor oil with laudanum; giving camphor and opium to allay spasmodic action after the vomiting has ceased; and finally exhibiting exciting but not intoxicating or acrid stimulants, as cordials to support the sinking strength of the patient. These measures were extensively useful."*

"Mr. S. Hope, Surgeon of his Majesty's Hospital ship *Canada*, states the following mode of cure for the cholera morbus, which he has employed for *more than thirty years with uniform success.*" He thus describes the complaint. "The disease is induced by causes too well known, and shews itself at first by violent pains from the stricture of the gall duct, and is afterwards kept up by the irritability of the bowels, brought on by the excoriation of the internal coat, from the acrid or scalding nature of the bile when first expelled the gall bag. This irritation keeps up the disease till nature recovers or sinks. I never use calomel, because I have a more certain, safe, and speedy remedy, that produces an almost instantaneous relief. Calomel relieves by inducing a more copious secretion of mucus to defend the membrane from excessive irritation, where it succeeds; whilst the remedy I recommend affords a tone of firmness to the membrane, a smoothness of surface that defends it from the action of the bile, and removes excessive irritation. By this means the disease goes off as soon as the gall bladder is emptied of its excessive irritative contents, which is very soon accomplished, as from three to five or six doses complete the cure." The following proof is adduced.—

"I was surgeon of the *Dolphin* in the year 1825, from July 17th to 26th, I had 264 cases of cholera; from which, with the exception of sixteen being under treatment for three days, four patients demanding attention four days, and three for five days (except one who had been previously ill),—*every patient was restored within the space of fifty hours.* I persuaded the chief mate to take a dose of the remedy before the healthy part of the ship's company, to induce them to follow his example; they all complied, and to the best of my recollection, not one of them had occasion to trouble me from illness. The remedy I gave was one drachm of nitrous acid (not nitric), one ounce of peppermint water or camphor mixture, and forty drops of tincture of opium. A fourth part every three or four hours in a cup-full of gruel. The belly should be covered with a succession of hot cloths dry; bottles of hot water to the feet if they can be obtained; constant and small sippings of finely strained gruel, or sago, or tapioca;—no spirit, no wine, no fermented liquors till quite restored."†

In *Orissa* the usual remedy for this complaint was pills, each containing six or seven grains of calomel and one grain of opium. One pill was sometimes sufficient, at other times a second, third, or fourth, at intervals of half an hour, were requisite to arrest the progress of the disease; an aperient was afterwards recommended. Dr. Ayre, of *Hull*, has adopted the mode of treatment used in *Orissa*. He says, "I have had seventy-six cases, of which sixty have been returned cured; five of them are under treatment (four of them out of danger), and ten of them have died. The exclusive object sought for in the system pursued, has been *to restore the secretion of the liver*; and the means employed have been no less exclusive, and have wholly consisted of *calomel and laudanum*, given in small quantities, and frequently repeated. The dose of calomel was one or two grains, and of laudanum one or two drops, given every five, ten, or fifteen minutes, according to the urgency of the symptoms and duration of treatment. The calomel was given alone, as soon as seventy or eighty drops of the laudanum had

* *Asi. Journ.*, Dec. 1827, p. 757.

† *Asi. Jour.*, June 1831.

been taken, or the purging and cramps were abated. The calomel was continued uninterruptedly, until a substantial abatement of the disease was produced, and the only limit set to its use was in giving it at progressively wider intervals. In several late cases I have trusted to *grain doses*, with a drop of laudanum given with each, and renewed every five minutes for two or three hours, and then every ten minutes, until a decided impression was made upon the complaint, when they were repeated every twenty minutes, and afterwards every hour, until at length they were discontinued. The average duration of the disease, in those who recovered under this treatment, has not been more than four or five days; for, by the prompt and very liberal use of calomel in small and frequent doses, (and it is indispensable to their efficacy that they be *small*,) the secretion of the liver becomes early restored, and that inflammatory reaction in the hepatic circle is prevented, which would otherwise ensue as a consequence of its congested state. Hence, in many instances, I have found the most rapid recoveries to occur in patients in whom the disease was most intense."*

(7.) As India is much infested with serpents, the following account of *the virtues of the Guaco plant, and the propriety of its cultivation in the East*,—appears deserving the attention of all who are interested in the welfare of its inhabitants. The cultivation of this plant in India by liberal individuals, or by Humane Societies, appears important. The following account is extracted from "*The Colonial Journal*," March, 1817.†

" It is an observation made by Pliny, (Nat. Hist. lib. 7.) that nature has, in one sense, been more liberal to brutes than to man, by providing the former with natural clothing, and gifting them with sufficient sagacity to know and defend themselves against their enemies; whereas man is destined to seek the same advantages by dint of labour and reflection. The fact certainly does exist, nor can it be proved by any instance more remarkable than the one that forms the subject of this article. Among the most valuable discoveries made in the tropical regions, in favour of suffering humanity, we may certainly rank that of the preservative and cure for the bites of venomous serpents; a virtue subsisting in the *Bejuco del Guaco*, a species of bind-weed. The secret is understood to have been long known to some of the Indians in the tropical parts of South America; but, ever mindful of the injustice and cruelty of their conquest, this, as well as the knowledge of many other important facts, preserved by tradition, they have uniformly refused to communicate to their intruders; even the Missionaries sent among them, in whom they placed the greatest reliance, and held in profound veneration, were unable to wrest the secret from them. The virtues of the plant in question were, however, recently discovered, almost in an accidental manner, as will be seen by the following details.

" The Negroes in the province of Choco, dependent on the kingdom of Santa Fe, where the first who observed a bird, called the Guaco, pursue and fight with serpents; and, on closer examination, they discovered that these were the common food of this creature. This bird must not be con-

* *Lancet*, June 2nd, and July 14th, 1832, pp. 271, 458. *Evan. Mag.*, April 1828.

† See *Philosophical Mag.*, vol. xii. *Methodist Mag.*, 1818, pp. 41—47. *India Gazette*, June 1825. *Weekly Messenger*, June 1826. See also *Asi. Jour.*, Jan. 1826, p. 55.

founded with the one belonging to the species of herons, mentioned by Buffon, in the last volume of the Natural History of birds, which he calls Guaco or Souaco, the name commonly given to it on the shores of Boulogne. The American Guaco might rather enter in the class of carnivorous birds, under the head of hawks, as Catesby calls the Serpent-hawk, (*espervier serpent.*) from that reptile's being its food and object of destruction; and may deserve the name in the same manner as does the sparrow-hawk, &c. The negroes perceived that the Guaco, when wounded in its severe battles, always recurred to a certain plant, and never appeared to receive material injury. When unable to kill its enemy, they also noticed that it availed itself of the leaves of the same plant to lay him asleep, and he then became an easy prey. Pushing their discoveries and experiments, they eventually ascertained that this plant, to which they afterwards gave the name of Guaco, in reference to the bird which had taught them its virtues, not only, in all cases, cured the poisonous bites of the above reptiles, but also operated as a preservative against their destructive powers, when taken with a degree of frequency.

"Mutis, the celebrated botanist of Santa Fe, previously to the above discovery being properly known, had been astonished at the facility with which the negroes, inhabiting the borders of the river Magdalena, caught serpents, and carried them about in their hands and bosoms, without any dread of fatal effects; and, ever active in that spirit of research for which he was so much distinguished, the following experiments were made in his presence, and that of several other botanists:—

"A negro was obtained, well versed in the above dangerous trials, who brought with him a venomous serpent, known to the Spaniards by the name of *Taya*, in consequence of the white spots it has on its back, something resembling the letter X. The negro handled the serpent in every way he was desired, and gave it several blows, without its appearing roused or attempting to bite him. It was at first imagined that the serpent was not of the most venomous kind, or that the negro had extracted its teeth: but, on causing it to open its mouth, the rows of sharp teeth were found in perfect order, and ample assurances were given that it was of the most deadly species known in the provinces of Santa Fe. No further doubt was entertained of the efficacy of the preservative, and *one of the Gentlemen resolved to undergo the same experiment the negro had just performed.*

"For this purpose, the negro pressed the juice of a handful of the leaves of the guaco-plant into a glass, and caused the person to drink two table spoonfuls, after which he inoculated some of the juice into the skin. He made eight small incisions; one in each foot; one in each of the fleshy part of the hands; again between the forefinger and thumb; and, lastly, on each side of the breast. On the appearance of blood, some of the juice was poured on, and well rubbed with the pounded leaves of the plant; which operation being fully performed, the person, if bitten, is considered as perfectly cured, and, besides, prepared to handle any serpent of the worst kind at pleasure. Various experiments were then tried, both by Mutis and his companions, and all proved the evident powers of the juice. Several questions were also proposed to the negro, respecting other plants; but he assured the bye-standers that he knew of no other as equally efficacious, and that this plant was always eaten by the guaco, or serpent-hawk, when worsted by the serpents it attacked in the search of food; moreover declaring that he had frequently witnessed the circumstance, and always noticed that the bird uniformly recurred to the same remedy.

"The guaco-plant is found indigenous in the neighbourhood of Marquita, as well as in the hot and temperate parts of the vice-royalty of Santa Fe; and it thrives singularly well on the margins of rivulets and damp places.

The plant has been called guaco, a name that was found preserved by tradition among the negroes, from whom the communication was received; but its genus is not yet determined in botany. Its root is fibrous and extends in every direction. It is a species of creeper or bind-weed, and its climbing and adhering shoot is round when young, but angular when old, and set with opposite leaves. These are green intermixed with purple, smooth below, rough above, and somewhat hairy. The flower rises like a crest, is yellow, flosculous, and four petals are seen in each calix. In the inside of the tassel of the flower, which is dented, are five stamens, united to the apices. These, which are cylindrically shaped, surround the style, and contain long and bristly seeds.

"Although, as a preservative, it was at first supposed unnecessary to inoculate with the juice of the guaco-plant, under an impression that its effects on serpents arose out of the disagreeable smell the plant emits, it was nevertheless found that the mode usually practised by the negroes possessed some peculiar advantages; and that as the virus of the small pox, introduced by the smallest orifice into the system, affects the whole mass of the blood, this also might have some strong communicative properties, which rendered the inoculation more safe and efficacious. The juice operates as a powerful anodyne, and creates in the patient a copious perspiration. When the cure has been performed, the native empirics nevertheless say that it is advisable to continue the dose five or six times during the successive month, lest any of the venom should be left lurking behind. The repetition of the process tends constantly to maintain in the humours of the body the strong effect of the herb, which operates as a shield against future poison, even though at the time of being bitten the plant should not be at hand to rub the wound and renew the dose. They further add, that the curative virtues of the plant subside if the same precaution is not used at the next increase of the moon, when it becomes necessary to be inoculated by the hands of the empiric. This, however, is held out for no other than interested views, as the curing of serpents' bites among the negroes is still a kind of trade; and distinguished botanists and physicians have had ample proof, that the antidote is permanently efficacious. By way of experiment, serpents have been handled long after the monthly period of inoculation had passed; though it is strongly recommended, in cases of trial, that the person should prepare himself half an hour before the serpent is taken into the hand, *by a dose of the fresh juice, and previous rubbing his hands with the leaf*, a practice that has been frequently followed with success.

"The experiments made on this subject have not clearly pointed out, whether it is the effluvia of the plant which acts on the reptile by creating a kind of disgust, or whether an agreeable sensation is communicated, that lulls it, and makes it forget its natural malignity. It has, however, been noticed, that, on spittle impregnated with the juice, being cast on the head of the serpent, it appears to become drowsy, notwithstanding it was before in an irritated and restless state; whereas, when handled by the person who has been previously prepared, it is uneasy and evinces a wish to escape. A considerable quantity of the juice being poured on two serpents, it was observed, that the sensation of stupor was not very durable; for, after a lapse of a short period, they recovered their accustomed vigour, and were as active as before they had been sprinkled.

"The guaco-plant is now applied, as a cure for the bite of all kinds of serpents, by the Spanish physicians in the tropical provinces of South America. In those of the Venezuela and Caracas, its use is become so general that it has been planted and reared on all the large estates; and every morning, when the labourers go out to work in the fields, a small calabash of the juice is carried with them, in case a misfortune happens to any of

the people. This example is worth following in the West India Islands, where the plant may be easily obtained; and with this view the present details are given, chiefly taken from what has been written on the subject by eminent persons of the faculty in Lima and Santa Fe.

"The guaco-plant, although not in use for more than *twenty-five years*, has been found to possess sovereign virtues, and to counteract the poison of all the snakes and serpents peculiar to the Spanish main; and experiments to this effect have been made on the *taya*; the *coral*, or coral-snake, so called from its red colour; the *cascabal*, or rattle-snake; and a green one found near the city of Giron.* Indeed, no greater proof of the powerful effects of the plant in question can be brought forward than the case of the rattle-snake. The bite of the latter is both violent and grievous, nevertheless this remedy has proved efficacious to persons in the agony of death. It is proper to remark, that, to proceed safely in the cure of persons bitten with serpents, the fresh leaf of the plant is necessary, and its juice by itself, or mixed with a small portion of warm water, is to be given to the patient in any period of the disease, and without any previous preparation. The chewed or bruised leaves are applied to the wound and the parts affected; and, if the swelling has not gained the farthest extreme of the limb, *the plant ought to be bound round the part to which the poison has not reached, in order that its progress may be stopped*. The dose must be repeated several times, and the patient may then throw aside his dread, and resume his customary occupations.

"This plant has been found so efficacious as a remedy, in the tropical regions of the New World; the various experiments made on both man and dogs, in the way of preventives, have been so completely successful, that, besides the *West Indies*, it might be of *the greatest service in Europe*, where the plant also deserves the notice of the rational philanthropist, and the experiments of the public schools of medicine. Its virtues, once established, would render the plant an object of trade, and from this an essential relief might be derived to the ills of the human frame. The inhabitants of North America annually export a considerable quantity of snake-root; and it is to be hoped that those of the Southern Continent will, ere long, be enabled to turn their attention to the number of herbs and gums with which their forests abound, and that then the guaco-plant may be reckoned in their list of exports. If brought to this distance, perhaps the best method of conveying it would be, by extracting the juice, bottling it carefully, and packing it in a state of good preservation. This article might be abundantly supplied from Santa Fe, as well as many other parts of the main continent, and by a further chemical analysis, it undoubtedly would be found to possess other qualities hitherto unknown. Even experiments already made have proved, that it is an excellent *vermifuge*, and the peculiar bitterness of the plant strongly corroborates the fact. It is also a stomachic and tonic.

"A species of creeper, or bind-weed, of partly a similar kind, is said, by Father Gamilla to exist in Guayaquil; but its exact affinity with the guaco-

* Vallemont, in his *Dictionnaire Raisonne of Natural History*, (verb serpents,) observes, that in Martinique a species of serpent is found, and there called the *coule-sang*, owing to the blood gushing from every part of the person bitten. It is a small species of serpent inclining to the viper; the eyes glaring, the skin transparent, and spotted with white and black. The body is thin, and the tail very small. As the effect of the poison of this reptile is different from that of any other serpent, which rather tends to coagulate the blood, possibly the guaco-plant might not be more successful than alkalies, which, in this case, have been tried with less effect than acids; but, perhaps, this is the only instance that can be mentioned as an exception.

plant has not hitherto been traced. There is also another, mentioned by Mr. Jaquin, in his History of American plants, possessing properties not unlike those of the guaco-plant, though different in genus and classification. This he describes under the name of *aristolochia anguicida, stipulis cordatis*, which answers to the description of the one called *curate*, in South America, of which the flower is denominated in *Carthagena Flor de alcátraz*, or pelican-flower, from its resemblance to the bill of the pelican; and its virtues, though by no means equal to those of the guaco-plant, have an affinity.

"Besides serpents, it is well known that there are several other animals whose poison is more or less active and deadly, against which the antidote in question might be rendered extremely valuable. Among the most terrible is that of the blood and froth of a certain species of lizard, *found in the island of Java, and used by the Natives to poison their arrows*. In order to obtain it they suspend the lizard by the tail, and irritate it till it emits from the mouth a yellow viscous matter, which is received in an earthen cup, and fermented in the sun. Afterwards their arrows are steeped in it, and the wounds they inflict are of a deadly nature. In these cases, the guaco-plant would undoubtedly answer the end desired, and certainly it is on that account, highly deserving the attention of the physicians attached to the British armies in the East Indies, where the soldiers are alike exposed to the ills of war and reptiles of the woods. This specific is now well known, and easily found on almost all the margins of rivulets, and in damp places; and it can also be readily transplanted, or propagated by means of seed."

Cure for snake bites.—"Strong diffusible stimulants prove the most effectual antidotes; and it is probable that they all act in virtue of that stimulant quality alone. Ammonia, hartshorn, eau-de-luce, or whatever its form or name, has proved eminently successful, solely as a stimulant, not (according to the old idea) as a corrector of poisonous acidity. But this valuable medicine has disadvantages; it varies exceedingly in strength, according to age, preparation, &c. I believe its use to have been attended with fatal consequences, and which finally determined me to try the strongest narcotics—of these the most convenient is laudanum and ardent spirits (brandy I have constantly used)—and they have answered my warmest expectations. Without a single auxiliary, besides external heat, they have cured at least nine cases within the last six months. My patients were nearly all sepoys of the Goruckpore light-infantry, on duty with the different guards; and, as the poor fellows were generally bitten at night, some minutes necessarily elapsed before I could see them. I have had opportunities of watching the effects of the remedies in all stages of the symptoms, even to spasms of the back, total insensibility, and cessation of every pulse but that of the heart; and in every instance I have to attribute the cure to these two remedies, given internally, and rubbed on the throat and chest. Only one man died, and he was pulseless, and of course incapable of swallowing ammonia, ether, &c.

"The natives in India hardly ever use the simple but effectual precaution of *tying the limb with cord above the wound*. Several of the towns-people have this year died of snake-bites. It is obvious that the doses given must depend on the age, sex, and apparent constitution of the patient, and on the degree in which the venom has acted. None of my patients had less than 100 drops of laudanum and two glasses of brandy, given in two or three doses, with a little peppermint, sugar, and water, (warm, if it could be had,) and many of them had double that quantity. Except one man, every one of the patients was at his duty next day, a circumstance which powerfully corroborates the idea of a direct sedative action, and consequent expenditure of the vital principle; for what sepoy could otherwise bear unharmed that quantity of stimulant? It is proper to keep the patient walk-

ing about, if he can use his limb; and the ligature should not be removed till the medicine has unequivocally shewn its action by the returning pulse and heat, which, in my experience, has always happened in less than an hour. I have used no applications to the wound, as they are apt to degenerate into troublesome ulcers when irritated by caustics, &c."*

The following account is from the *India Gazette*, and the circumstances occurred in 1810.—"Morza Janned told Col. Palmer that he had brought the root he had formerly mentioned, as that which the Munghoore (chneumon) runs to when bitten by a snake, and his burkarus were in attendance to exhibit its powers. These men were accordingly called in, and they produced some root in fibres, about the thickness and colour of the largest end of common *kes-kes*. They had no serpents, but had supplied themselves with a number of scorpions, with which experiments were made to the satisfaction of all present, that, while in contact or connection with the root, the scorpion was helpless and innoxious. A lively scorpion, having a piece of the fibre on its back, presently became torpid. The people, having a piece of the root on the palm of the hand, readily handled the scorpions, and allowed them to lie on their fingers. All this speaks as to prevention, not to cure; yet as the natives dared not to touch the scorpions without this root, and as the Munghoore, when bitten by a snake, instantly ran to it, a presumption may be drawn from analogy."†

(8.) *A Humane Society to attend to the sick at the Ghauts, or landing places of the Ganges, &c., as suggested in a Calcutta Paper, would be very beneficial.*

"As you are ready to give a place in your pages, to the remarks of your Correspondents that are of general utility, I trust the following, upon a subject which has much engaged my attention, will meet with a ready insertion.—Having understood that many people were brought to the Ghauts in this town, in the early stages of the attacks of cholera, and there suffered to die without proper attention, a friend of mine stationed a person at the principal Ghaut (with direction to pay some attention to another belonging to the village of C—, where the cholera has greatly raged):—by the timely application of suitable medicine, in *one day, eight out of twelve*, who were brought to the Ghauts, were restored to their families. The detail of other days was encouraging. With these circumstances before me, I could not forbear to call the attention of a humane public in general, and the Government in particular, to the importance of—*stationing persons with medicines, at the principal Ghauts of the towns and villages where the cholera at any time prevails*. By this expedient many may be rescued from premature death, and the benevolent spirit of Christianity will appear in influencing the authorities and humane individuals to promote the welfare of the people, when exposed to one of Heaven's most dreadful scourges! Would it not be practicable and highly desirable, to establish a *humane society for the relief of the sick in different places, and thus regular, permanent, and suitable means would be in existence, to meet the ills of life arising from sickness, with all its train of sorrows?* Hoping some of your correspondents will take up the subject, I subscribe myself,

PHILANTHROPOS.

S—, Sep. 1826.

The engraving, p. 475, represents the exposure and relief of the sick on the banks of the Ganges. Messrs. Yates and

* Asi. Jour., Oct. 1824.

† Asi. Jour., Jan. 1826, p. 64.

Pearce relate the following facts in an account of an excursion on the river.

"On Sabbath morning, at breakfast time, we reached a small village, where we went ashore. Here, under a large tree, we found a poor woman, about fifty years old, brought to die by the side of Gunga. She complained of no pain, but seemed labouring under great weakness. Having unhappily no medicine, we gave her a little brandy and water, and dispatched her relations into the village to make her some gruel. At this time was brought to the same spot an interesting young woman, about twenty years old; and on the other side we found lying on the ground, deserted by her friends, a third, about twenty-five. *All these could speak without difficulty, were free from pain, and would probably in a short time have perfectly recovered if properly attended*: but yet we fear are doomed to perish, through the neglect and superstitious cruelty of their relatives. We got a promise of nutritious food for them all from their friends, and, having no medicine with us, after giving the two latter likewise a little brandy and water (which they would take as medicine), left them with a heavy heart. Well may it be said, that '*the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.*'"

The Friend of India, for Sep. 1825, contains a letter, by the Author, upon the subject of *Humane Societies in India*, which he should rejoice to hear were extensively established, and assisted by contributions from this country.—

"I should be happy, through the medium of your pages, to present to the Christian public, the following interesting paragraph from an American periodical, entitled *The Friend of Peace*, for April, 1825, and a few remarks relative to the establishment of humane societies in India. 'The Royal Humane Society was formed in London in 1774. By its Annual Report, in 1821, it appears that this institution had been instrumental in restoring to society, 5,020 persons in the metropolis and its vicinity; and that within forty-seven years, it had rewarded 20,320 persons for their exertions in saving the lives of men exposed to untimely death. To a philanthropic mind it must be a pleasing thought, that 5,020 persons have been rescued from sudden death by one Humane Society in the course of forty-seven years. There are other Humane Societies besides this in England. What their success has been we know not; but we may suppose, that the persons saved by them in this period, added to 5,020, will make the aggregate 15,000. This is a goodly number to be saved by a few societies; and the promoters of these institutions are entitled to great respect as saviours of their species.'

"'The liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall he stand.' Is there not great necessity for similar benevolent exertions in such a country as India? Are there not many at the Presidencies, and the various stations throughout the country, disposed to promote humane exertions for the recovery of the sick in cholera, epidemics, &c.—to rescue from premature death those who are exposed to die on the banks of the Ganges, or who find a watery grave through the apathy of their countrymen? To the honour of Britain and of Christianity, an affirmative to these inquiries may be given. Permit me to suggest the establishment in Calcutta, and at different stations, of—*A Humane Society, to promote attention to the recovery of the sick, and to those brought to die on the banks of the Ganges,—to reward the preservation of people exposed to drowning, or the resuscitation of those apparently drowned,—and any humane and efficient exertions for the benefit of individuals exposed to death.* The object of such an institution immediately commends itself; and it would not lack funds to carry it into

effect. The means of accomplishing it appear specific and simple;—providing a stock of suitable medicines;—supporting a few Native doctors or Indo British to administer it in the streets, lanes, ghauts, &c.; and awarding a premium, for every well-authenticated instance of the preservation of human life. The officers of such a society would be few. Medical gentlemen would be eminently qualified to direct and aid its operations. A few humane individuals might, with little trouble, direct the truly charitable donations of many into a useful and highly commendable channel.

“Within the last few weeks, at Serampore, of the number of sick brought to some Ghauts, *a great many have been restored and sent to their families, by the timely application of cholera medicine.* How much such exertions tend to promote the happiness of all ranks of Society, and endear man to man! At the Annual Meeting of the Royal Humane Society, in London, some who have been restored to life in the past year, through the exertions of the Society, are presented for the gratification of its friends. Might not such a scene soon be presented before the friends of humanity in Calcutta and other places? Such exertions must have an important bearing upon the interests of the infant cause of Christianity in India. To give life to the dead (as in the case of resuscitation)—to raise from affliction the dying and miserable sons and daughters of adversity—and to have, annually, numbers bearing their testimony to the kindness of Christians, must have a most beneficial tendency in society.”

The Editor, in his remarks upon the above, says, “It is a happy circumstance, that the most effectual remedies for the cholera (the great scourge of India) are both simple and cheap. We have had the gratification, of *saving a considerable number of lives this season*, by the following easy prescription:—Drop into a wine glass thirty or forty drops of laudanum, add one-third of a glass of brandy, an equal quantity of water, and four or five drops of essence of peppermint,—Repeat this dose every half-hour till the vomiting and purging cease. If the stomach cannot bear the sudden addition of so much liquid, the patient should slowly sip it from a tea-spoon. The following prescription is from high medical authority, and has been very successful:—Take laudanum twenty drops, diluted sulphuric acid (in which there are ten parts of water to one of acid) ten drops, oil of peppermint three drops, and mix them with a little water.* Commercial houses have much in their power; and we believe that, in many cases, their factories, so extensively scattered over the

* The following treatment of *Typhus Fever* has been very successful:—“Take the root of the herb *butter bur* washed clean and sliced thin, two ounces; pour upon it one quart of boiling water, in an earthen vessel, and stop it close; let it stand till cold; then pour the clear liquor off, and to a bottle of it add a quarter of a pint of mountain wine, and a little sugar. Take one quarter of a pint every four hours; and let the patient’s feet be put in warm water. It operates by perspiration, and care must be taken not to get cold. When the patient is brought into a strong perspiration discontinue the medicine.”

country, are known as refuges for the sick and the needy. *Judicious grants from Government of medical stores, or the sale of them at cost price, would much facilitate the work of benevolence.* If such can be had, according to existing regulations, it would be well to make it more generally known;—if not, we would pray for a new regulation on the subject." After giving a just tribute, to "the humane attention to the sick, extensively displayed in British India, by public authorities and private individuals," it is acknowledged,—"We confess, we are not at all sanguine in the expectation of it (the letter) giving rise to any public measure; but we do trust, that it will induce many private individuals, to do more than they yet have done in relieving the sick and forsaken."* It

* The following extraordinary cure of *Hydrophobia* appears worthy of extensive circulation. "We observe," says the *Scots Times*, "that in this disease there is a constant thirst and great dryness of the skin; the pulse is quick and hard; the whole system appears to have undergone a violent change, and nothing distresses the patient so much as the pain and difficulty of deglutition. Under these circumstances, were the patient to be placed in a warm or vapour bath, and kept there till perspiration takes place, were the most suitable diaphoretics had recourse to, and the skin kept in a state of perspiration for some time, reasoning from analogy, we might be able to subdue the thirst and febrile actions, and perhaps by the exhalent arteries throw off the disease from the fluids." The *Dublin Morning Post* contains the following illustration of this idea:—"In my early days," says the narrator, "there lived, in the neighbourhood where I was brought up, a man who had the misfortune to be bitten by a rabid dog—some time afterwards the man grew unwell, and almost immediately manifested all the horrible symptoms of hydrophobia, which increased to such an alarming degree, that his friends had come to the resolution of adopting the dreadful alternative of putting an end to his existence by suffocation; and for this purpose four men spread a bed on the floor and forced the unfortunate man down upon it, covering him with another bed, upon which they stretched themselves, to prevent him getting breath, while his wife and a few relations were in another apartment awaiting the awful event. The struggles and groans of the unfortunate victim were for some time adequate to make human nature shudder; during which time his wife's feelings may be imagined, but cannot be described. After a little time the noise in the fatal apartment ceased, when she rushed in with frantic despair, and with almost supernatural strength forced the men from off her husband's body, declaring, that 'let the consequence be what it would, she would let the Almighty take the manner of her husband's death into his own hand.' When she removed the bed that lay upon him, he lay almost lifeless; and so ardent had been his struggle, that the sweat had oozed from every pore in his skin, and in such a quantity, that it formed a small dam on the floor. After he was exposed to the air a short time, he revived and sat up, telling the bystanders that his madness had entirely left him; and it was so in reality, for he lived long and happy with his wife, who had been so instrumental in saving his life, and had by her a large family after his recovery. He died at last a natural death."—*The World, April 21, 1830.*

appears, therefore, that, if India enjoy the numerous blessings conferred by active *Humane Societies*, seconding and directing the benevolent efforts of the Government,—a stimulus must be given from the philanthropic in Great Britain.

(9.) It has long appeared, to the Author, very desirable that there should be established, *British India Humane Societies, or Humane Funds for British India*, attached to the various Missionary Societies. The following letter was addressed to the Editor of a Periodical in London. When shall the miseries of our fellow subjects in India obtain that attention they merit from our hands?

“While a resident in India, and an eye-witness of the state of its inhabitants, I have often been reminded of the well-known sentiment of Dr. Thomas, the colleague of Dr. Carey:—‘Don’t send men to India destitute of feeling, for they will do no good: don’t send men of feeling, for they will soon die!’ One cause of this singular dilemma, of the humane and pious in India, is the frequent scenes of misery and death that they witness. For the moral miseries of the people, the missionary has an antidote,—in the diffusion of the knowledge of the Gospel, which ‘giveth life to him that hath it;’ but from their natural miseries, he must often turn away, and steel ‘the tender visitings of nature.’ A ‘*British India Humane Society*’ established in London, with auxiliaries in Britain and India, might raise funds that would enable benevolent gentlemen, the medical profession, and missionaries of different societies in India, to supply perishing myriads with medicine, food, &c., who, for want of these, pine in all the wretchedness to which Hindoo and Mussulman apathy doom the aged, the sick, and the dying. Should the establishment of such a general society be thought impracticable, something could be done—*by each mission to India having a humane fund*, the proceeds of which would gladden the heart of the missionary, and cause the blessing of those who were ready to perish to come upon their kind benefactors.

The necessity of such a fund must strike every feeling mind. A missionary at the temple of Juggernaut, wrote in June 1826,—“We have relieved many a child of misery by administering medicine to the sick, clothing to the naked, food to the hungry, and money to the destitute; but what we have been able to do falls short indeed of the wants of the miserable. Many a heart-rending scene, we have been called to witness, where we could afford no relief;—many poor creatures we have dismissed with partial assistance, under a full persuasion, they would soon want again and die: and many a scene of death have we endured; and turned away with a heavy overflowing heart from many a dying fellow creature, without God, and without hope, the victims of a wretched superstition.” The distribution, here referred to, was from funds humanely supplied by the Government, to relieve the miseries of the pilgrims to Juggernaut at the Car Festival. A representation was made by one of the missionaries in Orissa, which was very promptly regarded;—but the supply arrived too late, and but little could be done for the miserable multitudes. It is evident, that it must be highly desirable for missionaries to be furnished with means to alleviate the miseries they witness, that, both temporally and spiritually, like their compassionate Lord, they may “go about doing good.”

“*The manner of applying the proceeds of this fund is easily conceived.* Resources are wanted for ‘entertaining strangers,’ clothing the naked, feed-

for the famished pilgrim; medicine, (especially when the cholera morbus prevails in the district or country) relief for the beggars, (aged, lame, blind, leprous, &c.) who look up to a Padree Sahab with confidence, and may be regularly assembled to obtain a little support and instruction; and, it may be added, the occasional employment of a native Christian, a poor Portuguese, or a Native doctor—to visit the sick, and carry medicine where the cholera or any other disease is known to prevail. Can a missionary do all these without assistance from his benevolent friends in Britain? and can they be neglected, or but partially regarded, without a poignancy of regret, alike injurious to body and mind, to character and usefulness?—A few incidents may confirm these statements. The Rev. C. Lacey of Cuttack, speaking of relieving the pilgrims of Juggernaut, says, ‘A great majority of the sick that I relieved on our first stage were females, almost without exception, deserted by their friends, who had left them not a pice (a half-penny) and no good cloth, and sometimes none; and many of them hundreds of miles from their home. I was frequently obliged to *clothe the helpless female with my own hands*. The bystanders, when this was the case, would generally say,—How holy is this! On another occasion he writes, ‘The cholera morbus is raging in the country. I have sent the Pundit with medicine, and to day he returned with the following account. At Janocotto gave to two persons, both recovered; at Matagopore, to three persons who recovered; at Dowanpatas to four, two recovered and two died, &c. The Pundit said they inquired who had sent him, and, being told the Padree Sahab, they pronounced many blessings, and called it holy work. O may it prove to the furtherance of the Gospel, and may they be led to the physician of souls and live!'

“The utility of a humane fund is evident. The wise man says, ‘Every man is a friend to him that giveth gifts.’ In India, where a missionary has so much to oppose his progress, how desirable it is to have the benevolent character of that great man of the East, Job;—‘When the ear heard, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me; because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; and I caused the widow’s heart to sing for joy.—I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the poor; and the cause which I knew not was searched out.’ Job xxix. 11—16. What a pattern this, for the amiable religion of Christ! what a contrast to Heathenism and Islamism! and how certain, under the blessing of its divine Author, to bless the suffering and benighted sons and daughters of the East!

“Human efforts in India are attended with encouraging results. The writer once found a young Bengalee female pilgrim left to die, but by suitable medicine, lodging, and food, had the pleasure to see her restored to health. A native servant recovered from a violent attack of cholera, by some pills, (part of them given to him for the relief of others,) returned with the grateful language—‘Ha sahab amba ar jumna pielu!’—‘O Sir, I have got another birth.’ The Rev. Mr. R——, a missionary at Calcutta, in a letter to a friend in Sep. 1826, states that, ‘not one had died out of *sixty*, to whom he had administered medicine* for the cholera, except one individual, who

* This medicine was, “eighty drops of laudanum, a wine glass of brandy, and two table spoonfuls of castor oil, mixed and given if possible at once; if not, one desert spoonful after another, until all is taken. This is the dose for a man; for women, girls, and boys, sixty drops of laudanum, the brandy and oil the same quantities as before. Should this be ineffectual,

had previously received some native medicine very prejudicial to her.' Another missionary, in the vicinity of that city, said to the writer, 'You saw that poor woman waiting on Mrs. T——; she was taken down to the Ganges to die, but was restored by some medicine that we administered.' Where the attention of the Government is directed to the melioration of the miseries of the natives, much good is done. In Orissa, a few years since, 3000 cholera pills were sent from Cuttack, for the relief of the salt manufacturers then suffering by the cholera, and several hundred lives were saved. A writer in the *Friend of India* (Sep. 1825,) states, 'We know that, when the cholera first began its ravages, one gentleman obtained from Government forty or fifty native doctors to supply his district, and medical stores to what extent he chose; and the gratifying result was, that *medicine was administered to upwards of 20,000 persons, of whom more than 17,000 recovered!*'—It must be evident, that the Government in India cannot do all that humanity requires, and hence the necessity of the humane exertions in Britain here advocated. A missionary, speaking of a school examination says, 'At our last examination, all the boys who could read the Scriptures, read and repeated the whole of Watts's Catechism in Oorea, and were rewarded with *cloths*; and the next class with a few pice, from a *donation by a friend in England*. These cloths not only rewarded and encouraged the children, but will prove a real blessing to them, as they are most of them very poor and the season is cold. If any friend could be induced to *contribute a little to be spent in such rewards*, he would render most effectual help to our Mission, and bestow a great blessing upon many poor indigent children and parents.' Surely this appeal to British humanity and liberality will not be in vain.* To state but one more circumstance: a colleague observes, 'When endeavouring to do something for the sick, those around will exclaim, *Ha durma Aubitar! Sutya Aubitar!* &c., &c.—O holy incarnation, true incarnation! Some would fain worship us, and bowed their foreheads to the very dirt; of course we objected to this, and taught them to look to God and give him all the praise. Some observed, *This would occasion our religion to be talked about far and wide.* It certainly has given us favour in the sight of the people, and they often manifested an expression of it.' Let Britain pity and alleviate the spiritual and temporal woes of India, and she will be instructed and animated to promote the diffusion of the knowledge of Christ, and the exemplification of every humane and Christian trait that adorns the human character.'

Idolatry is cruel as the grave; but Christian benevolence imparts, as it is said of Solomon, "largeness of heart, even as the sand that is on the sea shore."

"Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace,
Our country next, and next the human race."

give a second dose of forty drops of laudanum, a wine glass of brandy, but no oil. In case of this failing, a wine glass of *drogue a mere* may be effectual. This medicine may be administered in almost all stages of the disease. After the vomiting ceases give warm rice water, and after that boiled sago or soogee (flour). The patient should be kept on a dry place and warm." (Asi. Journ., March 1826, p. 386.)

* Two ladies, sisters, at St. Ives (Hunts), were so affected in reading the report of the General Baptist Missionary Society, for 1826, that they sent £10 for the relief of the Pilgrims to Juggernaut.

and that by laws and usages now existing in India, converts to Christianity lose the right of inheriting hereditary property.

"That it further appears to your petitioners, that as the Suttee has been abolished, as an infraction of the inviolable principles of justice and humanity, in unison with the sentiments of the great majority of the most intelligent of the Hindoos, both ancient and modern, the other evils in India here adverted to, are also conceived to be contrary to those principles; and that the extent to which they prevail imperiously calls for the attention of a humane and Christian Government.

"That according to the statements of the philanthropic Colonel Walker, contained in the Parliamentary Papers on Infanticide, 3,000 female infants annually perish, the victims of this unnatural practice; and recent information shews, from 'the disproportionate number of females still existing, it is evident that, although this practice may be somewhat subdued, it is still far from being relinquished.'

"That hundreds of infirm and sick persons are every year exposed upon the banks of the Ganges, and no inquisition is made for their blood.

"That at the temple of Juggernaut, and at Gya, Allahabad, and Tripetty, near Madras, the British authorities receive considerable sums of money, the gain of connection with idolatry; that at Juggernaut a *premium* is actually received by the pundahs, who collect the pilgrims, by which the celebrity and sanguinary nature of ~~Molatry~~ are greatly increased; and that by the state of Hindoo law, affecting the hereditary property of converts to Christianity, the civilization and evangelization of British India are greatly retarded.

"That your petitioners, deeply impressed with the state of their fellow-subjects in British India and China, earnestly implore your Honourable House to adopt such measures as may speedily abolish the murder of infants; the Exposure of the sick and infirm under the semblance of religion; the pernicious connection of Britain with idolatry; and the revision of those laws which prevent Hindoo Christians from fully enjoying their civil and religious rights; and thus remove the stigma which attaches to our national character, by tacitly sanctioning and perpetuating these evils; and that whatever regulations it may be expedient to adopt at the present period, for the future intercourse of British subjects with China, no steps may be taken, which shall in any way prevent Christians of every denomination from directing their benevolent attention to the introduction of Christianity into that idolatrous empire.

"And your petitioners shall ever pray."

The efforts of the philanthropic and Christian public in this country and India, under the blessing of God, may do much for the welfare of Hindostan. *A British India Humane Society in London*, aided by Societies in other parts of this country, would stimulate our philanthropic countrymen in the East to labour for the civilization and evangelization of India. Can it be doubted, whether there be a necessity for such Institutions? In what country under heaven is there so much misery as in India? View the poor widow still hurried to the funeral pile—the murdered infant—the sick exposed by the Ganges—the myriads of miserable pilgrims—the degraded slave—the shipwrecked mariner—numbers drowning in the rivers in stormy weather, without any

assistance being afforded—multitudes dying in epidemics for want of medicine and attendance; and, to crown the whole, the distress frequently so great, as to defy individual exertion to alleviate it, and hence occasioning an apathy, inhuman and unchristian, even in the European character. A Humane Society in Calcutta, and other cities and towns, aided by funds and correspondence from Britain, would do much to remove these miseries—rescue numbers from a premature death—do honour to humanity and to the British people—and commend Christianity to the acceptance of the Heathen and the Mahomedan. And as she approaches them let mercy attend the steps of her messengers. Humane exertions, either by the Legislature, individuals, or Humane Societies, must be beneficial. It is written, “Mercy shall be built up for ever.” Let these pages be attentively perused, and it is hoped the humane and liberal spirit of Britain, will devise “liberal things” for the temporal and spiritual welfare of India. O Britain, my country! hear the glowing language of your poets; and sedulously promote the work of the melioration and evangelization of India.

“Pursue thy glorious course. Be this thy art,
Not to corrupt, but meliorate the heart;
Where'er mankind in Gentile darkness lie,
Instruction's blessed radiance to supply;
O'er the oppress'd, soft mercy's dews to shed,
And crush with ruin the oppressor's head.

O haste your tardy coming days of gold;
Long by prophetic minstrels' foretold!
Where you bright purple streaks the orient skies,
Rise Science, Freedom, Peace, Religion, rise!
'Till, from Tanjore to farthest Samarcand,
In one wide lustre bask the glowing land:
And (Brahma from his guilty greatness hurl'd,
With Mecca's lord,) Messiah rule the world!”

“Then, while transported Asia kneels around,
With ancient arts, and long lost glories crown'd:
Some happier bard, on Ganges' margin laid,
Where playful bamboos weave their fretted shade,
Shall to the strings a loftier tone impart,
And pour in rapturous verse his flowing heart.
Stamp'd in immortal light on future days,
Through all the strain his country's joys shall blaze;
The Sanscrit song be warm'd with heav'ly fires,
And themes divine awake from Indian lyres!”*

* Wrangham and Grant on the restoration of Learning in the East, 1805.



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